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TO HIS GRACE

CHARLES,

DUKE OF

RICHMOND and LENOX, &c, &c.

Knight of the Most Noble Order of the
GARTER, &c, &c, &c.

My LORD!

THE experimental Knowledge I have of that *rare* Candor and Humanity, which so conspicuously accompany and adorn the amiable *rest* of Your GRACE's beautiful Qualifications, emboldens me to this Intrusion; nay without farther Apology: Since to say more would be rather Arrogance, and Aggravation of the Presumption.

Yet, in some *Regards*, My Lord, I cannot but, in great Measure, deem it a Duty, indispensibly incumbent on me, to lay at Your GRACE's Feet this *Trifle*; and am only sorry

A 2

at

at my not having any *Offering* of more Value or Merit to tender.

Of these Considerations, My Good Lord, this may be granted to be none of the least; *viz.* The undeserved Honour, by me unworthily enjoyed, of *belonging* immediately to a *Place*, so illustriously enobled by the Condescension of a Right Noble *Duke* of RICHMOND, who *there*, peculiarly, sits PRESIDENT!

The *Scheme* of this, in a different Garb, Humbly *Inscribed* to my R. W. M. Your GRACE has seen before: And because the then *Title*, &c. were, by *indifferent* Persons, looked on as somewhat too *particular*, it now again begs Your GRACE's Patronage, under a *Title* more *general*. And whither else ought I to conduct it, or indeed can I, with a better Prospect of Success? — Under Your GRACE's Auspices it cannot surely miscarry.

With the Great Name of RICHMOND in its Front, how can I despair of a favourable Reception? More especially among the *Members* of that most Ancient and Honourable SOCIETY, at whose Head, so to their Honour and Benefit, and with such universal Applause, Your GRACE has once vouchsafed to appear? Nay,

DEDICATION.

Nay, it would be unpardonably injurious to the very *Essence* of that worthy *Fraternity*, whereof I have the Happiness of being a *Member*, to harbour the least *Diffidence* of a kind *Concurrence* from so beneficent a *Community*, so conspicuously and exemplarily remarkable for their *Proneness* to countenance and assist their *Brethren*, if industrious, and in any Degree worthy of Favour. How then can a well-meaning *Brother* doubt of a *Brotherly* Reception? especially one who, while he addresses them in order to receive in one Hand a *Fraternal Benevolence*, is no less ready, with the other, to return somewhat of an *Equivalent*? — And so far I am from looking on it as an *Impossibility*, that I cannot quite think it even an *Improbability*, but that as gallant a *List* of my benevolent *Brethrens* Names may appear, in the Front of my First *Volume* (Patronized by Your GRACE) as personally did, with Emulation, at our now Right Noble GRAND - MASTER's late auspicious INAUGURATION.

None knows better than You, My Lord, that the real *Characteristic* of the SOCIETY (which is not only so illustriously adorned with the

D E D I C A T I O N.

the *Countenance* and *Protection*, but also splendidly supported by the munificent *Benefactions* of Your GRACE, and so many others of the Prime Nobility and Gentry of the three Realms) lies couched (*or ought so to do*) in these Lines;

*If all the social Virtues of the Mind;
If an extensive Love to all Mankind;
If hospitable Welcome to a Guest;
If speedy Charity to the Distress'd;*

*If due Regard to Liberty and Laws,
Zeal for our King, and for our Country's Cause;
If these are Principles deserving Fame,
Let M A S O N S then enjoy the Praise they claim.*

Possibly, My Lord, to some People, all this may be a *Matter of Indifferency*: But, surely, to none it ought to be *Matter of Offence*. It is from Your GRACE alone that I am to crave Pardon for the *Contents* of this *Half Sheet*: All *indifferent* Persons having, exclusive of *this*, their full allotted *Quota*, of 100 *Pages*.

Should fifty mercenary Wretches, for a miserable *Pittance*, nefariously, not to say perjurally, attempt to *bespatter* those who would only answer them with the Scorn they deserve, they would *only be-mire* themselves with their own *Filth*. And what mighty *Feats* of *Chivalry* have they done, who, thro' Excess of *Gormogonian* Smartness, *coquishly* insinuate, in the *New-Papers*, That *they* are glad at not finding *any thing* greatly Indecent in MASONRY!
Have

D E D I C A T I O N.

Have they done more than *turn* the *Tables* upon their own *inconsiderable* Selves? Are not the MASONS, obviously in the Eye of the Sun, a very numerous, a respectable BODY of MEN?

Would a MONTAGUE, a NORFOLK, a RICHMOND, a BEDFORD, a LOVEL con-nive at *Indecencies*! Would a DALKEITH, a INCHIQUIN, a PAISLEY, a KINGSTON, a COLRAINE, a SUNDERLAND, a PORTMORE, and abundance more of our Right worthy Chieftains, countenance *Immoralities*! Barbarous *Nonsense*! But, pardon me, My Lord; and permit me, with the most unfeigned Sincerity, to wish an uninterrupted Series of Prosperity to You and Yours, and submissively to remain,

Your GRACE's

Most dutifully obedient and ever

devoted humble Servant, &c.

J. MORGAN.



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P R E F A C E.

I*T is requisite, that I, previously, animadvert to all such as may have met with the Proposals, by me exhibited, with relation to this Miscellany (first under a different Title, and next in a somewhat different Method) and might reasonably have expected the Appearance of this Specimen some Weeks since; " That as well " what Variations, from the said Title and Method, they here find, as " also this scarce-excusable Delay, are wholly owing to certain Obstructions, not only unforeseen but unavoidable: And that I am now determined to proceed briskly, and am in Hopes, according to my original Design, of finishing Volume I. (consisting of Six of these " Numbers) before the Summer is over."*

With regard to the Undertaking itself, as nothing is, by Lovers of Reading, more frequently or more feelingly regretted, than that, merely for want of Revival, so many valuable Performances, of the best Writers of past Times, are utterly lost to the Generality of Mankind, and only here and there one to be met with in the Cabinets of the Curious; and it being very much both in our Power and Inclination to communicate (to such of the Curious as have not the Opportunity of seeing them elsewhere) a considerable Number of Choice Pieces, most of them long since out of Print, and few of them easily to be met with, we cannot but flatter ourselves, that it may not be a very difficult Task for us to find a competent Number of such as love these Kinds of Instructive Amusements well enough to take off our Hands a moderate Impression of this our Phoenix Britannicus.

If so, several unexceptionable Judges of these Matters, who have inspected my Cargo of Provisions, allow, that I am already possessed of excellent Materials for carrying on this Work for a no inconsiderable Time; and very certainly assured I am of not wanting large Recruits: And each Purchaser may assure himself of always finding, in his Number, more than one Piece, worth reviving, that is far from being common, even among the nicest Collectors. In this go some Phœnixes, which I am almost positive very few now living have ever seen, even in Catalogues; and I shall, if encouraged, produce many more such.

For my Reader's Entertainment, I have ready prepared a sufficient Quota of useful Treatises in History, Politics and other Branches of the Belles Lettres; nor shall I neglect, occasionally, regaling him with something in the Theological, but constantly in the Biographical Way. I have many notable Speeches, Letters, Characters, &c. not to say abundance of Stress upon what little Scraps of Poetry I may design him, by way of Desert, or the like, to fill up Chasms: For I make a Conscience of too frequently giving a Customer almost whole Pages of Blank Paper for his Money.

Nay, so far from that, some already begin to cavil at me, for having crouded the Matter of several Sheets into one, and pitched on a Letter which does not altogether suit their Optics. If that be much complained of, in the first and second Numbers, the Inconveniency may afterwards be easily removed (for I am willing to oblige) by pursuing my Scheme on a Type one Size larger; And my sole Reason for chusing to print so very close, was to prevent any one's saying, I offered him an unreasonable Penny-worth.

Others again seem to find Fault, that I block their Eye, in my over-strict Adherence to the Pseudography of my Authers. As to what regards Things of remote Dates (as my Initial Sermon, Conclusive Prayer, and some others) I must beg their Excuse if I persevere: Else wherein lies the Distinction between the Antique and the Modern? A Difference which is so carefully preserved as a Curiosity! But, indeed, with respect to what has been written within these last 80, 90, nay 100 Years, I acquiesce, that it may be reduced to the Standard of our present Orthography; since it is obvious that many of our very best Writers flourished within those Periods: Tho' several affected the old obsolete Manner of spelling much later; and some we meet with who will scarce be prevailed with, even now, to quit it, by striking away Superfluities

Many

*Many have remarked (and I believe justly enough) that our Language was in a manner spoiled, in King James the First's Reign; but pretty well recovered before the Restoration of King Charles the Second. But this is disallowed by one of our Learned Moderns. **

“ Our Writers (*says this Author*) it must be owned, before the Revolution, had few of them any Notion of Harmony in Prose. They chop and curtail their Sentences, or else draw them out to unmerciful Length. They load them with *Parentheses*, and many times throw the Matter of five or six Periods into one. But their Language (or their Posterity, who have adventured to do better) is not to charged with the Faults of particular Men, who were carried away with a depraved Taste, or knew not how to make the best Use of what Advantages they had in Hand.

To return to our Bill of Fare. Amidst our Variety, one main Article thereof may, possibly, be of the Growth of those Days of Civil Dudgeon (as the inimitable Author of Hudibras has it) between the memorable Epochas 1640 and 1660; a Period so productive of Writings, that it may be doubted whether such Quantities of Sheets have ever passed the English Printing-Presses, either before or since, in double that Number of Years. That great Collector, the late Thomas Rawlinson, Esq; (whom we must acknowledge to have been a very competent Judge in those Affairs) used to say, that the Pamphlets only in that Space of Time, were it possible to collect them, would make several Thousand Volumes: And by what I my self have seen, I am inclined to believe as much. Multitudes of them have, indeed, been re-printed; tho' chiefly in huge Collections, as Rushworth's, and some others, with which one has not much Need often to meddle; there being sufficient to be had without having Recourse to what may easily enough be seen else-where; tho' not every-where; for Books of that Price are not in very many Hands.

I intirely agree with a certain most learned Gentleman, a great and worthy Mæcenas, who, on shewing him my Project, told me; “ That all Old Things were not curious, nor all Scarce Things worth reprinting: “ That Pamphlets lay in Heaps on almost every Stall; and they there might lie for ought any Body minded them.” — But then the good Pamphlets lie there no longer than till they happen to be espied by some one who knows their intrinsic Value.

Conscious I am, that to have given Weight and Importance to this Undertaking, it should have been ushered into the World under the Name

** The Reverend and Judicious Mr. Thomas Stackhouse, in some new Additions to his excellent Treatise of Languages, p. 181.*

of some noted Antiquary, or very eminent Author, of long Experience, established Fame and Reputation. Then, indeed, Multitudes would, doubtless, be impatient to see what Rarities such a one had to produce. But as that is not the Case here (far the contrary) the most I can hope or expect is, that, as no Endeavours shall be wanting towards furnishing out the best Entertainment I can procure, the Public will cast a favourable Eye on the Goodness of my Intentions; and if any Gentlemen, who are better furnished than myself, will favour the Curious and me with some of their Curiosities, the same shall be faithfully inserted, and the Obligation gratefully acknowledged. As to what I have of my own (collected with no small Expence of both Money and Time) they have not only amused but instructed me, and may possibly do the like to some others.

I am likewise not insensible, that, to some certain Persons, not abundance of what can proceed from my own Fund will be any very great Novelty. Yet it is not to be doubted, but that a Public-Spirited Encourager (whether Subscriber or Casual Purchaser) when he finds, in his Number, a Piece which he is already possessed of (which Cases may not, perhaps, be over-frequent) or he knows readily enough where to go to, will candidly and generously reflect, that tho' he has that advantageous Conveniency, many have it not, and will not be displeased at meeting with it any where. — And N. B. we have some Subscribers, tho' the same is become so unfashionable, not to say scandalous a Question to be put to Gentlemen, now-a-Days: Thanks to such as have thought fit to put in Practice those gross Abuses, for which several well-meaners are now Sufferers.

Next to the Delight I take in perusing uncommon Tracts, my Willingness to communicate what delighted me, and my Averseness to pass my Time in a quite useless Inactivity (which suits neither with my Disposition nor Conveniency) what chiefly induced me to engage in this Project, was the Assurances of some good-natured Gentlemen (who are pleased to entertain a better Opinion than, perhaps, I deserve, of my Care and Abilities to manage an Affair of this Nature) of their Knowledge of diverse Persons who have by them certain curious little Pieces, both in Prose and Verse, which will do extremely well in a Miscellany (tho' scarce any where else) which they would gladly see in Print, had they the Opportunity of getting them introduced, without Trouble or Expence.

The setting on Foot this Pamphlet certainly opens a Spacious Door for such Introduction. And, as I exclude not Originals, room shall now and then be found for the Admission of all entertaining Topics, Profaneness, Obscenity, Scandal and Modern Party-Disputes alone excepted.

As

P R E F A C E.

As it is far from being my Design to advance any Products of my own Pen (except now and then some Scrap of a Note, or a Fragment of a Translation, if any such offer to my Purpose) I shall arrogate to myself but small Merit, throughout the whole Performance: My Province being chiefly to fit every Article for the Press, and to take Care that all be well executed. But, on the other Hand, I cannot quite despair of not only Thanks, but even Encouragement from some of the Curious, for helping me to the Sight of many Things, which, probably, would not otherwise ever have fallen in their Way. On this Score, indeed (since undoubtedly there is some Merit in being instrumental to the rescuing, from the devouring Jaws of Oblivion, Things truly valuable in their Kind) I may be intitled to a Share in the Favour of those whom I am most ambitious of obliging; Patrons of Literature.

But certain it is, that all the Success I can hope for, must depend on the Choice of Materials I happen to make: Not that I shall presume to build solely on my own Judgment. No; I have Recourse to several Friends, very capable of advising me, whom I do and shall frequently consult. And here I must crave Leave to intimate, that since the Whole is to pass thro' my Hands, and no others, I acknowledge myself alone answerable for all that is or shall be inserted, good, bad, or indifferent: An Advantage I had not in carrying on a late Monthly Pamphlet [which, for six successive Months, went by my Name, till July last, and is since Defunct] wherein, tho' I put only authentic Pieces, for which I had the best Authorities, none of which I ever heard censured, yet I was obliged to father all, while another was authorized to foist in false Facts, from the lying News-Papers, with other Trash, from the Lord knows whence; for which I fear I may have incurred the Displeasure of some Persons I should be extremely unwilling to disoblige. Thus much I judged proper to say on this Head: For why should not the Saddle be laid on the Back it best fits? — But that Affair is done withal; my present Regard lies here.

That these Tracts, &c. are not every ones Reading, I acknowledge: And, in any Thing, to hit the general Taste, is impossible. To suit that of No-body is improbable. The more I chance to please, the greater will be my Satisfaction. Many of the Pieces I revive, if met with at Sales or Auctions, fail not to bear a good Price; frequently more than I require for one of my Numbers, if not as much as a whole Volume will cost. My Miscellany (while it lives,) shall never want Variety: Nor shall I attempt to observe any Order, in Point of Chronology or Connection; neither of which, in a Work of this Sort, is either requisite or well practicable. I shall chuse Subjects of the greatest Moment; such as may afford
the

the best Insight into Times, Persons, &c. In Pursuit whereof, we are not always to reject what may pass under the Denomination of Low-Wit, which so abounds in our Wonderfull Yeare, 1603. (beginning at Page 27.) and in some others, which may hereafter be introduced.

And, as I would gladly avoid all Censures of Piracy, Imposture, and such like Imputations, I shall not only fairly declare whence I copy all my intire Tracts, but also keep by me, as Vouchers in case of Disputes, all such of them as are my own.

In certain of my former Calculations, I, unawares, out-run the Constable, as they say. Yet, on the present Standard, I humbly conceive, that none, who at-all approve of the Subject-Matter contained in these Numbers (of 100 Pages each) can reasonably complain of the Dearnels of their Purchase; my own unavoidable Pains and Expence, the Quality and Quantity of Matter, with the Goodness of Print and Paper duely considered.

To conclude; " As many are of Opinion, that the *Prosecution* of this
" *Undertaking* may be rendered of great Utility to the *Public*, more
" particularly if it has the good Fortune to meet with a favourable *Con-*
" *currence* from some *Great Men*, who are abundantly stocked with
" the best of *Curiosities* of this Kind, I most Submissively intreat their
" *Assistance*, not only on my own Account, but for general *Benefit*.
" — All such Commands, directed for *J. Morgan*, to be left either
" with Mr. *Burton*, Printer, near *St. John's Gate, Clerkenwell*, or with
" Mr. *Edlin*, at the *Prince's Arms*, against *Exeter-Exchange* in the
" *Strand*, will safely come to Hand, and shall faithfully and very thank-
" fully be executed.



N. B.

N. B. *The ingenious Essay on Pamphlets, sent me by the obliging Author of the ensuing Letter, is here omitted merely for want of room: But it assuredly shall find Place on some proper Occasion.*

L E T T E R

Referred to, in PAGE 75.

S I R,

“ **I** N Respect to your Request, and the long-desired Undertaking you
 “ have now so laudably begun, I here send you such Intelligence, as
 “ has fallen in my Way, concerning the *Short View*, you now restore
 “ to us, in *puris naturalibus*, of the *Longest Reign* in all our *Croni-*
 “ *cles*. — And as, among your other valuable Curiosities, you design fre-
 “ quently to favour us with something in the *Biographical Way* (the Favou-
 “ rite of most good Readers) you could not, in my Opinion, have well
 “ pitched on a better *Life*, to set out with.
 “ Those who have been conversant with the Histories of the Times in-
 “ which this curious little *Traſt* was composed, will not need the Intimation
 “ of *Arthur Wilson*, the Historian, to know, that it was both written and
 “ published upon seasonable Occasions: And those who have carefully read
 “ over the *Traſt* itself, will have no Need of *mine* to know, that it cannot, in
 “ any Reign, be unseasonably revived. — To select the most emergent Oc-
 “ currences, so sagaciously; to sift the Councils and Conduct of such a distant
 “ Period, so expertly; and to draw such salutary Reflections, Counsels and
 “ Maxims of State from them, so judiciously; demand all those Accomplish-
 “ ments, all those Advantages, both of natural Genius and acquired Know-
 “ ledge, which so happily united in that renowned Author and Antiquary
 “ to whom this Elaborate Performance is ascribed.
 “ Besides its being a Mirror for Princes and Statesmen, it may also serve as
 “ one for those who write of them; and is therefore recommended to the Ad-
 “ mirers of some of our Modern Biography, who may haply thereby be
 “ brought to transfer their Admiration upon One, who, having attained so
 “ much Knowledge in the History of that prolix and perplexed Reign, could
 “ yet have so much Modesty and Judgment as to contract it in so small a
 “ Compass.

“ Tho’

“ Tho’ the Original *Quarto* Edition, of 1627, which you follow, divulges
 “ not the Composer of it, yet afterwards, in 1642, it was re-printed, with
 “ Sir John Hayward’s *HENRT IV.* in *Duodecimo*, under the Name of Sir
 “ Robert Cotton: And he, to this Day, indisputably bears the Honour of it;
 “ notwithstanding the wretched Efforts of certain obscure Plagiaries, who
 “ have attempted to eclipse the same. — In 1651, it was re-published, by
 “ James Howell, in *Octavo*, with others of Sir Robert Cotton’s Tracts; in which
 “ Edition of *Cottoni Posthuma* I have seen it: So that it must have been in
 “ one of the two succeeding Editions of those his *Posthumous Pieces* (to wit, in
 “ 1672 and 1679) that Bilhop Nicholson says, he could not find it; in both
 “ which the *Tract* itself is omitted, tho’ the *Title* is among the *Contents*.

“ But towards the Conclusion of King CHARLES the II^d’s Reign, our
 “ Author was twice robbed of it, if I mistake not, within the Compass of
 “ one Year: For then, viz. in 1680, out it came, in its primitive *Quarto*
 “ Form, under Title of, *A brief Survey, Historical and Political, of the Life*
 “ *and Reign of King HENRT the Third*: And this anonymous Editor in-
 “ scribes it to his said Majesty, without the least Acknowledgement who
 “ had been the Author, or even once hinting to the World, that any but him-
 “ self was. — Another still more bare-faced Plagiary, about that very
 “ Time, ushered it forth again, but in a more diminutive Size, under the Cob-
 “ web-Masquerade of *Compendium Politicum*; or the *Dislempers of Government*:
 “ An *Essay on the long Reign of HENRT the Third*: By John Talden, of
 “ Grey’s-Inn, forsooth: — Such a *Compendious Politician* was He!

“ Thus, Sir, I have imparted to you what Particulars I can recollect, with
 “ relation to the curious *Piece* in Question: Nor does it cease to be curious
 “ in your genuine Edition; having been so disguised by some of its preced-
 “ ing Revivers. And if these Hints, or any Part of what other *Collections* are
 “ in my Possession, will be of Use in *Tours*, they shall freely be submitted
 “ to your Disposal, by,

Tour humble Servant,

W. O.

ERRATA.

PAGE 49, Line 33, read *Schools*. — P. 50, L. 5, from the Bottom, r. *colls*.
 — P. 94, L. 37, of the *Poem*, r. *Great Little-Bounty*. — L. 47, for *these* r. *the*.
 — L. 48, for *Doom* r. *FATE*.

PHOE-

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A few Literal Errors, of no very great Importance, having escaped the Press (chiefly in some of the first Sheets) the candid and intelligent Reader is requested to excuse us, and to rectify such Mistakes with his Pen. — Gentlemen are desired to take Notice, that, of the preceding Articles, which compose this Volume, at least 60 are intire Pieces, and which, we may venture to say, originally contained not much short of 200 Sheets of Paper: And those who have Dealings with our Retailing Old Tract-Mongers are the best Judges on what reasonable Terms they can procure scarce Pamphlets. --- We have, for the present, thought expedient, to postpone the inserting our List of SUBSCRIBERS, hoping those our kind Encouragers will pardon the Omission, till we are fuller: Assuring them, they shall not fail of appearing in a handsome Manner, when Time serves, nor of being served with the usual Punctuality. As shall, likewise, our Customers, who chuse rather to pay the full Market-Price, than to Subscribe. Commissions of this Nature, directed for the COMPILER, at Will's Coffee-House, opposite to the Admiralty, shall be regularly executed, and the Numbers delivered according to Direction: But to prevent needless Trouble, and all Mistakes, it is desired, "That the Persons who have Orders to take in the Books, may also be ordered to pay the Bearer:" Which some Gentlemen have forgot to do.

PHOENIX BRITANNICUS.

Number I. For JANUARY 1731.

A *Jove Principium. — In order to make a good Beginning, I chuse to set out with a Sermon; but such a one as must be allowed to be no less remarkable for its Contents (considering the Time of Day it was wrote in, the Year after the Death of our famous Reformer John Wickliff) than venerable for its Antiquity. As it boldly points out to every Steward his respective Duty, the same may, perhaps, be full as necessary to be known in these our still later Times, as the anonymous Publisher deemed it to be when he first communicated it in Print. He unluckily omitted informing us when that was; but some good Judges, to whom I have shewed it, are, by its Aspect, of Opinion, that it may claim a Place among the earliest Products of the English Printing-Presses. Had this Editor not assured us, that the old and rude ENGLISH thereof was, by him mended here and there, I might, probably, have myself presumed on some Amendments; at least so far as not to have suffered Words to pass with so many different Spellings, frequently even in the same Page. But as some might have blamed me for robbing this careful Editor of the Honour of his Corrections, as also my Readers of such a Curiosity, they have the whole as I find it, except only the puzzling Abbreviations, erroneous Pointings, and some few gross Literal Faults, where the Sense was absolutely perverted. As to the rest, besides the Smartness of the Subject-Matter, this notable and wholesome Piece of Doctrine may serve to give a Taste how unsuited the Writers of those Ages were in their Orthography.*

A SERMON no less fruteful, then famous. Made in the yeare of oure Lorde God, M. CCC. lxxxviii. In these our later dayes moost necessary to be knowen. Neyther addynge to nor dymynyshyng from: Saue the olde and rude Englyshe thereof mended here and there.

To the christen reader.

L O Christen reader, while the worlde not slumbred, but routed and snorted in the dope and dead slepe of ignorancye, some lynelhe spirites were wakyng, and ceased not to calle vppon the drousy multitude of men, and to styrre them up from the longe dreames of synfull lynyng, that ones at the last they wold crepe out of darkenesse, and come forth to the hote shynyng sunne of Goddes worde, that both the fylthy mystes of theyr hartes myghte be dryuen awaye, and also theyr heuye and dyenge spirites recreated, refreshed and quickened. So that no man can alledge that in anye age there wanted preachers of Goddes worde. For he that keepeth Israell slepeth not, ne slumbreth. And thoughe, throwe his secrete counsayl, he sendeth more labourers in to bys barueste at one tyme then at another, yet he hathe euer some to wede, to reape, to gather shenes together in to the barnes of euerlastyng life. Reade therefore diligently thys lytle sermon so longe sythens written, and thou shalte perceyue the same quyeke spirite in the authoure thereof

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that thou nowe merueylest at in other of our tyme. He sharply, earnestlye, and wytteli rebuketh the synnes of all sortes of men, and speaketh as one hauynge authoryte, and as the scribes and pharisees, whiche wyth theyr leaded and blunt dartes coude neuer touch the quyeke, though they haue occupied, and worne the pulpettes so many yerres. The worde of God is lyuelye, and mighty in operation, and sharper then any two edged swerde, and cutteth euen vnto the diuision of the soule, and of the spirite,

Ebr. 4. and of the joyntures, and maroe &c. Wherefore esions I exhort the to reade this lytle treatyse diligently, and not onely to reuerence antiquitie, and the lyuely spirite and worde of God therein, but also to lerne, both to acknowledge and moreover to amend the wyckednes of thy lyfe.

Redde rationem villicationis tue. Lucæ. xvi.

[Give Account of thy Stewardship.]

Matth. ii. **C**hriste, the authour and doctoure of all truth, in hys gospel, likeneth the kyngedome of heauen, to a hougholder, saieng on this wyse: Lyke is the kyngedome of heauen to a hougholdynge man, that wente forth fyrste in the morninge, to hyre workemen into his vyneyarde: so dyd he about the thyrde houre, the sixthe, the nyynth, and the eleuenth. And as he found men standing ydle, he sayed to them: why stand ye here vnooccupied? Go ye into my vyneyarde, and that that is dewtye I shall gyue you. And when the daye was ended, he called hys stewarde, and bad that he shulde gyue euery man a penny.

Spiritually, this hougholder is our maister and lorde Christ the trew hougholder, and head of hys churche here in earthe; whiche calleth men in dyuers houres of the daye, that is in dyuers ages of the worlde; as in the tyme of nature, he called, by inspiration, *Abell, Enoch, Noe, Abraham*, and other lyke. In tyme of the olde lawe, he called *Moses, David, Esaye*, and *Jeremy*, wyth the prophetes; and in the tyme of grace, he called the apostles, martyrs, confessours and virgins. He called also some in chyldehode, as *Johan Baptiste*; some in theyr youth, as *Johan the Euangeliste*; some in myddle age, as *Peter and Andrew*; some in theyr later dayes, as *Gamaliel* and *Joseph of Arimathye*. And all those he called to labour in the Lordes vyneyarde, that is his churche, yea and that fundrye wayes. For ryght as ye se, that in trymmynge of this materyall vyne, there be dyuers labourers: for some cut away the braunches that be voyde; some vnderfet and laye abroad the vyne: yea, some pare awaye the olde earth, and laye new to the roote, whiche offyces all be so necessarye to the vyne, that yf anye of them fayle or want, it shall be eyther let, or utterly destroy the growynge of the vyne: for onlesse the vyne be cutte, she wyl waxe wyld; excepte she be rayled up and layed abroad, wedes and nettels wyl soone ouer growe her. And yf the rote be not fatted wyth new and fresh donge, for feablenesse, she shall waxe barreyne. No lesse nedefull in Christes churche be these three offycers, preesthode, knyghthode, and labourers. To preestes, or preachers, it behoueth to cuto awaye the voyde braunches of synne with the sworde of Goddes worde; to knyghtes it falleth to let wronges, and the hestes to be done, and to maynteyne Goddes lawe and them that be teachers there of yea and to keepe the lande from insurrection and inuadynge of other landes: the labourers must labour bodyly, and, wyth sore sweate, get out of the erth bodylye sustenance bothe for them self and for other. And all these estates be so needfull to the churche, that none maye well be wythout other: for yf Preestes wanted, the people, for defaulte of knowledge of Gods word, wolde waxe wilde in vyces, and so dye goostlye.

And were not knyghthode, and men to rule the people by lawe and hardnes, theues and enemyes wolde so encrease, that no man could lyue in peace.

And

And but for labourers, bothe preestes and knyghtes must be come artysycers, plowmen and hearde, or elles muste, for defaute of bodily sustenance, dye. And therefore sayeth the great clerke *Auicenna*; that euery unreasonable beast yf it haue that that nature and kynde hath ordeyned for it, as kynde gyueth it, is suffycient to lyue there hym selfe, wythout anye other of the same kynde. As yf there were but one horse, or one shepe in the worlde, yet yf he had corne and grasse, as nature and kynde hath ordeyned for suche a beast, he shulde lyue wel ynough. But yf there were but one man in the worlde, althoughe he hadde all the good that is therein, yet, for defaute, he shulde dye, or hys lyfe shulde be worse then yf he were not.

*Auicenna.**Comparatio.*

And the cause is thus: for that thyng that kynde hath ordeyned for mans sustenance, wythout other preparynge, or alteryng then it hath of kynde, accordeth not to hym; as yf a man haue corne, as it cometh from the earth, yet it is no meate according to him untill it be, by mans craft, changed into bread. And though he haue fleshe or fysh, yet while it is raw, and not by mans labour sodden, roasted, broyled, or baken, it accordeth not to mannes sustenance. Euen so the wol that the shepe beareth muste nedes by dyuers craftes be altered and chaunged, or it be not able to cloth anye man. And trewlye a man by hym selfe shulde neuer do all those thynges. And therefore sayth thys clerke, that it is nedefull, that some be husbände-men, some men of occupations, some marchauntes to fetch that that one lande wanteth, from another where it is plentye.

And surely thys one thyng shulde be a greate cause, why euery estate shulde loue other.

And men of one crafte, shulde neyther hate, neyther despyse men of any other crafte. For one of them is so nedeful to another, that ostentymes those craftes that seme moost vnhoneste myghte worste be forborne. And thus I dare saye, that he that is not labourynge in this world, either in praying and praychyng, as behoueth preestes, for the health of the people, or in defendynge the causes of the nedy, in fightyng against tyrauntes and enemies, which is the office of knyghtes, or in labourynge on the earth, that pertaineth to the commons, when the daye of rekenyng shall come, that is the ende of this lyfe, ryght as he lyued here wythout labour or traualle, so shall he wante there the rewarde of the penny, that is the endeleffe joyce of heauen. And as he was lyvyng here, after no state, nor order, so shall he then be put into the place wher is no order, but euerlastyng horroure and forowe; that is hell. Wherefore euery man se to what state God hathe called hym, and lyue therein by labour accordyng to hys degree. They that be labouring men, or craftes men do it trewlye. Yf thou be a seruant, or a bondeman, be subiecte and lyve in drede to dysplese thy maister or lord for Christes sake. If thou be a marchaunte, disceyue not thy brother in chafferyng. If thou be a knyght or a lorde, defende the poore and nedy man, from suche as wolde harme hym.

*Job. x.**Cor. 7.**1 Pet. iii.**1 Thes. iv.*

Thou beyng a iudge, or a iustice go not to the ryghte hande for fauour, nor into the lyfte hande to punyshe for hate. Thou that art a preest then, instructe; prayse and reprove. Instructe the ignoraunte, prayse the obedient and reprove the disobedient to God. Thus euerye man labour and traualle after hys degre: for when the euenyng commeth (that is the ende of thys worlde) then shall euerye man take rewarde, good or bad, after as he hath laboured here.

*Prov. viii.**2 Tim. iv.*

These be the wordes that I haue take to entreate vpon; and be thus moche to saye in *English*: come giue a rekenyng of thy balywyke. Chryste, the authoure of pytie and loue of saluacion of hys people, in the proces of the gospell enfourmeth euerye man, that is hys baylye, by the ensample of a baylye, that he monysheth to prepare hym selfe to make his answer, and to giue a rekenyng of suche goodes as he hath receyued of Goddes hande, when the daye of so straye a rekenyng shall come, that is, the daye of dome. And so I at thys time, through the helpe of God, follow-

B 2

yng

ynge hym that is master of so greate authoritie, bycause I knowe nothyng that shulde more drawe awaye mans unreasonable loue from the vayne and transitory joye of thys worlde, then to haue in mynde the dreadful rekenyng, so farre as God permytteth, I at thys tyme wil shewe you howe you shall dyspose you, to auoyde then Goddes yre and vengeaunce, when there shal be so harde judgements, that we shall accomte for euerye ydle worde that we haue spoken. For then shall be sayd vnto us, (and we shall haue no power to go backe)

Nota. Come gyue a rekenyng of thy balywyke.

But for further proces of thys fyrste parte of this sermon, knowe you there be three balywykes that shall be called to thys straye rekenyng. The fyrste shall answere for hym selfe, and for other. And they be prestes, that haue ouersyghte or cure of mans soule. The seconde, temporall lordes, that haue the gouernaunce of people. And the thyrde baylye shall accompte for hymselfe, or at least haue much lesse charge then the other: and that is euery Chrysten man, for that he hath receyued of God. And euery one of these shall answere to thre questions.

The questions.

The first.

Seconde.

Thyrde.

The fyrste question. Howe hast thou entred? The seconde. Howe haste thou rulled? The thyrde. Howe haste thou lyued? And yf thou can alloyle these thre questions, and dyscharge the of them, was there neuer earthly lorde (without comparison) that so rewarded hys seruauntes, as thy Lorde wyll rewarde the, that is to saye, wyth lyfe and joye euerlastyng. But on the other syde, yf thou nowe, regardyng not thyne owne welth, take no hede of thys rekenyng, yf death take the soddenly, so that thou passe hence in deadly synne and euyl lyfe, and haue not amended (as thou knoweste not what shall befall the) all the tongues thot euer were, or shall be, can not expresse the sorowe and woo that thou shalte suffer. Therefore the desyre of so greate joye and the dreade of so greatte payne (thoughe the loue of God were not in thyne herte) shulde make the to thynke euermore, that thou shalte gyue a rekenyng of thy balywyke. Therefore as I sayde, the fyrste questyon that shall be proponed to the fyrste bayle (that is a prelate or curate) is thus.

Howe hast thou entred? Frend, howe entredeste thou hyther? Who broughte the into thy offyce, truthe or symony? God or the deuyll, grace or money, the flesshe or the spirite? Gyue nowe thy rekenyng yf thou can; yf thou canne not, I counsell the, without delaye, to learne. For in case thou be called thus, ore it be nyght, and then for to stande dombe for lacke of knowledge, and for confusion of thyne owne conscience, thou shalte fall in to the sentence that here ensueth: Bynde his handes and fete, and cast hym into utter darkenesse, where is waylyng and grentyng of teth. Wherefore I counsel that thou aduise the well, how thou wylte answere to this question: How hast thou entred? Whether by callyng, or by thine owne procuring? For that thou woldest labour in Goddes gospelle, or for that thou woldest be rychely arayed? Aunswere to thyne owne conscience nowe, as thou shalt, ore it be longe, aunswere to God. Thou that hast taken the order of presthode on the, whether thou be curate, or noo, who styred the to take so hyghe an estate upon the? Whether because thou woldest lyue in Goddes contemplation and studye of Goddes worde, to instructe the people, or for to lyue a delycious lyfe of other mens swete, and thy selfe to laboure neuer a whytte?

Questio.

Solutio.

And here myghte I aske a question: Why, also sette menne theyr chyl- dren to scole? Whether for to get them greate auancements, or to make them the better to knowe God and to serue him? This theyr entention men may see openlye, by the sciences that they put them to: for they let them to the canon, ciuill, or to the temporal law, not as to be ministers of iustyce, to defende the poore in ryght, &c. because they thynke, that these sciences shall be meanes to make them great men in the worlde.

Questio.

And why be there so fewe put to learne the word of God, and to be preachers

preachers thereof, but that there is no suche gaynes as is in the other? And so care they lytle on bothe partes for godly lyuyng.

And truth it is, that saynte *John Chrysostome* sayeth, parentes be louyng to the bodyes of theyr chyldren, but the soules they regarde not; they desyre theyr welfare in this worlde, but they passe not what they shall suffer in another. Some ordeyne great fees for them here: but none ordeyne they them to Godwarde; the losse of theyr bodies they wyl fore bewayle, but the helthe of theyr soules they make no reckening of. If they see them poore, they sorowe and syghe; but though they see them synne, they make no manner of moone. And hereby they shewe that they broughte forth the bodyes, but not the soules.

Solutio.
Johannes
Crisostomus
Homelia
87.

And nowe to speake againe of preestes; yf we take hede trulye we shall perceyue greate abominations that ben scattered in the churche, nowe adayes, by and amongest preestes; we shall well perceayue (I saye) that they come not in to Chrystes foolde by Chrystes callyng, for to profyte, but by other meanes and wayes, to gette theym selfe worldlye welthe. And this is cause of manye errours amonge the people: and therefore it is wrytten in the booke of mourninge, where the prophet speaketh thus to God; "the enemy hath putte his hande to all thynges to hym desyrable."

Nota.

For that he hathe sene a certayne people lawles, entrynge in to the sanctuare, of whiche thou haddeste commaunded that they shulde not entre, that is to saye, in to the churche. The ennemye is Sathanas, as hys name soundeth, that hathe put hys hande to all that hym lyketh. For what synne myghte the fende, by all his craft or engyn, haue sowne amonge men, that is not nowe adayes vsed? Whenne were they so greate in luste as thei be nowe? In what plentye is pryde, enuye, wrathe, and couetyse; and lykewyse all other synnes? And wherefore thynkest thou?

But for bycause there be lawles people entred into the temple, that neyther in theym selfe kepe the lawe of God, nor can teache other. And to all suche saythe God by the prophet *Osee*; for that thou haste put away conyng, or knowledge of Godes wyll, I wyll put the awaye, that thou shalte vse no preesthode to me.

Osee. 4.

Perceyue that God and holy scripture expressly here forbyddethe men to take the state of preesthode vppon theym, but yf they haue conyng that nedeth or behoueth them. Thou then that canst nother rule thy selfe, nor other, after the lawe of God, beware howe thou wylt answere God at this dreadfull dome, when he shall say to the: come gyue a rekenyng of thy baylywyke. The seconde question, that any prelate or curate, must answere to, is this. Howe haste thou ruled (that is to saye) the soules of the subjectes and the goodes of poore men? Gyue thy accompt fyrste; how thou haste gouerned Godes flocke commytted to thy cure: as a harde, or as a hyred man that doth all for his bodely hyer? as a father, or as a wolfe that eateth the shepe, and kepeth them not? Saye on and tell me; saye whome haste thou turned from theyr cursed lyuyng, by thi deuoute preachyng and good ensample? Whom haste thou taughte the lawe of God, that was before ignorant? There shall be harde and greuous accusyng of fatherles chyldren, and a streyt alledgyng of al the flocke that thou haste take of them thy lyuyng, throughe theyr labour and swete, and do nothing therefore, but let them go astraye, wandryng for pasture and water, and none gyuen them by the.

Dyrectly gyue thy rekenyng, howe haste thou ruled and spended the goods of these pore men? Howe shalt thou trumble with horryble feare, then thynkest thou?

Heare what saynte *Barnarde* sayth, threttenyng clerkes, and threttenyng ministers of the churche. They be in the place of sayntes, and they do wyckedly, in that they not holdyng them contente with wages that are sufficyent to theyr necessities, but the ouer plus that neadye shulde be sustayned by, they be not ashamed to waste in the howses of theyr pryde and lechery, withholdyng to theym selfe, wyckedlye

Barnardus.

wyckedlye and cursedlye, the lyuynge of pore men, with double wyckednesse trulye. Fyrste they do synne, for they robbe other men of theyre goodes. Furthermore, for that they misuse holy thinges in their vanytyes, and in theyr wyckednes. Euerye suche baylye therefore beware; for to the last farthyng thou shalt reken and gyue occompte. Thynkeste thou thenne, that thou shalle not be dysalowed of God, for that that thou mysperded, and in bryngynge up of yonge ydle felowes, nourished or taughte as it were in a schole, to blasphemie God in all manner of poyntes of euyll lyuynge, in feadyng of fatte palfreys, of houndes and of haukes (and yf so be that is worthe of all) on lecherous women? Here what is sayde of such. They haue ledde theyre dayes in vanitie and in welthe, and in a momente they be gone downe into hel. Thinke not therefore, but that thou shalte rendre streyghtlye the accomte of thy balywyke. The thyrde questyon that he shall answere to, is this. Howe haste thou lyued? What lyght of holynes hast thou gyven and shewed to the people in thy lyuynge? What myrrour haste thou bene vnto them? Nowe gyue thy rekenynge, howe hast thou lyued as a goode sheperde, goyng before his flocke with good ensamples, or as a lewde person? As a man or best? It is to wonder trulye, to se howe the lyfe of preestes is chaunged. They be clothed lyke lordes and knyghtes; they speke as unhoneestlye as any rybaulde or harlot; as couetously for gaynes do they procure as any marchauntes; they ryde like Princes. And all this that thus is spente is of poore mens goodes, and of Chrystes herytage. Therefore, sayeth a holy doctour, the clay of *Egipt* is toughe stycking and medled with bloode, and the flattes were harde to be undone, for they were taken with the fyre of couetous, and with the layre or erth of lustes. In this poynt do trauayle ryche men, and in this wathe they, lyeng awayt for poore men. In thys trauayle prelates, that be blynded with to moche shynynge of ryches, that make theym houses lyke churches in greatenes, and superfluous aboundaunce of all thynges, that with dyuers

Nota.

payntures colour they theyr chambers, and with dyuers sylkes and clothinges in sondry colours make they ymages gaye; but the poore man for defaulte of clothes beggethe, and with an emptye whome doth crye at the doore. And shall I saye soth sayeth this doctour. Ofte tymes these poore men be robbed for to cloth stockes and stones. To suche speaketh the Prophet *Esai*; Who arte thou here? Here thou arte occupyng the place of *Peter*, of *Paule*, of *Thomas*, or of *Martyn*: but howe? as *Judas* was amongeste the apostles, as *Symon Magnus* amongest the dyscyples, as a candel newly quenched that smethe ouer all the house, in stede of a lyght lanterne, and as a smoke that blyndeth mens eyen in stede of a cleare fyre, yf thou contrarye thus the manner of lyuynge that Chryste and his apostles left to prestes. Therefore sayeth the Prophet *Jeremye*: Thei haue entred, and they haue had, and they haue not been obedient, with fals tytle and corrupte intention. They haue entred, thei haue had poor mennes goodes, to theyr mysfynge; and they haue not beene obedient to God in theyr lyuynge. Therefore it is wrytten, that they shall haue the hardest dome. A harde dome or judgement, for that they haue misentred, a harder judgment, for that they haue myf-ruled; the hardest judgment, for because they haue so cursedly lyued, beyonde all other: wherefore I counceyle the betymes, thynke howe thou wylte make thy rekenynge.

The seconde bayly, that most answere for hym selfe, and for other, is he that hathe the rule of any realme, prouince, shyre or countreys, as kynges, prynces, mayers, shyryues and justices, and these shall also answere to thre questions. The fyrste, howe hast thou entred in thy offyce? whether to profyte thy people to destroye falshe, and further trueth? or for desyre to obtayne thereby worldly worthyp and rychesse? Yf thou take suche an offyce more for thyne owne wordely profyt, then for to helpe the commune welthe, thou arte none of the perfecte members of the church, but arte a tyraunt, and it is to be feared lest there be manye that desyre suche estate. Some that they may be enhaunced with ryches, and some that they myghte the rather oppresse

suche

suche as they hate; and some be enhaunced in taking gyftes, whereby they spare to pynyshe those that haue trespassed, and so make them perterners of thei synnes; and for brybes they worke all thynges. And many such, when they be so hygh in offyce, thynke not that they be poore mens sonnes, brethrenne and seruauntes to the defence of the comens, but thynke theym selfe to be of a hygher kynde of nature, as they be auanced to worldye honoure, whiche is but wynde and vanitie. *Ofec. 8.*

Of whome sayeth God by the prophet; they haue raygned, but not by me; they haue bene princes, but I knowe them not. So was *Roboam para.* kyng *Salomons* sonne, when he was fyrste kyng, auanced in his herte, *10.* when the people of *Israell* came to hym and sayde: Thy father, in hys last dayes, putte vpon vs a greate charge; we desyre the that thou woldeste make it lyghter, and we wyll serue the. The kyng axed counsell to the older wyse men, whiche aduysed hym to aunswere them sayre, and that shulde be beste. But he forsoke these wyse mens councelles, and dydde after chyldren that were his playfelowes, and sayde to the people, when they came agayn: My least synger, is bigger than my fathers rygge bone; my father greued you somewhat, but I wyll adde more.

The people hereynge thys, rebelled agaynste hym. And sythens the tyme, came neuer the kyngedome hole togyther agayne.

Wherefore it is good for rulers to take sobre counsell, and to eschewe earerounders and alwayes to haue an eye of loue to the comens that they rule. For know they wel, be they neuer so high, that they shal come before a higher iudge to gyue a rekenyng.

The seconde question is: Howe haste thou ruled, that is the people and the office that thou haddeste to gouerne, thou that haste been a iudge in causes of poore men? How hast thou kept this commaundement of God, that thou shalt not take hede to the person of the pore man, to be the harder to him for hys pouertie, nor thou shalt haue respecce to the ryche mans countenaunce, to spare or fauour him, in wrong, for his riches? Oh Lorde God, what abusion *Dent. 9.* is there amonge officers, of both parties, now a dayes! Yf a great man pleate with a poore man, to haue ought that he holdeth, euery offyker shall be ready to further all that he may the rich man in his cause, that he maye haue the ende that he desyreth. But yf a poore man pleate with a ryche, then shal there be so many delayes, that thoughe the poore mans righte be open to all the countrey, for pure defaute of spendyng, he shall be constrainyd to let his cause falle.

Shyryffes and baylyffes wyll returne poore mens wryts wyth a *tardus venit*, excepte they fele money in thei handes. And yet I heare say, of men that haue proued both courtes, that the court that is called more spirituall Christen, is more cursed. Therefore it is truly sayd: Gyftes they take out of mens bolomes, to *Pro. 13.* subuert the wayes of the ryght judgement. But in especial the wordes of Christ be to be feared: In what judgement ye iudge other, your selfe shall *Mat. 7.* receyue the same. As ye measure to other, *etc.* when ye shall come to giue your accompt.

The third question is: How hast thou lyued, thou that iudgeste and punysheste other for trespassyng? It behoueth the, that punyshest other men for thei trespasses, to eschewe and flee the wykednes of them; for yf thy selfe do unlawfully, iudgyng other, thou condemnest thy selfe, in syth thou doest the thyng that thou dampnest.

Paul sayth; why teachest thou not thy self, that teachest other? Why *Rom. 5.* stealest thou that teachest other men not to steale? Howe shall that man take rule of other, that can not go before them in good lyuyng? And when any man standeth before him in judgement, he muste take hede before what iudge he shal stande hymselfe, to take his judgement after his dedes. But it is to be feared that many fare as the two false prestes, that would haue damned to deth *Susan.* holy *Susan*, that she wolde not consent vnto thei lechery; of the whiche it is wrytten, they turned away thei eyes, for that they wolde not se heuen, nor haue minde of right judgement. And so it fortuneth oft, that they which are more worthy

to

Socrates. to be hanged, dampne them that be lesse worthy. As *Socrates*, the philosopher, who on a tyme was demaunded, why he dyd laugh. For I se, sayed he, great theues leade a lytle these to hangyng. I praye you whether is he a greater these, that taketh awaye a mans house, and hys lande from him and hys heyres for euermore, or he that, for greate neede, stealeth a shepe or a calfe? And suppose you that somtyme we haue not such judges, and men of law them selfe very extortioners and bribours, and they judge other to deth. But I aduise the, that judgest other men, to remembre that thou shalte come into judgement, and gyue a rekenyng of thy baylywyke.

The 3. Bayly The thirde baylye, that shall be called to this dredful dome, shall be euery christen man that shal reken to his Lorde God for the goodes that he hath had of his. And here I wil speake but of this question; that is: Howe hast thou gouerned the and thy goodes, and how hast thou entred here to the goodes? Beware ye that haue gotten any goodes wrongfully, either taken by extorcion, by stelh, usury,

Austen. or deceyte, wo shall be to you at this dredfull day. For as saint *Austen* sayth; if he be cast in to the fyre that hath not gyuen of his owne goodes ryghteously gotten; where thinkest thou that he shal be cast, that hath stolen other mens goodes? And yf he shal bren with the fende, that hath not clothed the naked; wher judgest thou that he shall brenne, that hath made naked them that were cledhed? But two thinges make men thus to lyue by rape of

Moral Grego. 8. other mens goodes, that is desyre of honour, and drede of pouertie. And what uengeance falleth on this sin of couetous, ye may se by a figure of *Zaccha. 6.* scripture, when the angel sayed to the prophet *Zacchary*: lift up thyne eyen and se what is that that goeth out. And that prophet asked what is that?

Then the angel sayed; thys is the pot goyng out, that is the eye of the erth. And there was a wayghte of lead: and there was a woman sitting in the middest of the pot. And he toke the gobbet of lead and cast it into the pottes mouth, the womans name was *Unipietie*. And the prophet sytte by his eyen, and se two women lyke spirites in the ayer, with wynges lyke unto kytes or puttokes, and they carryed by the potte betwene heauen and erth; and the prophete asked the angell, whyther they

Expositio. wolde cary thys pot: and he sayed into the lande of *Samary*. This potte is couetyse. For as a pot hath a wyde open mouthe, so couetousnes gapeth euermore after worldlye good, ryches, and honour. And as the lycoure in the pot profytteth not to the potte selfe, but them that drawe and drynke thereof, so worldly good oft profyteth not the keeper, but other that come after; as it is wryt-

Eccles. 5. ten: He that hath money shall haue no frute of it. And this couetous is the eye of couetous men; for they be blynde to se how they shulde come to heauen; but to wyne worldly thinges, they can see manye wayes, like to owles and nightcrows, that better se by nyght then by day. The peyce of lead is the synne of obstination; the woman sytting in the pot is vnpietie, as the aungel sayth, that foloweth and is companion of auarice. A man thorough auarice doth lose the pitie that he shulde haue of the myschefe of hys soule, fythens often men lese the lyfe of theyr soule by deadly sinne, that they commit to get riches. And also they lose the pitie that they shulde haue to theyr bodyes, puttyng them selfe to many great paelis and jeopardies of their bodies, both by see and by lande, and leseth compassion towards other men; and al maketh couetyse. The pot is stopped with thys gobbet of lead, when vnpietie

is closed thus by synne of obstinacyon, by couetousnes, that it may not go out of the keepers hart by repentaunce. As *Job* sayeth; when he is fulfilled he shall be stopped. The ii. women that bare by the pot, were pryde and luste of fleshe, that in the scripture be called the two daughters of the water leche, cryeng, brynge, brynge; and they had wynges. The fyrste woman, that is pryde, hath two wynges; the fyrste wyng be graces or gyftes spiritual, as connyng wyldorne, counsell and suche other, for which gyftes oft men were proud. The seconde wyng is bodylye grace or gyftes, as strength, beautie, ancetry, with such other, of which often

often men waxe proud. The wynges of the seconde woman be fleshly desires, and they be glotony, and sloth. Of glotony speaketh the holy doctour saint *Gregory*, sayeng; when the bellye is fulfylled, the prickes of lechery be stirred. Of sloth sayth the great doctour saynt *Austen*; that *Loth*, whyle he was in busynesse, dwellynge amongeste the shrowes in *Sodome*, he was a good man: but when he was in the hyl ydle, in dronkenes, he lay by his owne daughters. And these women had winges like gleydes or puttockes, that, with cryeng voyce, go sekynge theyr meat, as *Bartholomeus* sayeth. Thus, fareth the covetousnes and fervent desyre of fleshly men; as wytnesseth saint *Austen*. We se, sayth he, that rauinous fyses haue some measure, for when they hunger they do rape and eate, but when they be ful, they spare.

Onely covetous men may not be fulfilled or satisfied; euer he taketh, and neuer hath he ynough; neither dredeth he God or shame of men; neyther spare he father, neither knoweth mother; with hys brother accordeth he not, nor wyth hys frende keeperh he stough; he oppresseth widowes and harmeth motherlesse chyl dren: freemen he maketh bonde, and bryngeth forth false wytnesse: he occupyeth deadmens goodes, as thoughe he neuer shulde dye. What madnes is thys, sayeth thys doctour, thus to lese lyfe and grace, and procure the soules dampnation, to wyne golde, and lose heauen? And therefore, sayeth the prophete, unhappynes shall compassie them rounde aboute, trauayle and unryghteousnes in the myddes among them. Also *Innocentius*, speakynge of the harme that commeth of couetousnes: sayeth: oh how manye men hath couetousnes deceyued and spyllled? For couetousnes of rewarde of gyftes, that the kyng *Balat* promysed *Balaam*, he wolde haue cursed the people of God, notwithstandynge his own alle reproued him in his owne conscience; and all that was in him reproved, and hurt his fote at a wall. And yet was he ouercome and led awaye wyth couetousnes, whyche enforced hym what he mighte. *Achan*, was stoned; for couetousnes made him steale gold and precious clothes, agaynst Gods commaundement. *Gebesie* was stricken with misery, for that he sold a mans health, that came by the grace of God. *Judas* for couetousnes solde Christe, and afterwarde hanged him selfe. *Anany* and *Saphira* hys wyfe dyd dye todenlye, for because they denyed to *Peter* the price or summe of Money that they receyued. Couetyse is cause, that ryche men eate poore men, euen as beastes eate grasse, keepynge it under; thys is dayly sene: for yf a ryche man haue a felde, and in the myddest, or on the oute syde a poore man haue but one acre; or yf a ryche man haue a hole strete saue one house that same poore brother of hys oweth, he neuer seareth tyll that he haue gotten that out of the poore mans hande, other by prayenge, or entreatynge, or pursuyng. Thus fareth it by kyng *Achab*, that by the procurement of his false quene *Jesabel*, slew the poore man *Naboth*, for that he wolde not sel hym his vyneyarde, lyeng by his palayse. Where vpon saith saint *Ambrose*: Howe farre wyll ye ryche men stretch out your couetousnes? Wyll ye dwell alone upon the earth, and haue no poore man wyth you? Why put you out your felowe in kynde, and challenge to your selfe the possession, that kynde and nature hath made comen to all men, both poore and rich? The erth was made comen, and wyl ye rich men challenge proper right therein? Nature and kinde knoweth no ryches; for she bringeth forth al maner of men pore. We be not gotten with ryche clothes, nor borne with gold and syluer. Naked bryngeth us nature and kynde into this world, both nedy of meat and drinke. Naked the earth taketh us agayne, as naked euen as she bryngeth vs hither. And the sepulchre can she not close wyth vs our possessions and ryches? Kynde maketh no difference betwene poore and ryche, neither in comynge hither neither in goynge hence; al after one maner bryngeth she forth; all after one maner clothe she the graue. Who so euer maketh difference betwene poore and ryche, abyde tyl they haue lyen a lytle space in the graue, and then open and loke amonge the deade bones, who was ryche and who was pore: except it be as thus, that mo clothes be rotten with the rich then wyth the

the poore. And that endamageth them that be alyue, and profyteth not them that be deade.

Job 24. Thus sayeth the holy doctour, of suche extorcioners it is wrytten: other mens felde they reape, and of the vine of hym that hath bene oppressed they plucke away the grapes. They leave men naked, and plucke away theyr clothes, that they have not wherewith to couer them from colde.

And they lift vp this pot, (that I spake of before) betwene heauen and earth; for couetousnes of men nether hath charitie in earth to theyr brethren, nor to God of heauen: and they beare this pottle into the lande of *Synear* (that is to say) into the lande of stench, that is hell: for there is stench instede of swete smellynge. Beware that thou go not wyth thys pot, nor with the woman therein, in anye case: take hede that thou not mary with her; for then ye must be both one. Thys is that lecherous woman, and ful of fleshy delytes, wyth whom kynges and marchauntes haue committed lechery here in earth, and wyth her vertues they haue bene made ryche, whose damnation is written in the booke of Reuelations of saint *John* by the wordes: In one daye shall her plagis come; death, sorrowe and hunger and fyre shall brenne her: for strong is God that wyll auenge hym on her. The kynges of the earth that haue done lechery with her, and haue lyued in her delytes, when they shall se the smoke of her brenning, shal stande a farre of, weeping and waylynge, yea crying alas, alas, that greate cytie that was clothed with pyssle, purple and brasel, and overgyt with golde and precyous stones and pearle; for in one hour all these greate rycheffe shall be destroyed. Then shall they say that shal be dampned with her, we haue erred from the way of truth, and the light of ryght wysenes hath not shyned upon vs, and the sunne of understanding hath not rysen to vs; we haue bene made weary in the waye of wickednes and of lustes, and haue gone the hard wayes; but the waye of truthe we know not: what hath pryde profyted us? or the beste of our ryches, what hath it broughte vnto vs? All is gone as a shadow of death; and we can now shewe no maner of holynes to our kyndred. In our wickednes we be wasted awaye. Thynke therefore, I counsel the, how thou shalt gyue a rekenynge of thy baylywyke, when he shall say: *Redde rationem villicationis tue.*

The II. Part of thys SERMON.

HERE shulde be asked; how haste thou gouerned thy wife thy chyldren and seruauntes? haste you brought them up after the lawes of God, and continued them there inasmoche as lyeth in thy power? But yf thou haste broughte them up after an other waye, or suffred them to go at theyr owne wyll, thinke not but thou muste gyue accomptes therefore, when shall be sayd; *redde rationem villicationis tue.* But and if thou wilt auoyde all the strait and hard accomptes; I counsell the, what soeuer thou be, to fal and cleaue vnto the mercye and goodnes of God, throughe Chrystes demerytes, with a liuely fayth and repenting herte of thyne iniquities. And now therefore beware of thy lyfe, in tyme paste, and amende. And yf thou do not, and that in tyme, who shall graunt the pardone and release of this thy accomptes?

In this seconde parte, with the helpe of God, I wyll showe, fyrst; who shall cal vs to this rekening. Secundarely; before whom we shal reken; finally, what punishment shal be to them that be founde false seruauntes and wycked; and what reward shal be giuen them that be founde faithfull and trew seruauntes.

For the first ye shall know, that there be two iudgmentes: the first anone after the departing of the body and the soule, which is a particular dome, wherof speaketh *Luke* in his gospel: the seconde dome shal be anone after the general resurrection; and that shal be uniuersal; and of this speaketh saint *Mathewe*. To the fyrst shal every man be called,

called, one after another, as the worlde passeth. To the second shall we come, all togyther, in the twynlyng of an eye. To the first men shall be called by thre somners or sergeauntes. The fyrst is sycknes; the second age; the third deathe. The fyrste warneth; the second thretteneth; and the thyrde taketh. This is a kyndly ordre; but somtyme it calleth unkindlye. For some dye, that neuer wyfte what was sickenes, nor age, as chylde that be sodenly slain: and some, yea and the most part, now adays, that dye, depart before theyr pure and naturall age of death. Therefore I saye, that the fyrst, that calleth us to this especyall judgement, is sycknes, and this is double; for some is sicknes that followeth all mankynde, for that euery man hath it: and some is sicknes that some men haue but not all; yea, the first sycknes is double; for some is within, in the mydde of the soule, and some is without, in the feblenesse of the bodye, that needes must be destroyed, in whom continuance of tyme hymselfe is cause of corruption: as the philosopher sayth, that there be feblenesse in syknes. Howe may a man see hereby, that though a man shut out of his house, (that is hys herte) al maner of worldlye and fleshye thought, yet withall that euer he can do shal he scantly suffice to thinke onelye on God, the space of a *Pater noster* whyle; but some other thought of thynges that be passing entreth into the soule, and draweth her from the contemplation. But oh, good God, what a sickness is this, and heuye burthen, vppon the sonnes of *Adam*, that on the soule mucke and dounge of the worlde we can thynke longe ynoughe, but on the Lorde, whome the soule shulde haue most delectation by, we canne not thynke so lytle a space, but that the cockle wyll entre amonge the wheat! Of this sycknes spake saynte *Paule*, when he sayed; I se an other law in my membres; rebelling agaynst the law of my spirite, and takyng me to the law of sinne. So that it fareth by vs as it doth by a man that wold loke stedfastly agenst the sonne, and can not endure long for nothyng, and yet for no defaut that is in the sonne, for it is most cleare in hym selfe, and so by reason best shulde be sene, but it is for the feblenesse of mannes eyes. Ryghte so sythens *Adam*, oure fyrste father, was putte *Gene. 3.* oute of paradyse, all hys ofsprynge haue been thus sycke, as the prophet sayeth: Oure fathers haue eaten a bytter grape, and the teeth of theyr *Eze. 18.* chylde be waxen an edge.

The seconde sicknes, that is comynge to al mankynd, commeth of feblenes of body, as hunger, thyrste, colde, heat, sorow, werynes, and many *Job 14.* other, as *Job* sayth; A man that is borne of a woman, lyuing a lytle tyme, is fylled with many myseryes. But there be other syckneses that come to some men, but not to all, as leprye, palsy, feuers, dropsyes, blyndnes, and many other, as it is said to the People of *Israel*, in scripiture: But yf thou kepe not the commaundementes, that be wrytten in the booke of lyfe, I shall encrease *Deutro.* thy sorowes and the sycknes of thy seede, great sycknes and longe abydyng, most euyls, and alwaye contynuing. And ye shall understande, that God sendeth suche sykenes other whyle to good men, and sometymes to shrewes. To good men God doth it for two causes; and that I sayde of sycknes, I wold it to be vnderstande of all manner of tribulation.

The fyrst cause, for that they shulde euer knowe, that they haue no infection of themselves, but of God onelye, and to encrease in mekenes. *Corin. 12.* Of this sayth *Paule*: Lest the greatnes of reuelation lyfte or extol me vp into pride, to me is gyuen the pricke of my fleshe thaunges of *Sathanas* to smyte me on the neck; wherefore I haue thryse prayed God that it shuld go from me, and he aunswered unto me, my grace is sufficient; for the uertue is fullylled in sycknes what in thus sayeth the glose: The sence axynge *Job* to be tempted was harde, and not the apostle axynge his temptation to be remoued, God herde him that shulde be dampned, and he herd not hym that he wolde saue. Also God sendeth saintes oftentimes sycknes and persecution, to gyue vs synful wretches ensample of pacyence. For yf he shulde suffre his saintes to haue suche tribulation in thys world, and thanke hym hereof, muche more we wretches, that God hath sende to not a hundreth part of *theyr*

theyr sorow, shuld bere it mekelye, sithens we haue deserued a thousande tymes so moche as they haue: wherefore, as we rede of *Thobee*, that on a day, as he was werye of buryeng of poore men, the whiche shulde els haue ben vnburied, and haue bene eaten of houndes and foules, as the carrien of other vnreasonable beastes, as he, for wearynes, was layed to reste, thorowe the sufferaunce of God, the swallowes, that bredde aboue in the house, made ordure and donged in his eyen, whereby he waxed blynde. This is wrytten, that God suffred this temptation to come to hym, for an ensample of paciens to all them that came after. And so was also the temptation of holy *Jub*: And though *Thoby*, frome his childhode, euermore dyd dread God and kepe his commaundementes, yet was he not agreaued agaynste God, though that the myscheuous blyndnes fell to hym, but vnmeuablye, dwelled in the drede of God, thanking hym all the dayes of his lyfe. Loo here scripture expresselye sayth, that God suffred that holye man to haue thys sycknes, to gyue other that come after hym an ensample of patience.

And also sometyme God sendeth sycknes and tribulation to wycked men; and that for two causes. Fyrste for that they shulde loue God, and leaue theyr synne, as it is wrytten: Theyr sycknes are multiplyed, and after they hasted to Godward. For we se often men in sycknes know theyr God, that neuer wolde haue tourned to him whyle they were hole. Also God sendeth sicknes often to algaiste other men, lest they shulde folowe theyr sinne. As the sycknes of *Antioche*, whome God smote with suche a plague that wormes scatered out of his body, he beyng alyue; and the stynche was so great and soule, that hys frendes were wery therewith, and might not sulre it; yea at length he myght not abyde his owne stench: and then began he to knowe hymselfe, and sayd; it is ryghtfull to be subiecte to God, and a mortall man not to hold him equal with God. And the storye sayth, he asked mercy of God, of whom he coule none haue, and he made a vowe to God, that he wolde make the cytye of *Jerusalem* free, and the *Jues* as free as the men of *Athenes*, and that he wolde honour Goddes temple with precyous stones, and also array and multiplie the holy vessels, and synde of his owne landes the costes and expenses perteynyng to that sacryfice, and that he wold becom a *Jewe*, and go ouer all the lande preachyng Gods lawe. And yet God gaue hym no mercy; for nother was there in him contricyon nor repentaunce that spronge of sayth, but of odious payn: for what was in him to forsake hys wickednes, when he was vnable to do good or euyl? And by this uengeaunce that God toke on thys kyng, shuld men se what it is to be disobedient to God. Also it is to be taken hede, that when sycknes commeth, euer it sheweth that the patient is mortal, and that he shal neades dye; and thoughe he maye escape this sicknes, yet can he not eschewe death. And so he must neades come to the rekenyng.

The seconde somner, that shall call to thys peculyer judgement, is age and feblenes, whose propretye is, althoughe he tary with the, he wyl not leaue the tyll he hath broughte the to the ende; that is deth. But there be many, though they haue this somner with them, yet they take no hede. He seth how his heed hoxeth, his back croketh, his breth stinketh, his teeth fallen, his syght failes, his eares waxe heuye to here: what meaneth all this, but that age somneth the to the dome? But what more madnes can be then a man beyng called and drawen to so dredful a rekeninge, where, except he answere well, he forsayteth both body and soule to dampnation for euer, yf he se a lytle myrth by the way, he forgetteth who hath him by the sleue? So doth he that is stryken with age, and hath so great pleasure in this worldes welth, that he forgetteth whether he is away. Herfore, sayth a holy doctour, that amongst al the abusions of the world moste is of an olde man that is obstinat; for he thnketh not of his oute goynge of this worlde, nor of his passyng into the lyfe to come; he heareth thre messengers of deth but he beleueth them not; and the cause is, for the thre fold corde, that such an olde man is bound with, is harde to breke: this corde is custom, that is of the plattes, which be ydle youth, vn honest speech, and wicked dede; the which, yf they growe with a man from his childhode vnto mans age, they make a thre fold corde to bynde the olde man

man in custome of synne. Herefore sayth *Esay*; breake the bondes of syn. Thinke therefore, whosoever that you be, that arte thus somned, thou canste not escape, but that thou muste make thy rekenyng.

The thyrd somner to this rekenyng is deth; and his condityon is that, come he first, or come he last, he spareth neither pore nor rych, aged nor yong; nor he seareth no threatnyng; he taketh heede to no prayer, nor of anye gyft, nor graunteth any respyte; but, without delay, he bryngeth forth man to judgement. Therfor, sayeth *S. Austen*, well ought every man to drede the day of deth. For in what estate soever mans last day fyndeth him, when he goth out of this world, in the same estate it bringeth him to his judgement. Therefore sayth the wise man to his son: Sonne thinke on thy last day, and thou shalte neuer syn. Nowe remembre that thou shalt reken for thy balywyke. I sayed also, that there was an other day of judgement, to the which all men shall come together in the twynklyng of an eye; and this shall be vniuersall. And lyke as to the other, every man shall be called with thre sompnors, so to this judgement all the world shall be called with thre general somners; and ryght as other thre messengers shewe a mans ende, so do these messengers tell the ende of the world.

The fyrst is the worldes sicknes: the second is his age and feblenes: and the thirde is his ende. The syknes of the worlde, thou shalt know by charyte waxynge colde; and his age and feblenes thou shalte knowe by tokens fulfilled; and his ende thou shalt know by Antichrystes pursuyng, Fyrst, I saye, thou shalte knowe the worldes sicknes by charitie waxing cold. Clerkes, that do wryte on naturall thynges, saye, that the bodye is sycke, when that his kyndlye heate is to lytle, or when it is to moch. Then sythens vnderstande as thus, that all men is as one body, whose kyndlye or naturall heate is charitie, that is loue to God, and loue to thy neyghboure. Unnaturall or vnkyndely heate, is lustful loue to other creatures. When therefore thou seest, that the loue of men to Godwarde, and to theyr neyghbours, is colde, lytle and faynte, and the loue to worldly thynges is great and seruent, then know thou well, that vnkyndely heat is to great, and kyndly heat is to lytle. That this is a knowledge of this sicknes, I may proue by Christes auctoritie; for he hymselfe gaue this as a signe drawynge to the ende of the worlde, for that the wyckednes shall be plenteous, charitie shall waxe colde. Therefore when thou seest charitie thus litle set by of the world, and wickednes increase bicause the worldly thynges be most set by and loued, know well, that the worlde and his welth passeth, and that this somner is come. And thus saith *Tim. 3.* faynte *Paule*: wyt thou wel, that in the last dayes shall come peryllous tymes, and there shal be men lovyng them selves, that is to saye, theyr bodies and all thynges belongynge thereto, couetousnes borne uppe with pryde, vnobedyence to the father and mother, felowes withoute affectyon, without peace, blamers, vncontinent, vnmylde, without benignitie, traytours, rebelles, swelling louers of lustes more then of God, hauyng a likenes of petye more then the vertue thereof, and these flee thou: when thou seest the people of such fashyon, know thou well, that the fyrste somner warneth all the world, that the daye of rekenyng draweth towarde.

The second somner thay shall warne all the world, is the age of the world; and this sheweth tokens fulfilled alreadye: but I knowe well, that we be not suffycient to knowe the tymes; that the father hath put in his owne power, to shew certaynely the day, the yere, or the hour of judgement. This knowledge was hedden from the very apostles of Chryst, and also from Chrystes manhode as to shewe it us. Neuertheles we may, by auctorytie of scriptures, with reasons and expositions of holy men, well and openly shew that this day of wrath is nigh. Lest any man say in his herte, as it is wrytten of a rych man, a foule bellye-seruer, that sayd; I wyll gather all my frutes and my goodes, and I wyll say to my soule: Soule, thou hast moche goodes layde vp in store, for many yeres, take thyne ease, eate and drynke, and be merye. I shall shewe you that this day is at hand, but how nygh I cannot say, nor wyl not. For *Cor. 10.* yf *Paule* sayde now, for a. M. ccc. yere and more past: We be those to whom the endes of the worlde be come; moch more may we say the same, that be so moche.

moche nerer the ende then he was. Also *S. John Chrysostome* saith: Thou seest darknes ouer al, and why douteest thou that the day is at an end? Fyrst on the valleys is darknes, when the day draweth downwarde: when therefore thou seest the valeys darke, why douteest thou whether it be nere nyght or. no? But yf thou se the sunne so lowe that darknes be upon the hylles, thou wylt say doubtles that it is nyght. Ryght so, yf thou se in the seculer men, that darkenes of synne beginneth to haue the maystry, it is a token that the world endeth. But when thou seest preestes, that he put in the top or suffrauncye of spirituall dignitie, and that shulde be as hylles amongst the cominaltie of the people in perfyte lyuynge, that darkenes of syn hath gotte the vpperhande of them, who doubtethe but that the worlde is at an ende? Also *Abbas Joachim*, in the expolition of *Jeremy*, saith, that from the yere of our Lorde. M. C. C. al tymes be to be suspected; and we be past this suspecete tyme nyghe two hundredth yeaes.

And the mayde *Ydegar*, in the boke of her propheties, yf it be lesfull to gyue them credite, in the thyrde parte, the xi. vision and seuentie chapter, mioueth thys reason. Ryght as in the seuen thousande yeaes the worlde shall passe, and as in the sixth daye man was made and fourmed, so in syxe thousande yeaes he was brought agayne and reformed; and as in the seuenth daye, the worlde was ful made, and God rested of his werkyng, so, in seuenth thousande yere, the numbres of them that shall be saued shall be fulfilled, and then shal the sayntes holy rest in body and soule. Yf then it be so, as it seemeth by thys maydens wordes, that seuen thousande yeres in passynge of the worlde accorde to that seuen daies in makynge of it, let us se what it wanteth that these seuen thousande yeaes be not fulfilled.

For yf we numbre the yeaes, from the natiuitie of Christe, to the yeres from the begynnyng of the worlde, to Christes commynge, folowyng the mynde of *Austen*, *Bede*, *Origene*, and the perfectest doctours teaching on this matter, it is passed nowe almooft syxe thousande and syxe hundredth yeaes, as it is open in a boke called *Speculum iudiciale*. So it foloweth that thys daye is more than halfe gone, yf we shulde giue credence to this maydens reason. But yf we leane to the gospel of *Matthew*, we shall finde that the disciples axed of Christ thre questions. Fyrste: what tyme the citie of *Jerusalem* shulde be destroyed? The seconde: what tokens were of his comming to judgement? Third: what signe shulde be of the ende of the worlde? And Christ gaue no certen tyme of these thinges, when they shuld fal, but he gaue then tokens by the whyche they myght know when they drewe neare. To the fyrst question, of the destruction of *Jerusalem*, he sayed; when the *Romaynes* come to besiege the citie, then sone after it shall be destroyed. And as to the seconde and the thyrde, he gaue them many tokens, as were these; that realme shal rise agaynste realme, and people agaynste people, and that there shulde be pestilence, and earthquakes; the whiche we haue sene in oure dayes. But the laste token that he gaue was thys. When ye se the abomination of holynes, spoken of by *Daniell*, standyng on the sanctuary; then who so readeth, let him vnderstande. Upon whiche texte argueth a doctour, in a boke that he maketh of the ende of the worlde; yf the wordes of *Daniell* haue authoritie (as God sayeth they haue) then it sufficeth to numbre the yeres of the worlde, to take that *Daniell* hath written. Now *Daniel*, in the xii. chapter, speaking of this abomination, signifieth by the ceasynge of the holynes of the *Jewes*, the which fel when by *Titus* and *Vespasian* *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and the people of *Jewes* were disparkeled in al the worlde. And this abomination, as doctours saye, shal be in the great *Antichristes* dayes, a thousande, two hundredth, and xc dayes. Nowe proueth thys doctour, that a day must be taken for a yere, both by auctoritie of scripture, in the same place and in other, and also by reason: and so it is thought to this clerke, that the greatest membre of *Antichrist* shall come and appeare more in the xiiii hundredth yere from the byrth of Christe, then any tyme els before; which numbres of yeaes is nowe fulfilled, not fully xii yeaes wantynge: and thys reason put not I as to shewe any certen tyme of hys commynge, seying I haue not that knowledge, but to shew that he is nygh; but how nygh I knowe not. But take we hede to the iii. parte of the seconde vision of *S. John*, in the boke of Revelations,

uations, in the which, vnder the opening of seuen seales, is declared the state of the church, from the tyme of Chryst to the ende of the world. The iiii. fyrste seales shew the estate of the church, from the tyme of Christe, to the tyme of Antichristes appearing, and his foregoers, the whiche is shewed in the opening of the other seales.

The openynge of the fyrste scale, telleth the state of the church in the tyme of preachynge of Chryste and his apostles; for then the fyrst beast, that is a lyon, gaue his uoyce, that betokeneth the preachers of Chrystes resurrection, and his ascension. For then wente oute a whyte horse, and he that sat vpon hym had a bowe in his hande, and he wente forthe ouercomynge to ouercome. By thys whyte hors we understande the cleane lyfe and conuersation that those preachers had, and by the bowe, theyr true preachynge, pryckynge sorrow or repentaunce in mens hartes for theyr synnes, without flatterynge. They went out of *Jewrye* that they came of, wyning and ouercomynge some of the *Jewes*, and made theym to leaue the truste that they hadde in the olde lawe, and to belieue in Jesus Christ and followe his teachynge; and they went out to ouercome the *Paynens*, shewynge to them, that theyr ymages were no goddes, but mans werke, vnmughtie to saue them self or any other, drawing them to the belieue of Jesu Chryst, God and man.

In the openynge of the seconde scale, there cryed a calfe; whiche was a beast wonte to be slayne, and offered to God in the olde lawe. This sheweth the state of the church in the tyme of marters, that for they steadfast preaching, and for the truth of Goddes worde, sheed theyr bloude; and that is betokened by the redde horse that went out at the openynge a this scale, and this estate began at *Nero*, the cursed Emperour, and endured to the tyme of *Constantyne* the great, that endowed the church. In this tyme many of Chrystes seruauntes, and namely the leaders of Chrystes flocke, were slayne; and of xxii Bishops of *Rome*, that were before the tyme of *Siluester* the fyrst, I reade but of foure, but that they were martyrs. And also in that tyme of *Dioclesian* the Emperour, the persecution of christen men was so greate, that in xxx dayes were slayne xxii thousande men and women, in dyuers countreis, for the lawe of God.

The openynge of the thyrde scale, telleth the state of the church in the tyme of heretykes; that is figured by the blacke horse, for false understandynge of scripture. For then cryed the thyrde beast, that is a man; for at that tyme was it nedeful for to preach the mysterye of Christes incarnation and passion, agaynste the heretyques that take amysse these poyntes; howe Christ toke very mankynde of *Mary*, he beyng God as he was before, and hys mother being mayde before and after.

The opening of the fourth scale telleth the state of the church in the tyme of the hypocrites; that betokened by the pale horse, that be signes of penaunce wythout fayth, to blynde the people: and he that sat vpon the horse, hys name was Death: for they slee goostly them that they lede and teache to God by other wayes than by Christ; and hel foloweth them: for hell receyueth those that these men deceiue. At that tyme shall it be nede that the fourth beast, that is the Egle, that flyeth hyghest of all fowles, make his crye, to rayse up the gospel, and to prayse Goddes lawe aboue al other, lest mennes wytte and their traditions treade downe and ouergrow the law of God, by enfourmyng of these hypocrites. And thys is the last estate that is, or shall be in the church, before the comynge and cleare appearynge of the great member of *Antichrist*.

The openynge of the fyfth scale, sheweth the state of the church, that then shall follow; and the desyre, that the followers of Goddes lawe shall haue, after the ende of thys worlde, to be delyuered of this woo.

The openynge of the sixte scale, telleth the state of the church, in the tyme of *Antichristes* tymmes; whiche estate ye may knowe to be when ye se fulfilled that saynt *John* prophesied to fall into the openynge of this scale, where he sayth: after this I se foure angelles standynge vpon foure corners of the earth, holdynge the foure wyndes, thar they blow not vpon the earth, vpon the sea, nor vpon the trees. The iii. angles be the nombre of all the deuyls ministers that, in those dayes, to do theyr mayster pleasure,

pleasure, shall stoppe the foure wyndes, that be the foure gospels to be preached, and shall let the breathe of the holye goost to falle vpon men, that they myghte mourne for theyr synne, to amende theyr lyfe, and also vpon theym that wolde increase in vertue, and vpon perfecte men. What after this is to come; but that the mysterye of the seuenth seale be shewed, that he come in his owne person? Whan Jesu Chryst shall flee with the breth of his mouthe; when the fende shall shewe the vttermolte persecution that he and his seruantes can do to Chrystes subiectes; and that shall be the iii warnyng, that the world shall haue to come to this last iudgement. In all this matter I haue noughte sayde of my selfe, but of other doctours that be approued.

I sayde also, in my seconde princypall, that it was to be knowen, before what iudge we must reken; that is, God himselfe; he that seeth all our dedes and all our thoughtes, from the begynnyng of our lyfe to the end; and he shall shew there be hydde thynges of our hertes, opening to all the worlde the ryghteousnes of his iudgement; so that, by the power of God, euery mans dedes shall be shewed to all the worlde. And so it feameth by the wordes of S. *John*, in the apocalips, wher he se dead men, great and little, standing to the figure of the throne: and bokes were opened. And another boke was opened, that was of lyfe; the ded men were judged, after the thinges that were wrytten in the bookes, after theyr own doynge. These bokes be mens conscience, that now be closed, but then shall be opened to all the world to rede therein, bothe theyr dedes and thoughtes. And the boke of lyfe, is Chrystes lyuinge and doctrine, that is hydde now to them that shal be dampned, thorowe theyr owne malice, that counsel men to folow the worlde rather then God. In the fyrst boke shal be wrytten all that we haue done. In the other all that we shuld haue done. And then shall dead men be judged after those thinges that be wrytten in the bokes. And yf the dedes that we haue done, and be wrytten in the bokes of our conscience, be accordyng to the boke of Chrystes teaching and lyuyng, the whych is the boke of lyfe, we shall be saued, or elles we shal be dampned; for the iudgementes shall be geuen after our workes. Loke therefore now what is wrytten in the boke of thy conscience, whyle thou art here; and yf thou fynde anye thyng contrarye to Chrystes lyfe and teachinge, scrapte it out with the knyfe of repentaunce, and wryte it better; euermore thynkyng that thou shalte geue a rekenyng, &c.

Also I sayed principalli, that it were good to know what reward shall then be geuen to the wyse seruantes and good, and what to false and wicked seruantes whereupon it is wrytten, that the Lord *Jesu Chryst* shal come to iudgement in the same body that he toke of *Marye* the vyrgyne, and the woundes that he suffered for oure redemption. And all that euer shall be iaued, taking agayn theyr bodyes, cleauynge to the heede Chryst, shal be rauysht metyng hym in the ayre (as S. *Paule* saithe) thei that shal be dampned lyeng vpon the erth, as in a tonne of wine the dregges byedeath benethe, and the cleare wyne houeth aboue. Then shall Chryst axe accompt of the dedes of mercye, reprocynge fals christen men for leauing them undone, rehersyng the dedes of mercye, and other paynes that hys true seruantes haue suffered in followyng hym. Then shall those false seruantes go wyth the deuyll, whom they haue serued, the earth swallowing them into the endles fyre, and ryghtful men shal into euerlasting lyfe. Then shal be fulfyllet that is wrytten in the booke of *Primities*: wo, wo, wo, shal be unto them that dwel on earth, wo to the *painim* that gaue that worship to dead ymages, wrought with mans hande, and too other creatures, that he shoulde haue geuen to God that him made: wo to the *Jewe* that trusteth to moch to the old law. Then shall he se the son of *Marie* iudginge the world, whom he despyed and crucified: wo to the fals chrysten man, that knew the wyll of God and fulfylled it not. Also wo shal be, for the syn of thought, to the that hast shutte out of thy herte the camylle of God, that is mynd of his passion, holy contemplation of hys goodnes, and memorye of his benefytes, and thanks therefore, and haste also excluded mekenes, petye, gentylnes, &c. and hast made thyn herte a howse of swyne, and a denne of theues, by vnclene thoughtes and delytes. As thou here haste shut God out of thy hert, so shall he shut the out of heauen.

heauen. Thou hast harboured the company of the fend, and wyth him in hell thou shalt euer abyde. Wo also shall be for that syn of speache, for that thou couldeste not open thy mouth, for soule and stinking synne, to praise God in the felowshyp of sayntes. Thou hast used thy speache vnhonestlye, wyth cursyng, fraude, deceyte, lyeng, foriwering, scornynge, and backbiting. For praysyng, comenly, is not in the mouth of synners, in the which yf thou haddest kept thy mouth cleane, thou shuldest haue songe in heauen, in the felowship of angels, this blessed song; *Sanctus Sanctus, Sanctus, Dominus, Deus omnipotens!* that is, holye, holye, holy, art thou, Lorde God almighti. Now, cryeng and weping, thou shalt, in the company of deuils, crye. *Ve. ve. ve. quante sunt tenebra!* that is, wo, wo, wo, greate be these darknesse.

Wo also shal be for the synne of workes. Thou hast ben proude; thy pryde, as *Esay* saith, shall be drowned with the into hel. Thou hast ben brent wyth enuy. Through enuy of the deuil, death entred into the world, and they shall followe hym that be on hys syde, as *Salomon* saythe. Or thou be styred wyth wrath, and euery man that beareth wrath to hys brother is gyltye of iudgemente, as Christ sayeth, in the gospel of *Mathew*. Or thou hast bene slowe, and therefore dysease shall come to the, as to a wayfaring man, and thy power shal be as of one vnarmed man, sayeth the booke of Prouerbes: or yf thou hast bene lecherous, a gloton, or a couetous man. Know, sayeth *Paule*, that neyther aduouterer, nor uncleane person, shall euer haue enheritaunce in the kyngdome of heauen. But fyre and brymstone and the spirite of tempestes, that is the fend of hel, shall be parte of theyr payne. When these dampned men be in this wo, they shall synge this rufull songe, wrytten in the boke of Mourninge: The joy of our hertes is gone. Our myrth is turned to wo and sorowe: The crownes of oure head is fal from vs. Alas for the synne that we haue done. But joy, joy and joye, shall be unto them that be saued; joye in God, joye al amonge them salues. And joy on of another that be saued; then are they happy. Oh how happy are they for that theyr trauayles ben synysht thorow Christe, whyche brought them to so gracious an ende: then are they happy, for that they be escaped the perilles of the world, and the payne of hell. Oh how happye ar they, for the endles blysse that they haue in the syght of God.

Cui honor & gloria secula seculorum, Amen.]



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D

THO:

TH O' the preceding excellent Doctrine needs no Foil, yet, out of numberless Heaps of unedifying Trash one might produce, delivered from the Mouths and Pens of abundantly more modern Teachers, take the following Samples.

In Q. Mary's Reign, Dr. Smytho (counted no mean Pastor in those Days) at Whittington College, edified his Congregation with a Sermon. I find it published, in 1572. by R. T. who affirms he was both Eye and Ear Witness. The Doctor having read, from a Legend, a romantick Tale of *Jesus Christ's* meeting *S. Peter* at *Rome*, and resolving to improve it to the utmost, thus began his Discourse.

My Masters; you are in great Errors concerning the blessed Sacrament; and all your Trust was in *Cranmer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*. As for *Latimer*, he said, in open Disputation at *Oxford*, that he had no Learning, in that Matter, but out of *Cranmer's* Book. Besides this, I disputed with *Latimer* twenty Years ago, and then he had no Learning. As for *Cranmer*, he said, that his Learning came from *Ridley*. And as for *Ridley*, I disputed with him my self now at *Oxford*, the other Day; and I proved my argument thus: *Ille cui Christus obviavit Romæ, fuit Romæ; at Christus obviavit Petro Romæ: Ergo Petrus fuit Romæ.* i. e. He whom *Christ* met at *Rome*, was at *Rome*; but *Christ* met *Peter* at *Rome*: Ergo *Peter* was at *Rome*. By this argument I prove two Things, and singular Mysteries of our Faith. First; that *Peter* was at *Rome*, against them that clatter *Peter* was never at *Rome*. Secondly; that if *Peter* met *Christ* bodily, as *Abdias* reporteth, and which *I am sure is true*, or else such an ancient and holy Father would never have written it; then, consequently, he may be as well in the blessed Sacrament, as he was met bodily. To this *Ridley* stood like a Block [no Wonder]; and feeling himself convicted, answered nothing. Then said I; *Car non respondes heretice, Hæreticorum hæreticissime!* Did I not handle him well? Then he denied the *Minor*; which I proved thus: *Christ* met *Peter* going out of *Rome*, and said; good morrow, *Peter*; whither goest thou? *Peter* answered; good morrow, good man; whither goest thou? Then said *Christ*; I go to *Rome*; to suffer. What, saith *Peter*, I trow, unless I take my Marks withs, you are *Jesus Christ*! good Lord, how do you? I am glad I have met you here. Then said he to *Peter*; go back and suffer, or else I must, & pro te, & pro me. When *Ridley*, had heard this my Proof, and *Abdias* Authority, a Doctor ancient and irrefragable, he answered never a Word. And thus I confuted *Ridley*, in the Audience of a thousand; and yet you say, that *Christ* was never in Earth, since the Ascension, bodily. Believe, with me, that he is under Form of Bread and Wine. Let this Argument of mine confound you, as it did *Ridley*, your chief Champion. "Indeed such confuting Reasonings who can withstand?"

What I shall next present you with, tho' I cannot much recommend it, as being not abundantly on this Side Blasphemy, is to be found in a Sermon, intitled *Caux*, or the CROSS, in *Speculum Morale*. p. 42.

CHRIST was drunk with the Wine of Martyrdom, that others might more willingly drink thereof. This Wine was so strong, that it made him sweat Blood; and he was so drunk, that, like a drunken Man, he gave away all he had; his Mother to his Disciple; his Disciple to his Mother; his Kingdom to a Robber; his Body to the Jews; his Garments to the Soldiers; his Soul to his Father: And so he was wholly spoiled and naked, and drunk as *Noah*. Our Lord's Cross is an enlivening Tree, which may be called an Apple-tree. Cant. 8. Under the Apple-tree I raised thee: There thy Mother was corrupted; there she that brought thee forth was ravished. The Apple-tree is the Sign of the Cross, whereon hung Fruit of singular Taste and Smell. A faithful Soul lying devoutly under this Tree, while it honours the Cross of his Saviour, and worships under it, is supported to Life and Glory, &c. "Blessing!"

In

In the *Revelations* of Mother *Juliana*, as also in the *Preface* to *S. Sophia*, one meets with this most exquisite and truly *Seraphical* Piece of unintelligible Non-sense.

Thirsting after the Lights which do expel all Images of Creatures, and calm all manner of Passions, to the End that the Soul, being in Vacuity, may be more capable of entertaining God in the pure Fund of the Spirit, who is in Possession of the Deiform Fund of the Soul, which is the simple Essence of the Soul stamped with the Divine Impress, from whence ariseth a super-essential Life, being a Way of Knowledge without Thoughts, of seeing in Darkness, of understanding without Reason, of unknowing God by perceiving, of being melted and mollified and so swallowed up in God; by which means all created Being is put off, and that which is only Divine put on, being changed into God, as Iron heated into the Nature of Fire, which is attained to by seeking God in the Obscurity of Faith, which is a more profound Introversion of the Spirit, which is the State of Nothingness, or of Totality, or the *Unica* of Nothing with Nothing, by which the Soul comes to the Feeling of her not being, and, consequently, of the not being of Creatures, &c. !!!

To have done with what may tire the Patience of some Readers, I shall only add to this Complication of *Unintelligibles* the Introduction to a Harangue, delivered at *S. Mary's* in *Oxford*, (as *Dr. Gerard Langbain* testifies) in the Beginning of *Q. Elizabeth's* Reign, by Master *Tavernour*, of *Water-Eaton*, High Sheriff of *Oxfordshire*, who came in pure Charity, not Ostentation (says the Doctor) with his Gold Chain about his Neck, and his Sword by his Side, to give the Scholars a Sermon; beginning with these Words.

Arriving at the Mount of *Sainte Maries*, in the stonie Stage where I now stand, I have brought you some fine Baskets, baked in the Oven of Charitie, and curiously conserved for the Chickens of the Church, the Sparrowes of the Spirit, and the sweet Swallowes of Salvation. "I am almost sorry I have not the Sequel, to oblige my curious Readers with some more of so promising a Discourse."

The learned *Chemnitzius*, in his *Examen*, assures us he copied the following glaring Inscription from a Marble, in *S. Stephen's Cathedral* at *Bourges*, Capital of the Dutchy of *Berry*, in *France*.

*Hic des devotè, celestibus associo te;
Mentes agrotæ per munera sunt tibi lotæ,
Ergo veniote gentes a sede remota;
Qui datis estote certè de divite dote.
Te precor, accelera; spargas hic, dum potes, æra;
Es sic reverà securè cœlica spera.
O! tu, si scires quantum data profit ibi res,
Tu, juxta vires, donares quod dars quires.
Te, miser, a pœnâ, dum tempus habes, aliena,
Ut tibi sit pœna venia, sit aperta crumena.
Consort cœlestis fabrica qui porrigit est is;
Ex hoc sum testis, vos hic mundare potestis.
Crede mihi, crede, cœli donaberis æde,
Nam pro mercede, Christo dicet, mihi cede.
Hic datur exponi paradisi venditori:
Currant ergo boni, rapientes culmina throni.
Vis retinere forum? mihi pondas pauca obolorum,
Pro summâ quorum reserabitur aula & deorum.
Hic si largè des, in cœlo sit tua sedes:
Qui seris hic parèd, parèd comprehendit in arce.
Cur tardas? tantum * nummorum des aliquantum:
Pro solo nummo gaudetis in ushere summo.*

§ cœlorum

* nummi

I have made bold to alter two Words. — The ingenious Mr. *Hughes*, in his learned Treatise, intitled *The MAN of SIN*, printed in 1677, has furnished us with a quaint Version of this frank Confession of what is to be the Lot, in the next World, of all such as do not *down with their Pence*, able or otherwise; in which he has taken Care not to lose any Part of the original Jingle and *Monkish* Elegancy.

Give here devoutly, and — I'll join thee to Heav'n's Band;
 For by the giving Hand — sick Souls wash'd whole there stand.
 Come People then, I say, — who live full far away;
 Your Cash if down you'll lay — before you'll have rich Pay.
 I prithee, Friend, make haste, — throw in now, while thou may'st,
 Thy Money, and, at last, — ne'er doubt of Heav'n to taste.
 O! if thou didst but know — how much thy Gift would grow,
 Here thou would'st quickly throw — all that thou hadst to sow:
 Poor Wretch! I'd have thee fain, — while Time is, fly thy Pain.
 That thou mayst Pardon gain, — open thy Purse amain.
 Heav'n's Fabrick he shall see — who now to give is free;
 I am a Witness t'ye — ye may here cleansed be.
 Trust me, trust me, hereby — thou shalt be rais'd on high,
 And, for Reward, shalt cry, — to CHRIST, *make room*; 'tis I.
 Here Paradise is set — to Sale; and, therefore, let
 All good Men run; and yet — the highest Room they'll get.
 Would'st have the Market thine? — Then spend a little Coin:
 This will unlock those fine — Gates which in Heaven shine.
 If thou give largely here, — thy Way to Heaven is clear:
 To give much if thou fear, — thou must have meaner Chear.
 Why dost delay to come? — Give but some Money, some;
 By Money 'tis alone — thou'l't purchase Heav'n's Throne.

I cannot well match this better than with a *Recipe* to make the *Agnus Dei*, which if not invented, was at least much improved, by Pope *Urban V.*, who ascended *S. Peter's* Chair in 1362, and with whom the Author of the foregoing excellent Sermon (whoever he was, and whose Doctrine so differs from all this) was contemporary. This Pontiff sent three of those most efficacious *Amulets* to the *Greek* Emperor, with the *Receipt* how to make them (tho' none can do it but the Pope himself) and a Detail of their Vertues, in these Rhymes, as recorded in the Book of *Sacred Ceremonies*, compiled by a very noted Arch-Bishop, and dedicated to his Holiness, Pope *Leo X.*

*Balsamus & munda cera, cum chrismatis unda,
 Conficiunt Agnum; quod munus do tibi magnum;
 Fonte velut natum, per mystica sanctificatum.
 Fulgora desursum depellit; omne malignum.
 Peccatum frangit, ut Christi sanguis, & angit.
 Pregnans servatur, simul & partus liberatur.
 Dona defert dignis; virtutem destruit ignis.
 Portatus mundè, de fluctibus eripit unda.*

Thus *Englisbed* by the said Mr. *Hughes*.

Pure Wax, by Exorcism — of Water, Balsom, Chrism,
 Makes *Agnus*; which, my Friend, — a great Gift, I thee send;
 Born at the Font, as 'twere, — and sanctified there.
 It Lightning drives away, — and all curs'd Sin does stay;

Just

Just as *Christ's* holy Blood,—— shed for poor Sinners Good.
 'Twill Childing Women save,—— their Birth too, from the Grave.
 Gives Blessings to the Meet;—— and treads Fire under Feet.
 Carry'd, neat, up and down,—— 'twill never let you drown.

Now my Hand is in, one more, and then have done.

*Contendunt specimen Pistor, Pictorque, uter edat
 Pulchrius, hic fuco, doctior ille foco.
 Hic fecisse Deum se jactat. Retulit ille;
 Corpus ego verum; tu simulacra facis.
 Dentibus assidue Deus teritur hic tuus inquit.
 Corrodunt vermes, retulit ille, tuum.
 Pistor ait; multos meus integer estat in annos;
 Sæpe una innumeros devorat hora tuos.
 At tibi vix toto Deus unus pingitur anno,
 Pistor ait; decies mille dat hora mihi.
 Parcite, ait Mystes, frustra contendere verbis;
 Nil sine me poterit vestler uterque Deus;
 Et quis utrumque Deum facio, mihi servit uterque;
 Namque hic mendicat, manditur ille mihi.*

A *Painter* late contended with a *Baker*,
 Who best deserv'd for *making* of his *Maker*.
Paint. My Pencil draws a God in Colours fine.
Bak. Bare Shadows thine, but solid Substance mine.
Paint. Thy God with Teeth is torn, with Palate tasted.
Bak. And thine with gnawing Worms is daily wasted.
Paint. For many Years endures this God of mine:
 One Hour devours a thousand such as thine.
Bak. Ere thou can'st trim one Draught whole Years expire:
 To bake a Load I scarce one Hour require.
 To stint their Strife a *Mass-Priest* 'gan to frown,
 And said (but swore first by his shaven Crown)
Priest. St. *Mary*, Sirs! 'Tis strange you are no wiser!
 Who can make God? None but the Sacrificer.
 Your varnish'd Picture, and your simple Cake
 I consecrate, and both Divine must make.
 Your Gods both do my Business, let me tell ye:
 One begs my Coin, the other fills my Belly.

• Temple, Jan. 21. 1731.

LETTER to the COMPILER.

S I R,

“ I was mistaken, in thinking I was possessed of your old *Sermon*; mine being 100
 “ and odd Years younger than yours.
 “ But I find, in the first Edition of *Joannes Baleus*. 1543. that *Joannes Viclevus*
 “ himself made two little Books, or Discourses upon this Text or Subject. viz.
 “ *Redde rationem villicationis tue.*

“ There

“ There is great Likelihood, that your *Sermon* (being in two Parts) is no other than the very same, or at least Abstracts from them, rather than either made or wrote, as your Copy intimates, in 1388; but then, perhaps, first published in engrossed Manuscript; the Remark in p. 14. of there wanting scarce 12 Years of 1400, notwithstanding; which might, probably, have been altered by the Person who was ambitious of having so excellent a Discourse pass for his own, if possible.

“ The antique Style and Spelling, notwithstanding your Editor's then-modern Corrections; the Date of but one Year from *Wickliffe's* Death, who, tho' he had some Followers, had but few Equals; the Clearness of Thought; the regular Disposition of suitable Ideas; the Vivacity of Wit; the Firmness of Judgement; the general String of Learning, much above that miserable Age; the sound Divinity; the simple and honest Piety; the noble Boldness; the virtuous Spirit of Reformation; the Unworldliness of Mind; the Evangelical Attachment to Sacred Scripture; the no Regard for juggling Traditions; the never requiring implicit Credulity, without rational *Bases*; lastly, the common Enmity of most Priesthood to these amiable Qualifications, &c. do all of them concur, in almost demonstrating *John Wickliffe* to be the sole probable Author of so admirable a Sermon; nor is it, from such evident Marks, much doubted by,

Your humble Servant, &c.

P. S. If my old Sermon be to your Liking, or Purpose, it shall be at your Service, as also any other Thing I may find among my Papers; and I fancy I have some which you will meet with no where else, any of which I shall freely communicate; as not deeming a Curiosity of this Kind the more valuable for its being only in my Possession: And as your Undertaking may be of general Utility, I doubt not your meeting with others so disposed.

By Way of Earnest, I send you the inclosed Translation of a notable *Piece*, which, in my Judgement, may be a very proper Sequel to your *Sermon*. The *Worth* of the *Matter*, the *Surprisingness* of the *Form*; and the *Series* of the *Time*, all invite me to think it will not be unacceptable. You will find it to be a certain *Congratulatory Epistle* handed about, and by a bold *Prosopopœia* directed, from *Lucifer* himself, to his *Trusty* and *Well-beloved* the *Prelates* and other Dignified *Clergy* of those very Times. For tho' the Original bears no Date, yet the reverend and laborious Mr. *Fox* (who published it *verbatim* from the Registry of *Hereford Cathedral*) concludes it to have been written in or about the Reign of K. *Richard* the Second.

LUCIFER'S *Congratulatory* and *Exhortatory* EPISTLE.

WE LUCIFER, Prince of Darkness and profound Horror, Emperor of the high Mysteries of *Acheron*, Captain of the Dungeon *Erebus*, King of Hell, and Lord Comptroller of the Infernal Fire, &c. &c. &c. To all our beloved Sons of *Pride*, Associates of our Council, and more especially to our dear Allies, the *Princes* of the *Church* of this later Age (of which our Adversary *Jesus Christ* sayeth to his Prophet; *I hate the Congregation of the Wicked*) much Greeting; wishing Prosperity to all who obey our Commandments, who observe the Law of our *Satanian* Highness, already *Enacted*, and who are industrious to put in Execution our Precepts and Decrees.

Know ye, that, in Times past, certain *Vicars* of *Christ*, following his Steps in Miracles and Vertues, living in Humility and a poor Life, converted, in a manner, the

the whole World, from the Yoke of *our* Dominion, unto their own Doctrine and Way of Conversation, to the great Contempt of *our* Royal Person and whole Domain, and no small Prejudice of *our* Jurisdiction and Authority; they nothing dreading to bid Defiance to *our* Powers, and to trample on the Majesty of *our* Sovereignty: For, then, scarce did *we* receive any *Tribute* from the *Upper* World, neither did its wretched Inhabitants (of the meaner Classes especially) salute the Gates of *our* Dungeon with incessant Rappings, as they were wont to do in Times preceding. In those Days, alas! the broad, pleasant, easy Road, that leads *hither*, lay waste and unfrequented, almost wholly deprived of the sonorous Trappings of criminal Souls, hastning to Death: Inasmuch that *our* Courts being quite destitute of Suitors, all the Infernal Regions began to resound with Yellings; Anguish and Tribulation reigning throughout, on account of *our* being so spoiled and depopulated.

All which considered, we could not, without great Diminution to *our* Glory, any longer suffer it. The impatient Rage of *our* Spleen was moved, nor would *our* Captain-General, by a shameful Negligence, endure it longer; and therefore, seeking for a Remedy to prevent such Exclusions and Inconveniencies for the future, *we* provided *ourselves* of a most opportune *Expedient*: For instead of those *Apostles*, with others their Adherents who conduct themselves by the same Line and Level, as well in Manners as Doctrine, and are to *us* detestable Enemies, *we* have appointed *you* to be their *Successors*, and preferred, in their stead, *you*, who are the Pastors of the present *Church*, whom, by our Power and signal Judgment, *we* have advanced, and of whom *Christ* hath said; *They have reigned, but not by me.*

To *him* was once promised, *all the Kingdoms of the World, if he would fall down and worship us.* But *he* would not; saying; *My Kingdom is not of this World;* and when the Multitude would have made *him* a *Temporal* Monarch, *he* absolutely refused, and went his Way. But to you indeed, who are swerved from those Paths of *Meekness*, and who serve *us* on the Earth, it is that *our* said Promise is truly fulfilled, and by the Means *we* on you have bestowed, all terrene Things are subjected, and at your Devotion. Of *us* you know *he* hath said; the *Prince* of this *World* cometh, &c. and *he* hath caused *us* to *reign over all the Children of Unbelief.*

Our said Adversaries did, therefore, patiently submit themselves to the Princes of the Earth, and did teach Mankind so to do; saying; *Be ye Subject to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lord's Sake.* And again; *Obe ye them who are made Rulers over you.* For so their Masters commanded them; saying; *The Kings of the Heathens have Dominion over them, &c.*

But *we*, on the contrary, deem it long till *we* have poured forth *our* Poison upon the Earth: And, therefore, fill your selves full with the Enjoyments thereof; and be ye not only unlike those Primitive Doctors, but even directly contrary to them in your Lives and Conditions. Neither give ye to *God* what to *him* belongeth, nor to *Cesar* that which is his: But, conformably to *our* Decrees, exercise ye the Power of *both* the *Swords*, making yourselves *Actors* in worldly Matters, fighting in *our* Quarrels, occupying your selves in *Secular Labours*, and *Employs*, and by Degrees climb ye, from the most abject State of *Poverty*, unto the most exalted Stations of all *Honours*, the most *Princely* Seats of *Dignity*, thro' your well-devised Wiles, your fallacious and subtil Devices; that is to say, by *Hypocrisy*, *Flattery*, *Prevarication*, *Lying*, *Perjury*, *Treason*, *Deceit*, *Simony*, and other still greater Wickedness, exceeding what any of *our* Infernal Fiends are capable of devising.

When *we* shall have exalted you where ye would have been, such Advancement will not suffice; but, like famished greedy Starvelings, more ravenous than before, ye shall crush the Poor, rake and scrape up all that comes to Hand, inverting, reverting and perverting all Things; so swelled and puffed up that, ready to burst with Pride, pass your Lives, like Leathers, in the Excess of Luxury, direct all your Doings
fraudu-

fraudulently, challenge to your selves Titles of high Honour on Earth, and assume the Appellation of *Holy*, yea *Most Holy* Fathers.

Thus gratify our *Revenge* and your own *Ambition*, either by Violence or Subtily; wrongfully wresting away, or artfully possessing your selves of, and by unjust Titles holding and maintaining, those *Goods* which, for Sustenance of the indigent Flock of *Christ* (whom from our original *Fall* we have hated) are given and bestowed, lavishing and consuming the same as ye your selves list, cherishing and maintaining therewith *Myriads* of Bawds, Harlots and Catamites, with whom ride ye about pompously, like unto mighty Potentates, not in any guise after the beggarly manner as did those poor miserable *Presbyters* of the Primitive Church.

It is *our* Desire, that ye build unto your selves sumptuous and stately Palaces; that ye fare like Princes, eating the most dainty Viands, and drinking the choicest Wines that are to be procured; that ye heap together and hoard up infinite Treasures; nothing like unto *him* who said; *Gold and Silver have I none*. For why should not those who serve and fight for *us*, have Wages accordingly?

O most Favourite Fortress! O thou mighty Bulwark! Thou wert promised *us* by the Prophet, and long since reproved by those primitive Fathers. That same *Christ* called thee the *Synagogue of Satan*, and likened thee to the tremendous *Whore which committed Fornication with the Kings of the Earth*, the *adulterous Sponse of Christ*, and of a *chast* Person made a *Strumpet*. Thy First *Lover* thou hast relinquished; and to *us* hast thou cleaved; O our Beatified *Babylon*!

And ye, *our* Citizens, from the Transmigration of *Jerusalem*; we love you for your Merits. We rejoice over you, who condemn the Laws of *Simon Peter*, and embrace the Practises of *Simon Magus*, our good Friend. Ye have them at your Fingers Ends, and thereof make ye publick Exercise; buying and selling *Spiritualities* in *God's* Church, in Opposition to *God's* Commandment. Ye bestow Benefices and Ecclesiastical Honours by Petition, or else for Money, for Favour, or in Recompence for some *filthy* Service; refusing to admit into Church Dignities those worthy thereof, preferring such as are far from being so. Into the Inheritance of *God's* Sanctuary ye call Panders, Lyars, Flatterers, your Nephews, nay your own spurious Offspring. To a Childish Boy ye give many Prebendships, the least whereof ye deny to bestow on a vertuous poor Man. Ye esteem the *Figure*, the *Person* of a Man, and ye receive Gifts. Ye regard *Money*; and have no Regard of *Souls*. Ye have made the *House of God* a *Den of Thieves*. All Abuse, all Extortion is exercised more, a hundredfold, in your *Judgment-Seats* than in the Courts of any *Secular* Tyrant whatever. Ye make *Laws* and keep not the same; and ye *dispense* with your *Dispensations* just as ye list. Ye justify the wicked for Rewards; and from the just Man ye take away his Desert.

In short; ye perpetrate all Mischief, even as it is *our* Pleasure ye should; and, for Lucre's Sake, ye take very great Pains in *our* Service, more particularly to destroy *Christianity*: For the *Lay-People* are almost in Doubt *what* they may believe; because if ye some-times happen to *preach* to them (tho' that is but *seldom*, and then negligently enough, even just as *we* would have it) yet they believe you not; since they manifestly see that ye *act* quite contrary to what ye *say*: Whereupon the Commonality doing as do ye (who have the Government of them and ought to be to them an Example of well-doing) many of them, following the Rules ye set them, run headlong into a whole Ocean of Vices; and so Multitudes of them are incessantly flocking to the well-fenced Gates of our Dungeon: And, doubtless, ye send *us* so many, Day by Day, of every Sort and Condition of People, that *we* should not be able to entertain them, but that *our* insatiable *Chaos*, with her thousand ravening Jaws, is sufficient to devour an Infinity of Souls. And thus the Sovereignty of *our* Empire hath by you been propped up, and *our* intolerable Loss restored.

Wherefore

Wherefore *we* most especially commend you, and give you most hearty Thanks ; exhorting you all, that in any wise ye persevere and continue, as hitherto ye have done, and that ye slack not henceforth your Enterprize. For why ? By your Assistance, *we* purpose once again to bring the whole World under *our* Power and Dominion. *We*, moreover, commit unto you no small Authority, to supply *our* Places in the *betraying* of your *Brethren*; and *we* make and ordain you *our* Vicars, and the Ministers of *our* Son *Antichrist*, for whom *we* have cut out a very plain and expeditious Passage. Farthermore *we* counsel those of you, who are possessed of the highest Posts and Stations, that ye work with Art and Subtilty, and that ye outwardly and feignedly seem to procure Peace between and among the Princes of the Earth, but that in Reality ye procure, cherish and foment secret Causes of Discord : And like as craftily ye have subverted and destroyed the *Roman* Empire, so suffer ye not any Kingdom or State to be over-much enlarged or enriched by Tranquillity, or Peace ; lest perhaps in such Times of Quiet (setting aside *our* own Detestation of all Peace) they dispose themselves to consider and inspect your enormous Wickedness, and therefore suppress your Estate on every Side, rifling your Treasuries of the Wealth which *we* caused you to accumulate, depositing the same in your Hands, till the coming of *our* well-beloved Son *Antichrist*.

We desire you likewise, to remember us very kindly to our dear and much-beloved Daughters *Pride*, *Deceit*, *Malice*, *Avarice*, *Gulstony* and *Leachery*, as also to all *our* other Daughters and Relatives, not forgetting in particular Lady *Simony*, to whom ye are so much indebted for your Fortunes : It is she who hath enriched you and hath suckled you with her own Breasts ; and therefore take Care that in no wise ye offer to call her *Sin*. Omit not carrying your selves loftily ; since the exalted Dignity of your Estate requires Pomp, Splendor and Magnificence. Be ye also rapaciously covetous ; since whatsoever ye scrape together into your Clutches, it is for St. *Peter*, for the Good of Mother *Church*, and for the Defense of your *Patrimony* and the *Holy Cross* ; and therefore ye may legally do it. Your *Cardinals* may sit in the highest Seats of Dignities, even *above* Sovereign Princes, without the least Lett or Impediment ; ye stopping the Mouth of *Christ*, our Adversary, by retorting to him, that he promoted his Kindred, who were of mean and base Degree, to the *Apostleship*.

But as for you, do ye not so ; but rather call, as ye do, those who live in Arrogancy, in Haughtiness of Mind and in filthy Leachery, unto the State of Pride and Opulency, distributing among your Favourites those Promotions and Rewards which by *Christ's* Followers were forsaken.

As, therefore, ye have and shall have better Understandings, cloak ye *Vices* under the Similitude of *Vertues*. Alledge in your own Behalf the *Glosses* of the *Scripture*, and wrest them directly to serve your own Purposes : And if any one dares presume to teach or preach otherwise than just as ye will, *oppress* ye him *violently* with the Sentence of *Excommunication*, and by your *Censures*, heaped one upon another, with the Consent of your Brethren, let him be *condemned* as a *Heretic*, let him be shut up in *Strait* Prison, and there *tortured* unto *Death*, for a terrible Example to all such as *confess* CHRIST : And, setting all Compassion apart, cast him out of your Temple, lest, peradventure, the *ingrafted Word* may *save* your *Souls*, which *Word* is, by *us*, held in Abhorrence, as are the *Souls* of all who are of that *Faith*.

Finally ; use your utmost Endeavours truly to merit the Station which *we* have allotted and prepared for you, under the most tremendous Foundation of *our* direful Abode. Fare ye well, with such *Felicity* as *we* desire, and wherewith *we* design at length to *reward* and *recompence* you.

GIVEN in the Center of the *Earth*, within *our* obscure *Conclave*, the *Bands* of *Demons* all present, for this same Purpose summoned to that *our* Horror-striking *Consistory*: And for Confirmation of the Premises, under the Character and Impression of our *Infernal Signet*.

Thus breathed the Spirit of *Reformation* in those early Days, bodily set in Motion by that Ornament of our Country, *John Wickliffe*. Nor, as hinted above, was the Spirit of *Persecution* then asleep; whereof, in the Chronicles of those Reigns, and elsewhere, we have many Tragical Instances. But till the Time of *K. Henry IV.* none of the People called *Lollards* (who were no other than the Followers of *Wickliffe*) were committed to the Flames for *Heresy*; but many were grievously harassed by the fiery Zealots. As in the *Appeal*, of *W. Swinderby*, a Priest, to *K. Richard II.* and the Parliament, against the Bishop of *Hereford's* Sentence, there are certain Expressions which bear some Analogy with the foregoing, it may not be amiss to fill up this *Vacuum* with a few Extracts therefrom. *viz.*

The Bishop sate in Doom in mine Absence, and deemed me a *Heretike*, a *Schismaticke* and a Teacher of Errour, and hath denounced me accursed, &c. *Again.* It was a false Doom: For no Man is a *Heretike*, but he that *maisterfully* defendeth his *Errour* or *Heresie*, and stillie maintaineth it: And mine Answer hath alwaye been conditionall, as the People knows openlie; for ever I say, and yet say, and alway wil, that if thei kannen shew me, by *Goddess Lawe*, that I have erret, I wil gladlie bene amended, and revoke mine Errours, &c. *Again.* As *Christes* Lawe biddeth us love *our Enemies*; the *Pope's* Lawe giveth us leave to *bate* them, and to *sley* them, &c. *Christes* Lawe teaches us to be *mercifull*; the *Bishop's* Lawe teaches us to be *wretchfull*. *Christes* Lawe teaches us to *blesse* hem that *diseazen* us, and to *pray* for hem; the *Pope's* Lawe teacheth us to *curse* hem; and in their great *Sentence* that thei usen, thei presume to *dam* hem to Hell that thei *curse*. *Christes* Lawe bids us be *patient*; the *Pope's* Lawe justifieth *two Swerdes*, wherewith he smiteth the Shepe of the Chirche. *Christes* Lawe forbiddeth us *Lechery*; the *Pope's* Lawe justifieth the abominable *Whoredoms* of *comen Wymen*, and many Bishops have great Rent and Tribute from *Whoredoms*. *Christes* Lawe bid us to minister *Spirituall* Things frelie to the People; the *Pope*, with his Lawe, selleth for Money, after the Quantitie of the Guist, all *Pardons*, *Orders*, *Blessings*, *Sacraments*, *Prayers*, *Benefices*, and Preaching to the People, as is knowen, &c. *Christe* teacheth *Peace*; the *Pope* assoileth Men for Money to gader People to *fighs* for his Cause. *Christe* teaches his *Preestes* to be *Pore*; the *Pope* justifieth and maintaineth *Preestes* to be *Lords*, &c.

Again, The *Pope's* Lawe, that the *Bishops* demen Men by, is the same unrightfull Lawe that *Christ* was *demet* by of the *Scribes* and of the *Pharisees*: For right as at that Time thei gaven more Credens to the two *fals Witnesses* that witnesset againes *Christ*, than thei deden to all the People that witnesseden to his tru Preaching and his Miracles; so the *Bishops* of the *Pope's* Lawe gaven more Leven, by their Lawe, to two *Heretikes* and *Apostates*, or two *comen Wymen* that woulden witnesseden againes a Man, in the Cause of *Heresie*, than to thousands of People that were tru and good. And because the *Pope* is *Antichrist*, and his Lawe contrarie to *Christes* Lawe, fullie I forsaken this Lawe; and so I reed all *Christen* Men; for thus by another Point of this Lawe, thei mighten conquer much of this world: For when thei can, thei present a Man a *Heretike*, his Goodes shoulden bene forfett from him and his Heires; and so mighten thei lightlie have two or thre fals Witnesses to record *Heresie* againes what tru Man so hem liked. Herefore, methinkes, that as I am a *Christen* Man, I may lawfullie *appeal* from a fals Doom, to be righteously *demet* by the Trough of *Goddess* Lawe, &c. &c.

T H F.

THE WONDERFULL YEARE. 1603.

Wherein is shewed the picture of *London*, lying sicke of the
Plague.

*At the ende of all (like a merry Epilogue to a dull Play) certaine Tales
are cut out in sundry fashions, of purpose to shorten the lues of long winter
nights, that lye watching in the darke for vs.*

Et me rigidi legant Catones.

L O N D O N :

Printed by THOMAS CREEDE; and are to be solde in Saint Dunstons
Church-yarde in *Fleet-streete*, 1603.

[This *Piece* (allowing for the Punning Wit of the Time it was wrote in)
is a very odd, tho' not disagreeable Mixture of the Ludicrous and the
Lugubrious.]

To his well respected good Friend, M. *Cuthbert Thuresby*, Water-
Bayliffe of *London*.

BOOKES are but poore gifts, yet Kings receive them; upon which, I presume,
you will not turne this out of doores: Yet cannot for shame but bid it welcome;
because it brings to you a great quantitie of my loue; which, if it be worth
little (and no marvell if Love be solde vnder-foote, when the God of Loue himselfe
goes naked) yet I hope you will not say you haue a hard bargaine, since you may
take as much of it as you please for nothing. I haue clapt the Cognizance of your
name on these scribled papers; it is their livery: So that now they are yours; being
free from any vile imputation, save only, that they thrust themselves into your acquaint-
tance. But general errors haue generall pardons: for the tittle of other mens names,
is the common Heraldry which all those laie claime to, whose crest is a Pen and
Inkborne. If you read, you may happlie laugh; 'tis my desire you should; because mirth
is both Phisicall, and wholesome against the Plague: with which sicknes (to tell truth)
this booke is, (though not sorely) yet somewhat infected. I pray, drine is not out of
your companie for all that; for (assure your soule) I am so jealous of your health, that
if you did but once imagine there were gall in mine Incke, I would cast away the
Standish, and forswear meddling with anie more Muses.

E 2

T.

To the READER.

AND why to the *Reader*? Oh good Sir! there's as sound law to make you giue good words to the *Reader*, as to a *Constable* when he carries his watch about him to tell how the night goes; tho (perhaps) the one (ostentimes) may be serued in for a *Goose*, and the other very fitly furnish the same messè: yet to maintaine the scuruy fashion, and to keepe *Customs* in reparations, he must be honnyed, and come-ouer with *Gentle Reader*, *Courteous Reader*, and *Learned Reader*, though he haue no more *Gentilitie* in him than *Adam* had (that was but a gardner) no more *Ciuilitie* than a *Tartar*, and no more *Learning* than the most errand *Stinkard*, that (except his owne name) could neuer finde any thing in the *Horne-booke*.

How notoriously therefore do good *Wits* dishonor, not only their *Calling*, but euen their *Creation*, that worship *Glowwormes* (in stead of the *Sun*) because of a little false glistering? In the name of *Phœbus*, what madnesse leades them vnto it? For he that dares hazard a *pressing to death* (thats to say, *To be a man in Print*) must make account that he shall stand (like the olde weathercock ouer *Powles* steeple) to be beaten with all stormes. Neither the stinking tobacco-breath of a *Sattingull*, the aconited sting of a narrow-eyde *Critick*, the faces of a phantastick Stage-monkey, nor the *Indeade-la* of a *Puritanical* Citizen, must once shake him. No, but desperately resolute (like a *French* Post) to ride through thick and thin: indure to see his lines torne pittifully on the rack: suffer his *Muse* to take the *Bastone*, yea the very stab, and himselfe like a new stake to be a marke for euery *Hagler*, and therefore (setting up all these rests) why shuld he regard what fooles bolt is shot at him? Besides, if that which he presents vpon the stage of the world be *Good*, why should he basely cry out (with that old poetick mad-cap in his *Amphitruo*) *Iouis summi causa clare plaudite*; beg a *Plaudite* for God-sake! If *Bad*, who (but an *Ass*) would intreate (as *Players* do, in a cogging *Epilogue*, at the end of a filthie *Comedy*) that, be it neuer such wicked stufte, they would forbear to hisse, or to dam it perpetually to lye on a *Stationers-stall*. For he that can so cosen himselfe, as to pocket vp praise in that silly sort, makes his braines fat with his owne folly..

But *Hinc Pudor*! or rather *Hinc Dolor*: heeres the *Diuell*! It is not the ratling of all this former haile-shot, that can terrifie our *Band* of *Castalian* Pen-men from entring into the field: no, no, the murdring Artillery indeede lyes in the roaring mouthes of a company that looke big, as if they were the sole and sigular *Commanders* ouer the maine Army of *Poesy*; yet (if *Hermes* muster-booke were searcht ouer) theile be found to be most pitifull pure fresh-water souldiers. They give out that they are heires-apparent to *Helicon*, but an easy *Herald* may make them mere yonger brothers, or (to say troth) not so much. Beare witnes, all you whose wits make you able to be witnesses in this cause, that here I meddle not with your good Poets; *Nam tales, nusquam sunt hic amplius*: if you should rake hell, or (as *Aristophanes* in his *Frog* sayes) in any celler deeper than hell, it is hard to finde Spirits of that *Fashion*. But those Goblins whom I now am conjuring vp, haue bladder-cheekes puffed out like a *Swizzers* breeches (yet being prickt, there comes out nothing but wind) thin-headed fellows that liue vpon the scraps of inuention, and trauell with such vagrant soules, and so like Ghosts, in white sheets of paper, that the Statute of Rogues may worthily be sued vpon them, because their wits haue no abiding place, and yet wander without a passe-port. Alas, poore wenches (the nine *Muses*!) how much are you wronged, to haue such a number of Bastards lying vpon your hands? But turne them out a begging;
or

or if you cannot get rid of their rhiming Company (as I thinke it will be very hard) then lay your heauie and immortall curse vpon them, that whatfoeuer they weaue (in the motley loome of their rustie pates) may, like a beggers cloake, be full of stolne patches, and yet never a patch like one another, that it may be such true lamentable stufte, that any honest *Christian* may be sory to see it. Banish these *Word-Pirates*, (you sacred Mistresses of learning) into the gulfe of *Barbarisme*: doome them euerlastingly to liue among dunces: let them not once lick their lips at the *Theſpian* bowle, but onely be glad (and thanke *Apollo* for it too) if hereafter (as hitherto they haue alwayes) they may quench their poetical thirst with small beere. Or if they will needes be stealing your *Heliconian Nectar*, let them (like the dogs of *Nylus*) onely lap and away. For this *Goatish* swarme are those that (wherefor these many thousand yeares you went for pure maides) haue taken away your good names: these are they that deflowre your beauties: these are those ranck-riders of Art, that haue so spur-gal'd your lustie wing'd *Pegasus*, that now he begins to be out of flesh, and (euen only for prouander-fake) is glad to shew tricks like *Bancks* his Curtall. O you Bookfellers (that are Factors to the Liberall Sciences) ouer whose Stalles the Drones do dayly flye humming; let *Homer*, *Hesiod*, *Euripides*, and some other mad *Greekes*, with a band of the *Latines*, lye like musket-shot in their way, when these *Gothes* and *Geses* set vpon you in your paper fortifications: it is the only Canon, vpon whose mouth they dare not venture; none but the *English* will take their parts; therefore feare them not, for such a strong breath haue these chese-eaters, that if they do but blow vpon a booke they imagine straight 'tis blasted: *Quod supra nos, nihil ad nos*, they say; that which is aboue our capacitie shall not passe vnder our commendation. Yet would I haue these *Zoilists* (of all other) to reade me, if euer I should write any thing worthily: for the blame that knowne fooles heape vpon a deseruing labour does not discredit the same, but makes wise men more perfectly in loue with it. Into such a ones hands, therefore, if I fortune to fall, I will not shrinke an inch; but euen when his teeth are sharpest, and most ready to bite, I will stop his mouth only with this: *Hec mala, sed tu, non meliora facis*.

READER.

Whereas there stands in the Rere-warde of this Booke a certaine mingled Troope of strange Discourses, fashioned into Tales, know, that the Intelligence which first brought them to light, was onely flying Report; whose tongue (as it often does) if in spreading them it haue tript in any materiall point, and either slips too farre, or false too short, beare with the error: and the rather, because it is not wilfully committed. Neither let any one (whom those Reports shall seme to touch) canill, or complaine of injury, sithence nothing is set downe by a malicious hand. Farewell.

The Wonderfull YEARE. 1603.

V*ertumnus*, being attired in his accustomed habit of changeable filke, had newly passed through the first and principall court-gate of heauen; to whom for a farewell, and to shewe how dutifull he was in his office, *Ianus* (that beares two faces under one hood) made a very mannerly lowe legge, and (because he was the onely porter at that gate) presented, vnto this king of the moneth, all the new-yeares gifts, which

*Vertumnus,
God of the
yeare.*

*Description
of the Spring.*

which were more in number, and more worth then those that are given to the great *Turk*, or the Emperor of *Persia*: on went *Vertumnus* in his lustie progresse, *Priapus*, *Flora*, the *Dryades*, the *Hamadryades*, with all the wooden rabble of those that drest orchards and gardens, perfuming all the wayes that he went, with the sweete odours that breathed from flowers, hearbes and trees, which now began to peep out of prison; by vertue of which excellent aires, the skie got a most cleare complexion, lookt smug and smooth, and had not so much as a wart sticking on her face: the sunne likewise was freshly and very richly apparelled in cloth of gold, like a bridegroome, and instead of gilded

*Upon the 23
of March the
Spring begins,
by reason of
the sunnes en-
trance into A-
ries.*

rolemary, the hornes of the *Ramme* (being the signe of that celestial bride-house, where he lay, to be married to the spring) were not like your common hornes parcel gilt, but double double-gilt, with the liquid gold that melted from his beames, for joy whereof the lark sung at his window every morning, the nightingale every night; the cuckoo (like a single sole fidler, that reels from taverne to taverne) plide it all the day long: Lambes fiskt up and downe in the vallyes; kids and goates leapt to and fro on the mountains: shepheards sat piping, country-wenches singing: lovers made sonnets for their lasses, whilest they made garlands for their lovers; and as the

country was frolike, so was the citie mery: olive-trees (which grow no where but in the garden of peace) stood (as common as beech does at midfomer) at every mansdoor; branches of palm were in every mans hand; streetes were full of people, people full of joy; every house seemde to have a lorde of misrule in it, in every house there was so much jollity: no scritch-owle frighted the silly countryman at midnight, nor any drum the citizen at noon-day, but all was more calme than a still water, all husht, as if the spheres had bene playing in consort: In conclusion, heaven lookt like a pallace, and the great hall of the earth like a paradise.

But oh the short liv'de felicitie of man! O world of what slight and thin stuffe is thy happinesse! Just in the midst of this jocund holy-day, a storme rises in the west:

*The Queenes
sicknes and
death.*

westward (from the toppe of a *Rich-mount*) descended a hidious tempest, that shooke cedars, terrified the tallest pines, and cleft in sunder even the hardest hearts of oake: and if such great trees were shaken, what think you became of the tender eglantine, and humble hawthorne; they could not (doubtlesse) but droope; they could not choose but die with the terror. The element (taking the destinies part, who indeed set abroach this mischiefe) scowled on the earth, and filling her forehead full of blacke wrinckles, tumbling long up and downe, (like a great bellyed wife) her sighes being whirlewindes, and her groanes thunder; at length she fell in labour, and was delivered of a pale, meagry, weake child named *Sickness*, whom *Death* (with a pestilence) would needes take upon him to nurse, and did so. This starveling being come to full growth, had an office given him for nothing (and thats a wonder in this age.) *Death* made him his herauld; attirde him like a courtier, and (in his name) chargde him to goe into the privie-chamber of the *English* Queene, to sommon her to appeare in the Star-chamber of heaven.

The sommons made her start; but (having an invincible spirit) did not amaze her: yet whom would not the certain newes of parting from a kingdome amaze! But she knew where to finde a richer, and therefore lightlie regarded the losse of this; and thereupon made ready for that heavenly coronation, being (which was most strange) most dutiful to obay, that had so many yeares so powrefully commaunded. She obeyed *Death's* messenger, and yeilded her body to the hands of *Death* himself. She dyed, resigning her scepter to posteritie, and her soule to immortalitie.

To report of her death (like a thunder-clap) was able to kill thousands; it tooke away hearts from millions: for having brought up (even under her wing) a nation that was almost begotten and borne under her; that never shouted any other *Aue* than for her name; never sawe the face of any prince but herself; never understoode what that strange out-landish word *Change* signified; how was it possible, but that her sicknes should

should throw abroad an universall feare, and her death an astonishment? She was the courtiers treasure, therefore he had cause to mourne; the lawyers sword of justice, he might well faint; the merchants patronesse, he had reason to looke pale; the citizen mother, he might best lament; the shepheards goddesse, and should not he droope? Onely the souldier, who had walkt a long time upon wodden legs, and was not able to give armes, though he were a gentleman, had brisseld up the quills of his stiffe porcupine mustachio, and swore by *No Beggars*, that now was the houre come for him to bestire his stumps. Usurers and brokers (that are the divels ingles, and dwell in the long-lane of hell) quakt like aspen leaves at his oathes: those that before were the onely cut-throates in *London*, now stoode in feare of no other death: but my *Signior Soldado* was deceived; the tragedie went not forward.

*The generall
terror that
her death
bred.*

Never did the *English* Nation behold so much Black worne as there was at her Funeral: It was then but put on, to try if it were fit; for the great day of mourning was set downe (in the booke of heaven) to be held afterwards: that was but the dumb shew, the tragical act hath bene playing ever since. Her Herse (as it was borne) seemed to be an Iland swimming in water; for round about it there rayned showers of teares: about her death-bed none; for her departure was so sudden and so strange, that men knew not how to weepe, because they had never bin taught to shed tears of that making. They that durst not speak their sorrowes, whisper'd them: they that durst not whisper, sent them forth in sighes. Oh what an earth-quake is the alteration of a state! Looke from the chamber of presence, to the farmers cottage, and you shall finde nothing but distraction; the whole kingdome seemes a wilderness, and the people in it are transformed to wild men. The map of a country so pittifullie distracted by the horror of a change, if you desire perfectlie to behold, cast your eyes then on this that followes, which being heretofore in private presented to the King, I think may very worthily shew it self before you. And because you shall see them attirde in the same fashion that they were before his Majesty, let these few lines (which stood then as *Prologue* to the rest) enter first into your eares.

NOT for applauses, shallow fooles adventure;
I plunge my verse into a sea of censure,
But, with a liver drest in gall, to see
So many rookes, catch-polls of poesie,
That feede upon the fallings of hye wit,
And put on cast inventions, most unfit.
For such am I prest forth in shops and stalls,
Pasted in *Powles*, and on the Lawyers walls,
For every basilisk-eyde criticks bait,
To kill my verse, or poison my conceit:
Or some smoakt gallant, who at wit repines
To dry tobacco with my hole some lines,
And in one paper sacrifice more braine,
Than all his ignorant scull could ere contain:
But merit dreads no martyrdom, nor stroke:
My lines shall live, when he shall be all smoke.

Thus farre the *Prologue*, who leaving the stage cleere, the feares that are bred in the wombe of this altring kingdome do next stepup, by *acting* thus

THE

THE great impostume of the realme was drawne
 Even to a head: the multitudinous spawne
 Was the corruption, which did make it swell
 With hop'd sedition the burnt seed of hell.
 Who did expect but ruine, blood and death,
 To share our kingdome, and divide our breath,
 Religiovs without religion,
 To let each other blood, confusion
 To be next *Queene of England*, and this yeere
 The civill warres of *France* to be plaid heere
 By *Englisbmen*, ruffians, and pandering slaues,
 That faine would dig vp gowtie vsurers graves:
 At such a time, villains their hopes do honey,
 And rich men looke as pale as their white money:
 Now they remoue, and make their siluer sweate,
 Casting themselues into a couetous heate;
 And then (vnseen) in the confederate darke,
 Bury their gold, without Priest, or Clarke,
 And say no prayers ouer that dead pelfe,
 True; gold's no *Christian*, but an *Indian* else.
 Did not the very kingdome seeme to shake
 Her precious massie limbes? did she not make
 All *Englisb* cities (like her pulses) beate
 With people in their veines? the feare so great,
 That had it not bene phisickt with rare peace,
 Out populous power had lessen'd her increase.
 The Spring-time that was dry, had sprung in blood,
 A greater dearth of men, than e're of foode:
 In such a panting time, and gasping yeare,
 Victuals are cheapest, only men are deare.
 Now each wise-acred Landlord did dispaire,
 Fearing some villaine should become his heire;
 Or that his sonne and heir, before his time,
 Should now turne villaine, and with violence clime
 Vp to his life, saying; — Father you haue seen;
 King *Henry*, *Edward*, *Mary* and the *Queene*;
 I wonder you'le liue longer! then he tells him
 Hee's loth to see him kill'd, therefore he kills him.
 And each vast Landlord dyes lyke a poore slaue,
 Their thousand acres makes them but a graue.
 At such a time great men conuey their treasure
 Into the trusty Citie; wayts the leisure
 Of bloud and insurrection, which warre clips,
 When euery gate shutts vp her iron lips.
 Imagine now a mighty man of dust,
 Standeth in doubt, what seruant he may trust,
 With plate worth thousands, jewels worth farre more;
 If he proue false, then his rich lord proues poor:
 He calls forth one by one, to note their graces,
 Whilst they make legs he copies out their faces,

Examines

Examines their eye-browe, conſiders their beard,
 Singles their noſe out, ſtill he reſts aſeard :
 The firſt that comes by no means heele allow ;
 Has ſpyed three *bares* ſtarting betweene his brow,
 Quite turnes the word, names it *Celeritie*,
 For *bares* do run away, and ſo may hee.
 A ſecond ſhewn ; him he will ſcarce behold ;
 His beard's too red, the colour of his gold :
 A third may pleaſe him, but tis hard to ſay,
 A rich man's pleaſde, when his goods part away.
 And now do cherrup by fine golden neſts
 Of well hatcht bowles ; ſuch as do breed in feaſts :
 For warre and death cupboords of plate down pulls,
 Then *Bacchus* drinks not in gilt-bowles, but ſculls.
 Let me deſcend and ſtoope my verſe a while,
 To make the comicke cheeke of Poefie ſmile ;
 Ranck peny-fathers ſeud (with their halfe hammes,
 Shadowing their calues) to ſaue their ſiluer dammes ;
 At euery gun they ſtart, tilt from the ground,
 One drum can make a thouſand uſurers ſwound.
 In vnſought allies and vnhoſome places,
 Back-wayes and by-lanes, where appeare ſewe faces,
 In ſhamble-smelling roomes, loathſome proſpects,
 And penny-lattice-windowes, which rejeſts
 All popularitie ; there the rich cubs lurke,
 When in great houſes ruſſians are at work,
 Not dreaming that ſuch glorious booties lye
 Vnder thoſe naſty rooſes : ſuch they paſſe by
 Without a ſearch ; crying, there's nought for vs :
 And wealthie men deceiue poore villaines thus.
 Tongue-travelling Lawyers faint at ſuch a day,
 Lye ſpeechleſſe, for they have no words to ſay.
 Phiſitions turne to patients, their arts dry,
 For then our fat men without phiſick die.
 And to conclude, againſt all art and good,
 Warre taints the Doctör, lets the Surgeon blood.

Such was the faſhion of this land, when the great Land-Lady thereof let it: Shee came in with the fall of the leaſe, and went away in the ſpring: her life (which was dedicated to *Virginie*) both beginning and cloſing up a miraculous mayden circle, for ſhe was borne vpon a *Lady-Eve*, and died vpon a *Lady-Eve*; her nativitie and death being memorable by this wonder, the firſt and laſt yeares of her raigne by this, that a *Lee* was Lord-Maior when ſhe came to the crowne, and a *Lee* Lord-Maior when ſhe departed from it. Three places are made famous by her, for three things ; *Greenewich* for her birth, *Richmount* for her death, *White-ball* for her funeral: upon her removing from whence, (to lend our tiring proſe a breathing time) ſtay, and looke upon theſe *Epigrams*, being compoſed,

I. *Vpon the Queene's laſt Remoue, being dead.*

THE Queene's remou'de in ſolemnne ſort,
 Yet this was ſtrange, and ſeldome ſeene ;
 The Queene vſde to remoue the Court,
 But now the Court remou'de the Queen.

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2. *Vpon*

2. Vpon her bringing by Water to White-Hall.

THE Queene was brought by water to *White-Hall*;
 At euery stroake, the oares teares let fall.
 More clung about the barge: fish vnder water
 Wept out their eyes of pearle, and swom blind after.
 I thinke the barge-men might with easier thyes
 Haue rowde her thither in her peoples eyes:
 For howsoe're, thus much my thoughts haue skan'd,
 She'd come by *Water*, had she come by *Land*.

3. Vpon her lying dead at White-Hall.

THE Queene lyes now at *White-Hall* dead,
 And now at *White-Hall* liuing.
 To make this rough objection euen;
 Dead at *White-Hall*, at *Westminster*,
 But liuing at *White-Hall*, in *Heaven*.

Thus you see that both in her life and her death she was appointed to be the mirror of her time. And surely, if since the first stone was layd for the foundation of this great house of the world, there was euer a yeare ordained to be wondred at, it is only this. The Sibil's *Octogesima Octauus Annus*, that same terrible 88, which 1603 *A more* came sayling hither in the *Spanish Armada*, and made mens hearts colder *wonderfull* then the frozen Zone, when they heard but an inckling of it: that 88, *yeare then* by whose horrible predictions, Almanack-makers stood in bodily feare their trade would be utterly ouerthrown, and poore *Erra Pater* was threatned 88. (because he was a *Jew*) to be put to baser offices, than the stopping of mustard-pots: that same 88, which had more prophecies waiting at his heeles, then euer *Merlin* the Magician had in his head, was a yeare of *Jubile* to this. The *Mirabilis Annus* of *Plato* (whether it be past alreadie, or to come within these foure yeares) may throwe *Plato's* cap at *Mirabilis*, for that title of *wonderfull* is bestowed vpon 1603. If that sacred, aromatically-perfumed fire of wit (out of whose flames *Phoenix* poesie doth arise) were burning in any brest, I would feede it with no other stufte, for a twelve month and a day, then with kindling papers full of lines, that should tell only of the chances, changes and strange shapes that this *Protean*, *Climatericall* yeare hath metamorphosed himself into. It is able to finde ten Chroniclers a competent living, and to set twentie Printers at worke. You shall perceiue I lie not, if (with *Peter Bales*) you will take the paines to drawe the whole volume of it into the compasse of a pennie. As first, to begin with the Queene's death, then the kingdomes falling into an ague upon that: next, folloves the curing of that seauer by the holesome receipt of a proclaymed King. That wonder begat more; for in an hour, two mightie nations were made one; wilde *Ireland* became tame on the sudden, and some *English* great ones, that before seemed tame, on the sudden turned wilde: the same Parke which great *Julius Caesar* inclosed, to hold in that decre whome they before hunted, being now circled (by a second *Caesar*) with stronger pales to keepe them from leaping ouer. And last of all (if that wonder be the last and shut up the yeare) a most dreadful Plague. This is the abstract; and yet (like *Stowes* chronicle of *Decimo sexto* to huge *Hollinshead*) these small pricks in this set-card of ours represent mightie Countries: whilst I have the quill in my hand, let me blow them bigger.

The

The Queene being honoured with a diadem of starres, *France, Spain and Belgia*, list up their heads, preparing to do as much for *England*, by giving ayme, whilst she shot arrowes at her own brest (as they imagined) as she had done (many a yeare together) for them: and her owne nation betted on their sides, looking with distracted countenance for no better guests than civil sedition, uprores, rapes, murders and massacres. But the wheele of fate turned; a letter lottery was drawne; *Pro Troja stabat Apollo*; **GOD** stuck valiantlie to us. For behold, up rises a comfortable *Sun* out of the *North*, whose glorious beames (like a fan) dispersed all thick and contagious cloudes. The losse of a Queene was paid with the double interest of a King and Queene. The cedar of her government, which stood alone and bare no fruit, is changed now to an olive, upon whose spreading branches grow both Kings and Queenes. Oh it were able to fill a hundred pair of writing tables with notes, but to see the parts plaid in the compasse of one houre on the stage of this new-found world! Upon *Thursday* it was treason to cry **GOD** save King *James*, King of *England*; and upon *Friday* high treason not to cry so. In the morning no voice heard but murmures and lamentation; *K. James* at noone nothing but shoutes of gladnes and triumph. *St. George* and *proclaimed*. *St. Andrew*, that many hundred yeares had defied one another, were now sworn brothers: *England* and *Scotland* (being parted only with a narrow river, and the people of both empires speaking a language lesse differing than *English* within it self (as the providence had enacted, that one day those two nations should marry one another) are now made sure together, and King *James* his Coronation is the solemne wedding day. Happiest of all thy ancestors (thou mirror of all princes that ever were or are) that at seven of the clock wert a King but over a piece of a little Island, and before eleven the greatest Monarch in Christendome. Now

— Silver crowds

Of blisfull angels and tryed martyrs tread
 On the Star-feeling ouer *England's* head:
 Now heauen broke into a wonder, and brought forth
 Our *omne bonum* from the holesome North
 (Our fruitfull souereign) *James*, at whose dread name
 Rebellion swounded, and (ere since) became
 Groueling and nerue-lesse, wanting bloud to nourish;
 For ruin gnawes her selfe when kingdomes flourish.
 Nor are our hopes, planted in regall springs,
 Neuer to wither, for our aire breeds Kings:
 And in all ages (from this soveraign time)
England shall still be calde thy royall clime.
 Most blisfull Monarch of all earthen powers,
 Seru'd with a messe of kingdomes, foure such bowers
 (For prosperous hiues, and rare industrious swarmes)
 The world containes not in her solid armes.
 O thou that art the meeter of our dayes,
 Poets *Apollo*! deale thy *Daphnean* bayes
 To those whose wits are bay-trees, euer greene,
 Vpon whose hye tops *Poesie* chirps vniene.
 Such are most fit t'apparell Kings in rimes,
 Whose siluer numbers are the *Muses* chimes,
 Whose sprightly characters (being once wrought on)
 Out-live the marble th'are insculpt vpon.
 Let such men chaunt thy vertue, then they fly
 On learnings wings, vp to eternitie.

As for the rest, that limp (in cold desert)
 Hauing small wit, lesse judgement; and least art;
 Their verse! tis almost heresie to heare,
 Banish their lines some furlongs from thine eare:
 For tis held dang'rous (by *Apolloes* signe)
 To be infected with the leापrous line.
 O make some adamant Act (ne're to be worne)
 That none may write but those that are true-borne:
 So when the worlds old cheekes shall race and peelee,
 Thy Acts shall breathe in epitaphs of Steele.

The joyes that followed upon his proclayming. By these comments it appeares, that by this time King *James* is proclaimed. Now does fresh blood leape into the cheekes of the courtier: the souldier now hangs vp his armor, and is glad that he shall feed vpon the blessed fruites of peace: the scholler sings hymnes in honor of the *Muses*, assuring himselfe now that *Helicon* will be kept pure, because *Apollo* himselfe drinks of it. Now the thirstie citizen casts beyond the Moone, and seeing the golden age returned into the world againe, resolues to worship no Saint but money. Trades that lay dead and rotten, and were in all mens opinion vtterly dambd, started out of their trance, as though they had drunke of *Aqua Celestis*, or vnicornes horne, and swore to fall to their olde occupations. Taylors meant no more to be called merchant-taylors, but merchants; for their shops were all lead forth in leases to be turned into ships, and with their sheares (instead of a rudder) would they haue cut the seas (like *Leuant Taffaty*) and sayld to the *West-Indies* for no worse stuffe, to make hose and doublets of, than beaten gold: or if the necessitie of the time (which was likely to stand altogether vpon braverie) should presse them to serue with their iron and *Spanish* weapons upon their stalls, then was there a sharpe lawe made amongst them, that no workman should handle any needle but that which had a pearle in his eye, nor any copper thimble vnlesse it were linde quite through, or bumbasted with siluer. What mechanickall hardhanded *Vulcanist* (seeing the dice of *Fortune* run so sweetly, and resolving to strike whilst the iron is hote) but perswaded himselfe to be master or headwarden of the company, ere halfe a yeare went about? The worst players boy stood vpon his good parts, swearing tragicall and buskin oathes, that how villainously soever he randed, or what bad and vnlawfull action soever he entred into, he would, in despite of his honest audience, be halfe a sharer (at least) at home, or else strowle (thats to say trauell) with some notorious wicked floundring company abroad. And good reason had these time-catchers to be led into this fooles paradise, for they sawe mirth in euery mans face, the streetes were plumd with gallants, tobacconists fild vp hole tavernes: vintners hunge out spike and span new Juy bushes (because they wanted good wine) and their old raine-beaten lattices marcht vnder other cullors, hauing lost both company and cullors before. *London* was never in the high way to preferment till now: now she resolued to stand vpon her pantoffles: now (and neuer till now) did she laugh to scorne that worme-eaten proverbe of *Lincolne* was, *London* is, and *York* shall be; for she saw her selfe in better state then *Ierusalem*; she wert more gallant then ever did *Antwerp*; was more courted by amorous and lustie suiters then *Venice* (the minion of *Italy*) more lostie towers stood (like a coronet, or a spangled head-tire) about her temples, then ever did about the beautifull forehead of *Rome*: *Tyrus* and *Sydon* to her were like two thatcht houses to *Theobals*: the grand *Cayr* but a hogsty. *Hinc ille lachrimæ*. She wept her belly full for all this. Whilst *Troy* was swilling sack and sugar, and mowring fat venison, the mad *Greeks* made bonafires of their houses: Old *Priam* was drinking a health to the wooden horse, and before it could be pledgd had his throat cut. Corne is no sooner ripe, but, for all the pricking vp of his eares, he is pard off by the shins, and made to goe vpon stumps. Flowers no sooner budded, but they are pluckt vp and dye. Night walks at the

the heeles of the day, and sorrow enters (like a tauerne bill) at the tail of our pleasures: for in the *Appenine* heighth of this immoderate joy and securitie (that like *Powles* steeple over-lookt the whole citie) behold, that *miracle-worker*, who in a minute turnd our generall mourning to a generall mirth, does nowe againe in a moment alter that gladnes to shrikes and lamentation.

Here would I faine make a full point, because posteritie should not be frighted with those miserable tragedies, which now my *Muse* (as *Chorus*) *The plague.* stands ready to present. Time would thou hadst never been made wretched by bringing them forth. Oblivion would in all the graves and sepulchres, whose ranke jawes thou hast already closde vp, or shall yet hereafter burst open, thou couldst likewise bury them for ever.

A stiffe and freezing horror sucks vp the riuers of my blood: my haire stands an ende with the panting of my braines: mine eye balls are ready to start out, being beaten with the billowes of my teares: out of my weeping pen does the inke mournfully and more bitterly than gall drop on the pale-faced paper, even when I do but thinke how the bowels of my sicke country have bene torne. *Apollo*, therefore, and you bewitching siluer-tongd *Muses*, get you gone: I inuocate none of your names. Sorrow and truth, sit you on each side of me, whilst I am delivered of this deadly burden: prompt me that I may utter ruthfull and passionate condolement: arme my trembling hand, that I may boldly rip up and anatomize the ulcerous body of this *Anthropophagized* Plague: lend me art (without any counterfeit shadowing) to paint and delineate to the life the whole story of this mortall and pestiferous battaile. And you the ghosts of those more (by many) then 40000, that with the virulent poison of infection haue bene driuen out of your earthly dwellings: you desolate hand-wringing widowes, that beate your bosomes over your departing husbands: you wofully distracted mothers that with disheuld haire salne into swoonds, while you lye kissing the insensible cold lips of your breathlesse infants: you out-cast and down-troden orphans, that shall many a yeare hence remember more freshly to mourne, when your mourning garments shall looke olde and be forgotten; and you the *Genii* of all those emptyed families, whose habitations are now among the *Antipodes*; joine all your hands together, and with your bodies cast a ring about me: let me behold your ghastly vizages, that my paper may receiue their true pictures: *Ecco* forth your grones through the hollow trunke of my pen, and raine downe your gummy teares into mine incke, that even marble bosomes may be shaken with terrour, and hearts of adamant melt into compassion.

Anthropophagi are Scythians that feed on mens flesh.

What an unmatched torment were it for a man to be bard vp euery night in a vast silent charnell-house? hung (to make it more hideous) with lamps dimly and slowly burning, in hollow and glimmering corners; where all the pauement should, instead of green rushes, be strowde with blasted rosemary, withered hyacinthes, fatall cypresse and ewe, thickly mingled with heapes of dead mens bones: the bare ribbes of a father that begat him, lying there: here the chaplesse hollow scull of a mother that bore him: round about him a thousand coarces, some standing bolt vpriight in their knotted winding sheetes: others half mouldred in rotten coffins, that should suddenly yawne wide open, filling his nostrils with noysome stench, and his eyes with the sight of nothing but crawling wormes. And to keepe such a poore wretch waking, he should heare no noise but of toads croaking, screech-owles howling, mandrakes shriking: were not this an infernall prison? would not the strongest-hearted man (beset with such a ghastly horror) looke wilde? and run madde? and die? And euen such a formidable shape did the diseased citie appeare in: for he that durst (in the dead hour of gloomy midnight) haue bene so ualiant, as to haue walkt through the still and melancholy streets, what thinke you should haue bene his musicke? surely the loude grones of rauing sicke men: the struggling panges of soules departing: in euery house grieve striking vp an allarum: seruants crying out for masters: wiues for husbands; parents for children; children for their mothers: here he should haue met

met some frantickly running to knock vp sextons; there, others fearfully sweating with coffins, to steale forth dead bodies, least the fatall hand-writing of death should seale vp their doores. And to make this dismall consort more full, round about him bells heauily tolling in one place, and ringing out in another. The dreadfulness of such an houre is inuiterable: let us goe further.

If some poore man, suddenly starting out of a sweete and golden slumber, should behold this house flaming about his eares, all his family destroied in their sleepes by the mercilesse fire; himselfe in the uery midst of it, wofully and like a madde man calling for helpe: would not the misery of such a distressed soule appeare the greater, if the rich vsurer, dwelling next doore to him, should not stirre (though he felt part of the danger) but suffer him to perish, when the thrusting out of an arme might haue saued him? O how many thousands of wretched people haue acted this poore mans part? how often hath the amazed husband waking, found the comfort of his bedde lying breathlesse by his side! his children at the same instant gasping for life! and his seruants mortally wounded at the hart by sicknes! the distracted creature beats at death doores, exclames at windowes, his cries are sharpe enough to pierce heauen, but on earth no care is opend to receiue them.

And in this maner do the tedious minutes of the night stretch out the sorrowes of ten thousand. It is now day; let vs looke forth and try what consolation rises with the sun: not any, not any: for before the jewell of the morning be fully set in siluer, hundred hungry graues stand gaping, and euery one of them (as at a breakfast) hath swallowed downe ten or eleuen liuelesse carcases: before dinner, in the same gulse are twice so many more deuoured: and before the sun takes his rest, those numbers are doubled. Threescore, that not many houres before had euery one seuerall lodgings, uery delicately furnisht, are now altogether into one close roome: a little noisome roome: not fully ten foote square. Doth not this strike coldly to the hart of a worldly miser? To some the uery sound of deaths name, is instead of a passing-bell: what shall become of such a coward, being told that the selfe-same bodie of his, which now is so pampered with superfluous fate, so perfumed and bathed in odoriferous waters, and so gaily apparelled in uariety of fashions must one day be throwne (like stinking carion) into a rank and rotten graue; where his goodly eies, that once did shoote forth such amorous glances, must be beaten out of his head: his lockes that hang wantonly dangling, troden in durt under foote: this doubtlesse (like thunder) must needs strike him into the earth. But (wretched man!) when thou shalt see, and be assured (by tokens sent thee from heauen) that to morrow thou must be tumbled into a mucke-pit, and suffer thy body to be bruised and prest with threescore dead men, lying slouely upon thee, and thou to be undermost of all! yea and perhaps halfe of that number were thine enemies! (and see how they may be reuenged, for the wormes that breed out of their putrifying carcases, shall cawle in huge swarmes from them, and quite deuoure thee) what agonies will this strange news driue thee into? If thou art in loue with thy self, this cannot choose but possesse thee with a frenzie. But thou art gotten safe (out of the ciuill citie calamitie) to thy parkes and pallaces in the country, lading thy asses and thy mules with thy gold (thy god), thy plate, and thy jewells: and the frutes of thy wombe thriftily growing vp but in one onely sonne (the young landlord of all thy carefull labours) him also hast thou rescued from the arrowes of infection: now is thy soul jocund, and thy senses merry. But open thine eyes, thou foole, and behold that darling of thine eye (thy sonne) turnd suddenly into a lump of clay; the hand of pestilence hath smote him euen under thy wing. Now doest thou rent thine haire, blaspheme thy creator, curstest thy creation, and basely descendest into brutish and vnmanly passions, threatening, in despite of death and his plague, to maintain the memory of thy childe in the euerlasting brest of marble: a tombe must now defend him from tempests; and for that purpose, the swetty hinde (that digs the rent he paies thee out of the entrailes of the earth) he is sent for, to conuey forth that burden of thy sorrow. But note how thy pride is disdained: that weather-beaten sun-burnt drudge, that, not a month since,

since, sawnd vpon thy worship like a spaniell, and like a bond-slaue would haue stoopt lower than thy feete, does now stoppe his nose at thy presence, and is readie to set his mastiue as hye as thy throat, to driue thee from his doore: all thy golde and siluer cannot hire one of those (whom before thou didst scorne) to carry the dead body to his last home: the country round about thee shun thee, as a basiliske, and therefore to *London* (from whose armes thou cowardly fledst away) poast upon poast, must be galloping, to fetch from thence those that may performe that funerall office. But there are they so full of graue-matters of their owne, that they haue no leisure to attend thine. Doth not this cut thy very heart-strings in sunder? if that doe not, the shutting vp of the tragicall act, I am sure, will; for thou must be inforced, with thine owne handes, to winde vp that blasted flower of youth in the last linnen, that euer he shall weare: vpon thine own shoulders must thou beare part of him; thy amazed seruant the other: with thine owne handes must thou dig his graue, not in the church, or common place of buriall (thou hast not fauour, for all thy riches, to be so happie) but in thine orcharde, or in the proude walks of thy garden; wringing of thy pallie-shaking handes instead of belles, most miserable father, must thou search him out a sepulcher.

My spirit growes faint with rowing in this *Syagian* Ferry; it can no longer endure the transportation of soules in this dolefull manner: let us therefore shift a point of our compasse, and (since there is no remedie, but that we must still be tost vp and down in this *Mare mortuum*) hoist vp all our sailes, and, on the merry winges of a lustier winde, seeke to arrive on some prosperous shoare.

Imagine then that, all this while, *Death* (like a *Spanish* Leagat, or rather like stalking *Tamberlaine*) hath pitcht his tents (being nothing but a heape of winding sheetes tackt together) in the sinfully polluted suburbs: the Plague is muster-maister and marshal of the field; burning feavers, boyles, blaines and carbuncles the leaders, lieutenants, serjeants and corporalls; the maine army consisting (like *Dunkirke*) of a mingle-mangle, viz. dumpish mourners, merry sextons, hungry coffin-sellers, scrubbing bearers, and nastie graue-makers: but indeed they are the pioners of the campe, that are imployed onely (like moles) in casting vp of earth and digging of trenches, seare and trembling (the two catch-poles of *Death*) arrest euery one: no parley will be graunted, no composition stood upon, but the allarum is strucke vp, the *Tokin* ringes out for life, and no uoyce heard but *Tue, Tue*; kill, kill: the little belles onely (like small shot) doe yet goe off, and make no great worke for wormes, a hundred or two lost in every skirmish, or so: but alas! thats nothing: yet by these desperat sallies, what by open setting vpon them by day, and secret ambuscadoes by night, the skirts of *London* were pitifully pared off, by litle and litle; which they within the gates perceiuing, it was no boot to bid them take their heels, for away they trudge thick and threefold; some riding, some on foote, some without bootes, some in their slippers, by water, by land, in shoales swom they *Westward*: many to *Graues-end* none went vnlesse they be driven; for whosoeuer landed there never came back again. Hacknies, water-men and wagons were not so terribly imployed many a yeare; so that within a short time, there was not a good horse in *Smithfield*, nor a coach to be set eye on; for after the world had once run vpon the wheelles of the pest-cart, neither coach nor carroach durst appeare in his likeness.

Let vs pursue these run-awayes no longer, but leave them in the vnmercifull hands of the country-hard-hearted *Hobbinolls* (who are ordaind to be their tormentors) and returne backe to the siege of the citie; for the enemy taking advantage by their flight, planted his ordinance against the walls: here the canons (like their great belles) roard: the Plague tooke sore paines for a breach; he laid about him cruelly, ere he could get it: but at length he and his tiranous band entred. His purple colours were presently (with the sound of *Bow-bell* instead of a trumpet) aduanced, and joynd to the standard of the citie; he marcht euen through *Cheapside*, and the capitall streets of *Troynewant*: the onely blot of dishonor that struck vpon this invader, being this, that he plaide the tyrant, not the conqueror, making hauocke of all, when he had all lying at the feet of
his

his mercy. men, women and children dropt down before him: houses were rifled, streets ranfackt, beautifull maidens thrown on their beds, and rauisht by sicknes; rich mens cofers broke open, and shared amongst prodigall heirs and unthriftie seruants; poore men vsde poorely, but not pittifully: he did uery much hurt, yet some say he did uery much good. Howfoeuer he behaued himselfe, this intelligence runs currant, that euery house lookte like St. *Bartholomew's* Hospitall, and euery streete like *Bucklersbury*, for poor *Metbridatum* and *Dragon-water* (being both of them, in all the world, scarce worth three pence) were boxt in euery corner, and yet were both drunke euery hour at other mens cost. *Lazarus* laie groning at euery mans doore; mary no *Dives* was within to send him a crum (for all your Gold-finches were fled to the woods) nor a dogge left to licke his sores, for they (like *Curres*) were knockt downe like oxen, and fell thicker then acornes.

I am amazed to remember what dead marches were made of three thousand trooping together; husbands, wiues and children, being led as ordinarily to one graue, as if they had gone to one bed. And those that could shift for a time, and shrink their heads out of the collar (as many did) yet went they most bitterly miching and muffled vp and downe with rue and wormewood stufte into their eares and nostrils, looking like so many bores heads stuck with branches of rosemary, to be serued in for brawne at *Christmas*.

This was a rare worlde for the church, who had wont to complaine for want of liuing, and now had more liuing thrust vpon her then she knew how to bestow: to haue bene clarke now to a parish clarke, was better then to serue some foolish justice of peace, or then the yeare before to haue had a benefice. Sextons gaue out, if they might (as they hoped) continue these doings but a tweluemoneth longer, they and their posteritie would all ryde uppon footecloathes to the ende of the world: amongst which worm-eaten generation, the three bald sextons of limping St. *Gyles's*, St. *Sepulchre's*, and St. *Olane's* rulde the roast more hotly then euer did the *Triumviri* of Rome. *Jebocanan*, *Symeon* and *Eleazar* neuer kept such a plaguy coyle in *Ierusalem* among the hunger-starued *Jews*, as these three sharkers did in their parishes among naked *Christians*. Cursed they were, I am sure, by some to the pitte of hell, for tearing money out of their throates, that had not a crosse in their purses. But alas! they must haue it, it is their fee, and therefore giue the Deuil his due: onely hearbe-wiues and gardeners (that neuer prayed before, vnlesse it were for raine or faire weather) were now day and night vpon their marybones, that God would blesse the labors of those mole-catchers, because they sucke sweetnesse by this; for the price of flowers, hearbes and garlands rose wonderfully, in so much, that rosemary, which had wont to be sold for 12 d. an armefull, went now for 6 s. a handfull.

A fourth sharer likewise, these winding-sheete-weauers, deserues to haue my penne giue his lippes a *Jews* letter: but because he worships the bakers good Lord and Master, charitable St. *Clement* (whereas none of the other three euer had to do with any Saint) he shall scape the better; only let him take heede, that hauing all this year buried his praiers in the bellies of fat ones, and plump capon-eaters (for no worse meat would ply-fore's stomach) let him, I say, take heede least (his flesh now falling away) his carcas be not plagude with leane ones, of whom (whilst the bill of *Lord haue mercy* upon us was to be denied in no place) it was death for him to heare.

In this pitifull (or rather pittiless) perplexitie stood *London*, forsaken like a louer, forlorne like a widow, and disarmde of all comfort. Disarmde I may well say, for fise rapiers were not stirring all this time, and those that were worne had neuer bene seen, if any money could haue been lent vpon them, so hungry is the estridge disease, that it will endure euen iron: let us therefore with bag and baggage march away from this dangerous sore citie, and uisit those that are fled into the country. But alas! *decidis in Scyllam*; you are pepperd if you uisit them, for they are uisited alreadie: the broad arrow of death flies there vp and downe, as swiftly as it doth here: they that rode on the lustiest geldings, could not out-gallop the Plague; it ouer-tooke them, and ouer-turnd them too, horse and foot. You

You whom the arrowes of Pestilence haue reacht at eighteen and twenty score (tho' you stood far enough, as you thought, from the marke) you that sickning in the hie way, would haue bene glad of a bed in an hospitall, and, dying in the open fields, haue bene buried like dogs, how much better had it bene for you, to haue bene fuller of byles and Plague-sores than euer was *Job*, so you might in that extremity haue receiued both bodily and spiritual comfort, which there was denied you? For those misbelceuing Pagans, the plough-driuers, those worse than Infidels that (like their swine) neuer looke vp so high as heauen, when citzens barded them, they wrung their hands, and wisht rather they had fallne into the hands of *Spaniards*: for the sight of a flat-cap was more dreadfull to a *Lob*, then the discharging of a caliuier: a treble-ruffe (being but once named the merchants set) had power to call a whole household into a cold sweat. If one new suite of sackcloth had beene but knowne to haue come out of *Burchin-lane* (being the common wardrope for all their clowne-ships) it had beene enough to make a market-towne giue vp the ghost. A crow that had beene seen in a sunne-shine day, standing on the top of *Powles*, would haue beene better than a beacon on fire, to haue raizd all the townes within ten miles of *London*, for the keeping her out.

Neuer let any man aske me what became of our Philitions in this massacre; they hid their synodical heads as well as the prowdest: and I cannot blame them; for their phlebotomes, lolinges and electuaries, with their diacatholicons, diacodions, amulets and antidotes had not so much strength to hold life and soule together, as a pot of *Pindar's* ale and a nutmeg: their drugs turned to durt, their simples were simple things: *Galen* could do no more good than *Sir Giles Goosecap*: *Hipocrates*, *Auicenn*, *Paracelsus*, *Rasis*, *Fernelius*, with all their succeeding rabble of doctors and water-casters, were at their wits end, or, I think, rather at the worlds end, for not one of them durst peepe abroad, or if any one did take vpon him to play the uentrous Knight, the Plague put him to his *nonplus*; in such strange and such changeable shapes did this camelion-like sicknes appeare, that they could not (with all the cunning in their budgets) make pursenets to take him napping.

Onely a band of desper-viewes, some fewe empirical madcaps (for they could neuer be worth veluet caps) turned themselves into bees (or more properly into drones) and went humming vp and downe, with hony-brags in their mouthes, sucking the sweetnes of Silver (and now and then of *Aurum Potabile*) out of the poison of blaines and carbuncles: and these jolly mountibanks clapt vp their bills vpon euery post (like a fencers challenge) threatning to canuas the Plague, and to fight with him at all his owne seuerall weapons: I know not how they sped, but some they sped I am sure, for I haue heard them band for the heauens, because they sent those thither, that were wisht to tarry longer vpon earth.

I could in this place make your cheekes looke pale, and your hearts shake, with telling how some haue had 18 sores at one time running vpon them, others 10 and 12, many 4 and 5; and how those that haue bin foure times wounded by this yeares infection, haue dyed of the last wound, whilst others (that were hurt as often) goe vp and downe with sounder limmes then many that come out of *France* and the *Netherlands*. And descending from these, I could draw forth a catalogue of many poore wretches, that in fields, in ditches, in common cages, and under stalls (being either thrust by cruell maisters out of doors, or wanting all worldly succour but the common benefit of earth and aire) haue most miserably perished. But to chronicle these would weary a second *Fabian*.

We will therefore play the souldiers, who at the end of any notable battaile, with a kind of sad delight rehearse the memorable acts of their friends that lye mangled before them: some shewing how brauely they gaue the onfet: some, how politickly they retirde: others, how manfully they gaue and receiued wounds: a fourth steps forth, and glories how ualiantly he lost his arme: all of them making (by this meanes) the remembrance of tragical and mischieuous euent verry delectable. Let us strue to do so, discoursing

courting (as it were at the end of this mortal siege of the Plague) of the severall most worthy accidents, and strange birthes, which this pestiferous yeare hath brought forth: some of them yeelding comicall and ridiculous stuffe, others lamentable: a third kind, vpholding rather admiration, then laughter or pittie.

As first, to relish the pallat of lickerish expectation, and withall to giue an *Item* how sudden a stabber this ruffianly swaggerer (*Death*) is. You must belecue, that amongst all the weary number of those that (on their bare feete) haue trauaile (in this long and heauie uocation) to the Holy-land, one (whose name I could for neede bestow vpon you, but that I know you haue no neede of it, tho many want a good name) lying in that common Inne of sick-men, his bed, and seeing the black and blew stripes of the Plague sticking on his flesh, which he receiued as tokens (from heauen) that he was to goe dwell in the vpper world, most earnestly requested, and in a manner conjured his friend (who came to enterchange a last farewell) that hee would see him goe handsomely attird into the wild *Irish* cuntry of wormes, and for that purpose to bestow a coffin vpon him. His friend, louing him, not because he was poore, yet he was poore, but because he was a scholler (alack that the *West-Indies* stand so farre from vniuersities! and that a minde richly apparelled should haue a threed-bare body!) made faithfull promise to him, that he should be naild vp, he would boord him, and for that purpose went instantly to one of the new-found trade of coffin-cutters, bespake one, and (like the surueyours of Deaths buildings) gaue direction how this little tenement should be framed, paying all the rent for it before hand. But note vpon what slippery ground life goes! little did he thinke to dwell in that roome himselfe which he had taken for his friend: yet it seemed the common lawe of mortalitie had so decreede: for hee was cald into the colde companie of his graue neighbours an houre before his infected friend, and had a long lease (euen till doomes day) in the same lodging, which, in the strength of health, he went to prepare for another. What credit therefore is to be giuen to breath, which like a harlot will runne away with euery minute? How nimble is sickness, and what skill hath he in all the weapons he plays withall? The greatest cutter that takes vp the *Mediterranean*-Isle in *Powles* for his gallery to walke in, cannot ward off his blowes. Hees the best fencer in the world: *Vincenzio Siniolo* is no body to him: he has his mandrittaes, imbrocataes, stramazones and stoccataes at his fingers ends: heele make you giue him ground, though ye were neuer worth foote of land, and beat you out of breath, though *Aeolus* himselfe plaid vpon your wind-pipe.

To witnes which, I will call forth a *Dutchman* (yet now hees past calling for, has lost his hearing, for his ears by this time are eaten off with wormes) who though hee dwelt in *Bedlem*, was not mad, yet the uery lookes of the Plague (which indeed are terrible) put him almost out of his wits; for when the snares of this cunning hunter (the Pestilence) were but newly layd, and yet layd (as my *Dutchman* smelt it out well enough) to intrap poore mens liues that meant him no hurt, away sneakes my clipper of the Kings *English*, and (because musket-shot should not reach him) to the *Low-countries* (that are built upon butter-sirkins, and *Holland* cheese) failes this plague fugitiue: but *Death*, (who hath more authoritie there than all the seauen electors, and to shew him that there were other *Low-countries* besides his owne) takes a little frokin (one of my *Dutch* runnawayes children) and sends her packing, into those *Netherlands* she departed: O how pitifully lookt my *Burgomaister*, when he vnderstood that the sickness could swim! It was an easie matter to scape the *Dunkirks*, but *Deaths* gallies made out after him swifter then the great *Turkes*. Which he perceiuing, made no more adoo, but dranke to the States fise or fixe healths (because he would be sure to liue well) and backe againe comes he, to try the strength of *English* Beere. His old *Randenous* of mad men was the place of meeting, where he was no sooner arriued, but the *Plague* had him by the backe, and arrested him vpon an *Exeat Regnum*, for running to the enemy: so that for the mad tricks he plaid to cozen our *English* wormes of his *Dutch* carkas (which had bene fatted heere) sickness and death clapt him vp in *Bedlem* the second time, and there he lyes, and there he shall lye till he rot before I'll meddle any more with him.

But,

But, being gotten out of *Bed'en*, let vs make a journey to *Brislow*, taking an honest knowne citizen along with vs, who, with other company, travelling thither (onely for feare the aire of *London* should conspire to poison him) and setting up his rest not to heare the sound of *Bow-bell* till next *Christmas*, was notwithstanding in the hie way singled out from his company, and set vpon by the Plague, who bad him stand, and deliuer his life. The rest, at that word, shifted for themselves, and went on, hee (amazed to see his friends flye, and being not able to defend himselfe, for who can defend himselfe meeting such an enemy?) yeelded; and, being but about fortie miles from *London*, vsed all the flights he could to get loose out of the handes of death, and so to hide himselfe in his owne house: wherevpon, he calld for help at the same inne, where not long before he and all his fellowe pilgrimes obtained for their money (many yet with more prayers then a beggar makes in three termes) to stand and drinke some thirtie foote from the doore. To this house of tipling iniquitie hee repaires againe, conjuring the *Lares*, or walking sprites in it, if it were *Christmas* (that *if* was well put in) and in the name of *God*, to succor and rescue him, to their power, out of the handes of infection, which now assaulted his body. The *Devil* would have bene afraid of this conjuration, but they were not; yet afraid they were it seemed, for presently the doores had their wooden ribs crusht in pieces, by being beaten together: the casements were shut more close than an vsurers greasie velvet pouch: the drawing windowes were hangd, drawne, and quartred: not a crevis but was stopt, not a moule-hole left open; for all the holes in the house were most wickedly dambd vp: mine hoste and hostesse ranne ouer one another into the backe-side, the maydes into the orchard, quivering and quaking, and ready to hang themselues on the innocent plumb-trees (for hanging to them would not be so sore as Death and the Plague, and to die maydes too! O horrible! As for the tapster, he fled into the cellar, rapping out fiewe or sixe plaine countrey oathes, that hee would drowne himselfe in a most villainous stand of ale, if the sick *Londoner* stode at the doore any longer. But stand there he must, for to go away (well) he cannot, but continues knocking and calling in a faint uoice, which in their eares sounded as if some staring ghost, in a tragedie, had exclaimd vpon *Rhadamanth*: he might knocke till his hands akte, and call till his heart akte, for they were in a worse pickle within, then hee was without, hee being in a good way to go to heauen, they being so frightened that they scarce knew whereabouts heauen stode, onely they all cryed out, *Lord, haue mercie vpon us*; yet *Lord, haue mercie vpon us* was the onely thing they feared. The dolefull catastrophe of all is, a bed could not be had for all *Babilon*, not a cup of drinke, no, nor cold water be gotten, though it had bin for *Alexander* the great: a draught of *Aqua vite* might haue saued his soule: the town denied to do *God* that good seruice.

What miserie continues euer? the poore man standing thus at deaths doore, and looking euery minute when he should be let in, behold, another *Londoner*, that had likewise bene in the *Frigide zone* of the country, and was returning (like *Aeneas* out of hell) to the heauen of his owne home, makes a stand at this sight, to play the physition, and seeing, by the complexion of his patient, that he was sicke at heart, applies to his soule the best medicines that his comforting speech could make, for there dwelt no poticary neere enough to helpe his body. Being therefore driuen out of all other shifts, he leads him into a field, a bundle of strawe (which with much adoe he bought for money) seruing instead of a pillow. But the destinies hearing the diseased partie complaine and take on, because hee lay on a field-bedde, when before he would haue been glad of a mattresse, for uery spight cut the threade of his life; the crueltie of which deede made the other (that playd Charities part) at his wittes end, because hee knew not where to purchase tenne foot of ground for his graue: the church nor churchyard would let none of their lands: mai-ster Vicar was stricke dumbe, and could not giue the dead a good word, neither Clarke nor Sexton could be hired to execute their office; no, they themselves would first be executed: so that hee that never handled shouell before, got his implements about him, ripped vp the belly of the earth, and made it like a graue, stript the colde carcasle, bound

his shirt about his feete, pulled a linnen night-cappe ouer his eyes, and so layde him in the rotten bedde of the earth, couering him with cloathes cut out of the same piece: and learning, by his last words, his name and habitation, this sad traueller arriues at *London*, deliuering to the amazed widdow and children, instead of a father and a husband, onely the out-side of him, his apparell. But, by the way, note one thing, the bringer of these heauy tydings (as if he had liued long enough when so excellent a worke of pietie and pittie was by him finished) the very next day after his comming home, departed out of this world, to receiue his reward in the spirituall court of heauen.

It is plaine therefore, by the euidence of these two witnesss, that death, like a thief, sets vpon men in the hie way, dogs them into their owne houses, breaks into their bed-chambers by night, assaults them by day, and yet no law can take hold of him: he deuoures man and wife: offers violence to their faire daughters: kills their youthfull sonnes, and deceiues them of their seruants: yea, so full of trecherie is he growne (since this Plague toke his part) that no louers dare trust him, nor by their good wils would come neare him, for he workes their downfall, euen when their delights are at the highest.

Too ripe a prooffe haue we of this, in a paire of louers. The maide was in the pride of fresh blood and beautie: she was that which to be now is a wonder, yong and yet chaste: the gifts of her mind were great, yet those which fortune bestowed upon her (as being well defended) were not much inferiour. On this louely creature did a yong man so stedfastly fixe his eye, that her lookes kindled in his bosome a desire, whose flames burnt the more brightly, because they were fed with sweet and modest thoughts: *Hymen* was the God to whome he prayed, day and night, that he might marry her: his praiers were receiued; at length (after many tempests of her deniall, and frownes of kinsfolk) the element grew cleere, and he saw the happy landing-place, where he had long sought to arriue: the prize of her youth was made his own, and the solemne day appointed when it should be deliuered to him. Glad of which blessednes (for to a louer it is a blessednes) he wrought by all the possible art he could vse to shorten the expected houre, and bring it neerer: for, whether he feared the interception of parents, or that his own soule, with excesse of joy, was drowned in strange passions, he would often, with sighs mingled with kisses, and kisses halfe sinking in teares, prophetically tell her, that sure he should neuer liue to enjoy her. To discredit which opinion of his, behold, the sunne had made hast and wakened the bridale morning. Now does he call his heart traitour, that did so falsly conspire against him: liuely blood leapeth into his cheeks: hees got vp, and gaily attirde to play the bridegroom: shee likewise does as cunningly turne her selfe into a bride: kindred and friends are mette together, soppes and muscadine run sweating vp and downe, till they drop againe, to comfort their hearts; and because so many coffins pestred *London* churches, that there was no roome left for weddings, coaches are prouided, and away rides all the traine into the countrey. On a *Monday* morning are these lustie louers on their journey, and before noone are they alighted, entring (insteade of an inne) for more state into a church, where they no sooner appeared, but the priest sell to his busines, the holy knot was a tying; but he that should fasten it, comming to this, *In sicknesse and in healtb*, there he stopt: for sodainly the bride tooke hold of, *in sicknesse*, for *in healtb*: all that stood by were in feare shee should neuer be kept. The maiden-blush into which her cheekes were lately died, now beganne to loose colour: her uoyce (like a coward) would haue shrunke away, but that her louer reaching her a hand, which he brought thither to giue her (for hee was not yet made a full husband) did with that touch somewhat reuiue her: on went they againe so farre, till they mette with *for better, for worse*; there was she worse than before, and had not the holy officer made haste, the ground on which shee stood to be marryed might easily haue beene broken vp for her buriall. All ceremonies being finished, she was ledde betweene two, not like a bride, but rather like a coarfe, to her bed: *That*, must now be the table, on which the wedding dinner is to be serued vppe (being at this time, nothing but tears, and sighes, and lamentation) and Death is chief waiter: yet at length, her weak heart wrastring with the

the pangs, gaue them a fall, so that up shee stood againe, and in the fatall funerall coach that carried her forth, was she brought back (as vpon a beere) to the citie. But see the malice of her enemy that had her in chafe: vpon the *Wednesday* following, being ouertaken, was her life ouercome, and Death rudely lay with her, and spoild her of a maiden-head in spight of her husband. Oh the sorrow that did round beset him! now was his diuination true! she was a wife, yet continued a maide: he was a husband and a widdower, yet neuer knew his wife: she was his own, yet he had her not: she had him, yet neuer enjoyed him. Heere is a strange alteration; for the rosemary that was washt in sweet water to set out the bridall, is now wet in teares to furnish her buriall: the musicke that was heard to sound forth dances, can not now be heard for the ringing of belles: all the comfort that happened to either side being this; that he lost her before she had time to be an ill wife, and she left him, e'er he was able to be a bad husband.

Better fortune had this bride, to fall into the handes of the Plague, then one other of that fraile female sex (whose picture is next to be drawne) had to scape out of them. An honest Cobler (if at least coblers can be honest, that liue altogether amongst wicked soales) had a wife, who in the time of health treading her shooe often awry, determined in agony of a sicknesse (which this yeare had a saying to her) to fall amending as well as her husband did. The bed that she lay vpon (being as she thought, or rather feared) the last bed that euer should beare her (for many other beds had borne her you must remember) and the worrne of sin tickling her conscience, vp she calls her uery innocent husband, out of his uirtuous shoppe, where like Justice he sat distributing amongst the poore, to some halfe-penny peeces, penny peeces to some, and two-penny peeces to others, so long as they would last, his prouident care being always, that euery man and woman should goe vpright. To the beds-side of his plaguy wife, approacheth Monsieur Cobler, to understand what deadly newes she had to tell him, and the rest of his kind neighbours that there were assembled: such thicke teares standing in both the gutters of his eies, to see his beloued lie in such a pickle, that in their salt water all his utterance was drownd: which she perceiuing, wept as fast as he. But by warme counsell, that sat about the bed, the shower ceast; she wiping her cheekes with the corner of one of the sheetes; and he, his sullied face with his leatherne apron. At last, two or three sighes (like a *chorus* to the tragedy ensuing) stepping out first, wringing her handes (which gaue the better action) shee told the pitifull *Alexon* her husband, that she had often done him wrong: he only shooke his head at this, and cried, *Humb!* which *Humb*, she taking as the watch-word of his true patience, vnrauelled the bottome of her frailetie, at length, and concluded, that with such a man (and named him, but I hope you would not haue me follow her steppes and name him too) she practised the vniuersall and common art of grafting; and that vpon her good mans head, they two had planted a monstrous paire of inuisible hornes. At the sound of the hornes, my cobbler started vppe like a *March* hare, and began to look wilde: his awle neuer ranne through the sides of a boote, as that word did through his heart: but being a politticke cobbler, and remembring what peece of worke he was to under-lay, stroking his beard, like some graue headborough of the parish, and giuing a nodde, as who should say, goe on, badde her goe on indeed, clapping to her sore soule this generall salve, that *All are sinners, and we must forgine, &c.* for he hoped by such wholesome physicke (as shoemakers waxe being laide to a byle) to draw out all the corruption of her secret uil-lanies. She, good heart, being tickled vnder gilles, with the finger of these kind speeches, turnes vp the white of her eye, and fetches out another. Another (O thou that art trained vp in nothing but to handle peeces) another hath discharged his artillery against thy castle of fortification: here was passion predominant: *Vulcan* strooke the cobblers ghost, that he cryed oh! his neighbours taking pittie to see what terrible stiches pulld him, rubde his swelling temples with the juice of patience, which (by uertue of the blackish sweate that stood reaking on his browes, and had made them supple) entred
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uery easly into his now-parlous-understanding scull: so that he left wincing, and fute quiet as a lamb, falling to his old vomite of counsell, which he had cast vp before, and swearing (because he was in strong hope this shooe should wring him no more) to seale her a generall acquittance. Prickt forward with at his gentle spur, her tongue mends its pace; so that in her confellion shee ouertooke others, whose bootes had beene set all night vpon the coblers laast, bestowing vpon him the poesie of their names, the time and place, to the intent it might be put into his next wifes wedding ring. And although shee had made all these blotes in his tables, yet the hearing of one man false (whom she had not yet discovered) stucke more in his stomach than all the rest. Oh ualiant cobbler, cries out one of the auditors, how art thou set vpon? how art thou tempted? happy arte thou, that thou art not in thy shop; for instead of cutting out peeces of leather, thou wouldst doubtlesse now pare away thy hart: for I see, and so do all thy neighbours here (thy wifes ghostly fathers) see that a small matter would now cause thee to turne *Turke*, and to meddle with no more patches; but to liue within the compasse of thy wit: list not vp thy collar: be not horne mad: thanke heauen that the murder is reueald: study thou *Baltazars* part in *Ieronimo*; for thou hast more cause (though lesse reason) than he, to be glad and sad.

Well, I see thou art worthy to haue patient *Grifeld* to thy wife, for thou bearest more than she: thou shewst thy selfe to be a right cobbler, and no sower, that canst thus cleanly clowt vp the seam-rent sides of thy affection. With this learned oration the cobbler was tutord: layd his finger on his mouth, and cried *pocas palabras*: he had sealed her pardon, and therefore bid her not feare: heervpon she named the malefactor (I could name him too, but that he shall liue to giue more coblers heads the bastonado) and told, that on such a night, when he supd there (for a lord may sup with a cobbler that hath a pretty wench to his wife) when the cloth, O treacherous linnen! was taken vp, and *Menelaus* had, for a parting blow, giuen the other his fist, downe she lights this half-sharer, opening the wicket, but not shutting him out of the wicket, but conueis him into a by-room (being the wardrope of old shooes and leather) from whence the vnlicorne cobbler (that dreamt of no such spirits) being ouer head and eares in sleepe, his snorting giuing the signe that he was cocksure, softly out-steales Sir *Paris*, and to *Helenaes* teeth prooued himself a true *Trojan*.

This was the creame of her confusion, which being skimd off from the stomach of her conscience, she looked euery minute to goe thither, where she should be farre enough out of the coblers reach. But the fates laying their heads together, sent a repriue: the Plague that meant to pepper her, by little and little left her company: which news being blowne abroad, Oh lamentable! neuer did the olde buskinde tragedy beginne till now: for the wiues of those husbands, with whom she had playd at fast and loose, came with their nayles sharpened for the nonce, like cattles, and tongues forkedly cut like the stings of adders, first to scratch out false *Cressidaes* eyes, and then (which was worse) to worry her to death with scolding.

But the matter was tooke vp in a tauerne, the case was altered, and brought to a new reckoning (mary the blood of the *Burdeaux* grape was first shead about it) but, in the end, all anger on euery side was powred into a pottle pot, and there burnt to death. Now whether this recantation was true, or whether the steeme of infection, fuming vp (like wine) into her braines, made her talke thus idely, I leaue it to the jury.

And whilst they are canuasing her case, let us see what dooings the Sexton of *Stepney* hath: whose ware-houses being all full of dead commodities, sauing one: that one he left open a whole night (yet was it halfe full too) knowing the theeues this yeare were too honest to break into such cellers. Besides those that were left there had such plaguy pates, that none durst meddle with them for their liues. About twelue a clock at midnight, when spirites walke, and not a mowse dare stirre, because cattles

cattes goe a catter-walling, Sinne, that all day durst not shew his head, came reeling out of an ale-house, in the shape of a drunkard, who no sooner smelt the winde, but he thought the ground vnder him danced the Canaries; houses seemed to turne on the toe, and all things went round; insomuch, that his legges drew a paire of indentures, between his body and the earth, the principal couenant being, that he, for his part, would stand to nothing, whateuer he saw: euery tree that came in his way did he iustle, and yet challenge it the next day to fight with him. If he had clipt but a quarter so much of the King Siluer, as he did of the Kings *English*, his carkas had long ere this bene carrion for crowes. But, he liued by gaming, and had excellent casting, yet seldome won, for he drew reasonable good hands, but uery bad feete, that were not able to carry it away. This setter-vp of malt-men, being troubled with the staggers, fell into the selfe-same graue, that stood gaping wide open for a breakfast next morning; and imagining (when he was in) that he had stumbled into his owne house, and that all his bedfellowes (as they were indeede) were in their dead sleepe, he (neuer complaining of colde, nor calling for more sheete) soundly takes a nap till he snores again. In the morning the Sexton comes plodding along, and casting vpon his fingers-ends what he hopes the dead pay of that day will come too, by that which he receiued the day before, for Sextons now had better doing than either tauernes or bawdy-houses: In that siluer contemplation, shrugging vp his shoulders together, he steppes, ere he be aware, on the brimmes of that pit, into which that worshipper of *Bacchus* was falne; where finding some dead mens bones, and a scull or two, that laie scattered here and there; before he lookt into this coffer of wormes, those he takes vp, and flinges them in: one of them battered the sconce of the sleeper, whilst the bones plaide with his nose; whose blowes waking his mustie worship, the first word that he cast vp was an oath; and thinking the cannes had flyen about, cryed Zoundes! what do you meane to cracke my mazer? The Sexton smelling a voice (fear being stronger than his heart) beleueed uerily some of the coarfes spoake to him; vpon which, feeling himselfe in a cold sweat, tooke his heeles, while the goblin scrambled vp and ranne after him. But it appeares the Sexton had the lighter foote; for he ranne so fast, that he ranne out of his wittes, which being left behinde him, he had like to haue dyed presently after.

A merrier bargaine than the poore Sextons did a Tinker meet withall, in a countrey towne; through which a citizen of *London* being driuen (to keepe himselfe vnder the lee-shore in this tempestuous contagion) and casting vp his eye for some harbour, spied a bush at the ende of a pole (the auncient badge of a countrey ale-house) into which, as good lucke was, (without any resistance of the Barbarians, that all this yeare vsed to keepe such landing places) ueiling his bonnet, he strucke in. The host had bene a mad *Greeke* (mary he could now speake nothing but *English*) a goodly fat burger he was, with a belly arching out like a beere-barrell, which made his legges (that were thicke and short, like two piles driuen vnder *London*-bridge) to stradle halfe as wide as the toppe of *Powles*, which, vpon my knowledge, hath bene burnt twice or thrice. - A leatherne pouch hung at his side, that opened and shut with a snap-hance, and was indeed a flaske for gun-powder when King *Henry* went to *Bulloigne*. An antiquary might haue pickt rare matter out of his nose, but that it was worme-eaten; yet that proued it to be an auncient nose. In some corners of it, there were some blewish holes that shone like shelles of mother of pearle, and, to doo his nose right, pearles had been gathered out of them: others were richly garnisht with rubies, chrisolites and carbynckles, which glistered so oriently, that the *Hamburgers* offered I know not how many dollars, for his companie in an *East-India* uoyage, to haue a nightes in the poope of their admirall, onely to saue charges of candle. In conclusion, he was an host to be led before an Emperour; and though he were one of the greatest men in the shire, his bignes made him not proude, but he humbled himselfe to speake the base language of a tapster; and vpon the *Lond-*

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ners first arriuall, cryed welcome, a cloth for this gentleman: the linnen was spread and furnisht presently with a new cake and a can, the roome uoided, and the guest left (like a *French* lord) attended by no bodie; who drinking half a can (in conceit) to the health of his best friend in the citie, which laie extreame sicke, and had neuer more neede of health, I knowe not what qualmes came ouer his stomach, but immediately he fell downe, without vttering any more wordes, and neuer rose againe.

Anon (as it was his fashion) enters my pissing host, to relieue (with a fresh supply out of his celler) the shrinking can, if he perceiued it stoode in daunger to be overthrowne. But seeing the chiefe leader dropt at his feete, and imagining at first hee was wounded a little in the head, held vp his gowty golles and blest himselfe, that a *Londoner* (who had wont to be the most ualiant rob-pots) should now be strooke downe only with two hoopes: and therevpon jogd him, tumbling out these comfortable words of a souldier: If thou be a man, stand on thy leggs: he stird not for all this: wherevpon the maydes being raisde (as it had bene with a Hue and Cry) came hobling into the roome, like a flocke of geese, and hauing, vpon search of the bodie, giuen vp this uerdict; that the man was dead, and murdered by the Plague. Oh daggers to all their hearts that heard it! Away trudge the wenches; and one hauing had a freckled face all her life time, was perswaded presently that now they were the tokens, and had like to haue turned vp her heeles vpon it. My gorbelly host, that in many a yeare could not, without grunting, crawle ouer a threshold but two foote broad, leapt halfe a yarde from the coarce (it was measured by a carpenters rule) as nimbly as if his guts had beene taken out by the hangman: out of the house he wallowed presently, being followed with two or three dozen of napkins to drie vp the larde that ranne downe his heeles, that all the way he went was more greazie than a kitchen-stuffe-wifes basket: you would haue sworne, it had beene a barrell of pitch set on fire, if you had looked upon him, for such a smoakie clowde (by reason of his owne fatte hotte steeme) compassed him rounde, that but, for his uoyce, hee had quite beene lost in that stinking myst: hanged himselfe hee had without all question (in this pittifull taking) but that hee feared the weight of his intollerable paunch would haue burst the roape, and so hee should bee put to a double death. At length the towne was raised, the countrey came downe vpon him, and yet not vpon him neither, for after they vnderstood the tragedie, euery man gaue ground, knowing my pursie ale-conner could not follow them. What is to bee done in this straunge alarm? The whole uillage is in daunger to lye at the mercy of God, and shall bee bound to curse none but him for it: they should doe well, therefore, to set fire on his house, before the Plague scape out of it, least it forrage higher into the countrey, and knocke them downe, man, woman and childe, like oxen, whose bloode (they all swear) shall bee required at his handes. At these speeches my tender-hearted hoste, fell downe on his maribones, meaning indeede to intreat his audience to bee good to him: but they fearing hee had beene pepperd too, as well as the *Londoner*, tumbled one vpon another, and were ready to breake their neckes for haste to be gone: yet some of them (being more ualiant then the rest, because they hearde him roare out for some helpe) uery desperately stept backe, and with rakes and pitch-forkes lifted the gulch from the ground; concluding (after they had laid their hogs-head together, to draw out som holesom counfel, that whosoeuer would uenture vpon the dead man and bury him, should haue fortie shillings (out of the common towne-purse, though it would bee a great cut to it) with the loue of the church-wardens and side-men, during the terme of life. This was proclaimed; but none durst appeare to vndertake the dreadfull execution: they loued money well (mary the Plague hanging ouer any mars head that should meddle with it) in that sort, they all uowde to dye beggers before it should be chronicled they kild themselves for fortie shillings: and in that braue resolution, euery one with bagge and baggage marcht home, barricadoing their doores and windowes with firbrushes, serne, and bundles of straw, to keepe out the Pestilence at the staues-end. At

At last a *Tinker* came sounding through the towne; mine hosts house being the auncient watring place where he did vse to cast anchor. You must understand hee was none of those base rascally *Tinkers*, that, with a ban-dog and a drab at their tayles, and a pike-staffe on their necks, will take a purse sooner then stop a kettle: no, this was a deuoute *Tinker*; he did honor God *Pan*: a musicall *Tinker*, that vpon his kettle-drum could play any countrey dance you cald for, and vpon holly-days had earned money by it, when no *Fidler* could be heard of. Hee was onely feared when he stalkt through some townes, where Bees were; for he strucke so sweetely on the bottome of his copper instrument, that he would empty whole hiues, and leade the swarmes after him only by the sound.

This excellent egrogious *Tinker* calls for his draught (being a double jugge) it was fild for him; but before it came to his nose, the lamentable tale of the *Londoner* was tolde; the chamber-doore (where hee lay) being thrust open with a long pole (because none durst touch it with their hands) and the *Tinker* bidden (if he had the heart) to go in and see if he knew him. The *Tinker* being not to learne what uertue the medicine had which hee held at his lippes, powred it downe his throate merily, and crying *Til-lill*, he seares no Plagues. In hee stept, tossing the dead body too and fro, and was sorrie hee knew him not. Mine hoste, that with grieve began to fall away uillanously, looking uery ruthfully on the *Tinker*, and thinking him a fit instrument to be playd vpon, offred a crowne out of his owne purse, if he would bury the partie. A crowne was a shrewd temptation to a *Tinker*; many a hole might he stop, before hee could picke a crowne of it, yet being a subtil *Tinker* (and to make all Sextons pray for him, because hee would raise their fees) an angell hee wanted to be his guide, and vnder ten shillings (by his ten bones) he would not put his finger into the fire. The whole parish had warning of this presently, thirtie shillings were saued by the bargaine, and the towne like to be saued too; therefore ten shillings were leuyed out of hand, put into a rag, which was tyed to the ende of a long pole, and deliuered (in sight of all the parish, who stood aloofe stopping their noses) by the Headboroughs owne selfe, in proper person, to the *Tinker*, who with one hand receiued the money, and with the other struck the boord, crying *Hey!* a fresh double-pot. Which armor of prooffe being fitted to his body, vp he hoists the *Londoner* on his backe (like a *Shoole-boy*) a shouell and pick-axe standing ready for him; and thus furnished, into a field, some good distance from the towne, he bears his deadly load, and there throwes it downe, falling roundly to his tooles, vpon which the strong beere hauing set an edge, they quickly cut out a lodging in the earth for the citizen. But the *Tinker* knowing the wormes needed no apparell, sauing onely sheets, stript him starke naked, but first diued nimbly into his pocket, to see what linings they had; assuring himselfe, that a *Londoner* would not wander so farre without Siluer. His hopes were of the right stampe; for from out of his pocket he drew a leatherne bagge, with seuen pounds in it. This musicke made the *Tinkers* heart dance: he quickly tumbled his man into the graue, hid him ouer head and eares in dust, bound vp his clothes in a bundle, and carrying that at the end of his staffe on his shoulder, with the purse of seuen pounds in his hand, backe againe comes he through the towne, crying aloud: Haue yee any more *Londoners* to bury? *Hey downe a downe dery*, Haue yee any more *Londoners* to bury? The Hobbinolls running away from him, as if he had beene the dead citizens ghost, and he marching away from them in all the hast he could, with that song still in his mouth.

You see therefore how dreadfull a fellow Death is, making fooles euen of wise-men, and cowards of the most ualiant; yea, in such a base slavery hath it bound mens senses, that they haue no power to looke higher than their owne roofes, but seeme by their *Turkish* and barbarous actions to belieue that there is no felicitie after this life, and that (like beasts) their soules shall perish with their bodies. How

many vpon sight onely of a letter (sent from *London*) haue started backe, and durst haue layd their saluation vpon it, that the Plague might be folded in that empty paper; belieuing uerily, that the arme of Omnipotence could neuer reach them, vnlesse it were with some weapon drawne out of the infected citie: in so much that euen the *Western* Pugs receiuing money there, haue tyed it in a bag at the end of their barge, and so trailed it through the *Thames*, least Plague-fores sticking vpon shillings, they should be naild vp for counterfeits when they were brought home.

More uentrous than these blockheads was a certain Justice of peace, to whose gate, being shut (for you must know that now there is no open house kept) a company of wilde fellowes being lead, for robbing an orchard, the stout-hearted constable rapt most couragiously, and would haue a bout with none but the Justice himselfe, who at last appeard in his likenesse aboue at a window, inquiring, why they summond a parlie. It was deliuered why: the case was opened to his examining wisdome, and that the euill-doers were onely *Londoners*. At the name of *Londoners*, the Justice clapping his hand on his brest (as who should say, *Lord, haue mercie vpon vs*) started backe; and being wise enough to saue one, held his nose hard betweene his fore-finger and his thumbe, and speaking in that wise (like the fellow that described the villainous motion of *Julius Caesar* and the duke of *Guise*, who (as he gaue it out) fought a combat together, pulling the casement close to him, cryed out in that quaille-pipe-uoice: that if they were *Londoners*, away with them to *Limbo*: take onely their names: they were fore fellowes, and he would deal with them when time should serue: meaning, when the Plague and they should not be so great together; and so they departed: the uery name of *Londoners* being worse then ten whetstones to sharpen the sword of Justice against them.

I could fill a whole uolume, and call it the second part of the hundred mery tales, onely with such ridiculous stufte as this of the Justice; but *Dii meliora*; I haue better matters to set my wits about: neither shall you wring out of my pen (though you lay it on the racke) the villainies of that damnd Keeper, who killd all she kept; it had bene good to haue made her Keeper of the common Jayle, and the holes of both Counters; for a number lye there that wish to be rid out of this motley world; shee would haue tickled them, and turned them ouer the thumbs. I will likewise let the Church-warden in *Thames-street* sleep (for hees now past waking) who being requested by one of his neighbors to suffer his wife or child (that was then dead) to lye in the Church-yard, answered in a mocking sort, he kept that lodging for himselfe and his household: and within three days after was driuen to hide his head in a hole himself. Neither will I speake a word of a poore boy (seruant to a Chandler) dwelling thereabouts, who being struck to the heart by sicknes, was first caryed away by water, to be left any where; but landing being denyed by an army of browne-bill men, that kept the shore, back againe was he brought, and left in an out-celler, where lying groueling and groaning on his face, among fagots, (but not one of them set on fire to comfort him) there continued all night, and dyed miserably for want of succor. Nor of another poore wretch, in the Parish of *St. Mary Oueryes*, who being in the morning throwne, as the fashion is, into a graue vpon a heap of carcases, that kayd for their complement, was found in the afternoone gasping and gaping for life: but by these tricks, imagining that many thousand haue bene turned wrongfully off the ladder of life, and praying that *Derick*, or his executors, may liue to do those a good turne, that haue done so to others: *Hic finis Priami*; heeres an end of an old song.

Et jam tempus Equum fumantia soluere colla.

[*N. B.* In my next shall be inserted another lively *Picture* of this City and the Country, during the succeeding dreadful Visitation in 1625; which curious *Tract* (without any of the Puns and Drollery of the foregoing) abounds with keen Strokes of Satire. It bears Title, *Vox Civitatis*.] The

The COPIE of a LETTER written from Master T. M. neere Salisbury, to Master H. A. at London, concerning the *Proceeding at Winchester*; where the late Lord Cobham, Lord Gray, and Sir Griffin Marckham, all attainted of hie Treason, were ready to be executed, on Friday the 9th of December, 1603.

At which time his Majesties Warrant, all written with his owne hand, (whereof the true Copie is here annexed) was deliuered to Sir Benjamin Tichbourne, bigb Sberiffe of Hampshire, commanding him to suspend their Execution, till further Order.

Imprinted at London, by R. B. Anno Dom. 1603.

S I R,

I Haue receiued a letter from you; by which I perceiue howe much you desire to be particularly enfourmed of the cause and manner of the stay of the late Lord * Cobham's, Lord Graye's, and Sir Griffin Marckham's Execution, appointed at *Winchester*: wherein, although there are many better able to discourse at large of such an action then my selfe, yet I conceiue (when you haue perused this plaine and true Relation, of that which all men there behelde that day, and many more since haue heard, from persons of best qualitie and knowledge, you will thanke me more, for suffering the trueth to shew it self vnclouted, then if I had laboured to haue deliuered you a Tale well painted with curious words and fine phrases.

You must therefore vnderstand, that as soone as the arraignments were passed at *Winchester*, his Majesties priuie Counsell (to the number of fourteene or fifteene, of which companie all of them had either beene tryers of the Noblemen as their Peeres, or fitten as high Commissioners vpon the Gentlemen) were called before his Majestie (in his priuie Chamber) at *Wilton*, where hee commanded them to deliuer (without respect to any person) the true Narration onely, of the order in the Triall of these persons that had beene condemned by the lawe, and of the nature and degree of their offences, as had appeared in euery one of them, by their seuerall answeres.

All which being cleerely and justly reported by them, (each speaking in the hearing of the rest) his Majestie, for his part, vsed himselfe so grauely and referuedly in all his speeches, as well to themselues at that time, as also to all other persons after, in priuate or publique, as neither any of his priuie Counsell, Nobilitie, or any that attended neere to his sacred Person, durst presume to mediate for any, or so much as to enquire what should be the conclusion of this proceeding.

In the meane time, while the Court was full of variety of discourse, some speaking out of probabilitie, others arguing out of desire, what was like to be the fortune of all, or of any of these offendours, his Majestie hauing concluded onely in his own secret heart (which is the true oracle of grace and knowledge) in what manner to proceed; and that without asking counsell of any earthly person. It pleased him to resolute (betweene God and himselfe) that their Execution should be stayed, euen at the instant when the Axe should be layde to the trees rootes. For the secret and orderly carriage whereof, his Majestie was carefull to preuent all cause or colour of suspicion, of that judicious, royall, and v unexpected course which followed. And therefore, after the two Priests were executed, on *Tuesday* the 29th of *November*, and Maister George Brooke on *Monday* following, his Majestie on the same day, being the 1st of *December*, signed three Warrants, for the Execution of the late Lord

H 2

Cobham,

* See Sir Walter Raleigh's Life and Trial.

Cobham, Lord *Gray*, and Sir *Griffin Markham*, Knight, with particular direction to the Sheriffe, to performe it on *Friday* after, before ten a clocke in the morning.

All these directions being now become notorious, both by the Writs of Execution (which passed vnder the great Seale) and by the making readie the Scaffolds at *Winchester*, his Majestie very secretly (as now appeareth by the sequele) drew himselfe into his Cabinet, on *Wednesday* before the day of Execution, and there priuately framed a Warrant, written all with his owne hand, to the Sheriffe, by vertue whereof, hee countermaunded all the former directions, alledging the reasons therein mentioned. Of which seeing no mans pen can so well expresse, as his owne, I send you the Copie *verbatim*, as I took it out of the Originall, which many read in my Cousin Sir *Benjamin Tichbournes* hand.

And now to come to the ordering of this businesse; among many other circumstances, it is verry remarkable, with what discretion and foresight that person was elected, which must bee vsed in carriage of the Warrant. First his Majestie resolued it should be a *Scottishman*; being thereby like to be freest from particular dependencie vpon any Nobleman, Counsellours, or others, their Friends or Allyes. Next hee resolued, to send a man of no extraordinarie ranke, because the standers-by should not obserue any alteration, nor the Delinquents themselues should take any apprehension of such a mans being there at that time: this being his Majesties speciall desire, that euery one of them (being seuerally brought vpon the Scaffold) might quietly breath forth their last wordes, and true confession of his secretest conscience. And so (to be short) his Majestie made choise of M. *John Gibb*, a *Scottishman* (as aforesaid) a man that had neuer dealt with any Counsellor, or other, for suite or businesse, but one that had (within short while after the Kings first entrie) bene sent backe into *Scotland*, from whence he was but freshly arriued at *Wilton*, some fewe dayes before.

This party being by the King approoued for an ancient, trustie, and secret seruant (as a Groome of his Majesties bed-chamber) and a man (as is said before) little known, and lesse bound to any Subject in *England* for any benefit, receiuing the Warrant secretly, on *Thursday*, from the Kings owne hand, and telling his fellowes (who would otherwise haue mislead him) that he must lie that night at *Salisbury* vpon some priuate businesse of his owne, he rode directly to *Winchester*, and there, keeping himselfe priuate all night, rose earely in the morning on *Friday*, and went obscurely to the Castle-greene; where the people flocking in all the morning, as the time drew neere, he put himselfe with the throng, close by the Scaffold, and there leaned till the Sheriffe brought vp Sir *Griffin Markham* to the place, who was the man appointed first to die.

There the sayd Sir *Griffin Markham*, hauing ended his prayer, and made himselfe ready to kneele downe, Mr. *John Gibb* finding it fit time, while the axe was preparing, to giue some secret notice of his charge, called to my cousin *Tichbourne*, the Sheriffe, to speake with him, and then deliuered him (priuately) his Majesties Warrant, with further directions uerbally, how he should vse it.

Herevpon the Sheriffe, perceiuing fully his Majesties intention, so warily and discreetly marshalled the matter, as hee onely called Sir *Griffin Markham* vnto him on the Scaffold, and told him, that he must withdraw himselfe into the Hall, to be confronted (before his death) before those two Lords, that were to follow him, about some points that did concern his Majesties seruice: and so carying *Markham* into the Hall, he left him there, and went vp hastily, for the Lord *Gray*, to the Castle, who being likewise brought vp to the Scaffold, and suffered to powre out his prayers to *God* (at great length) and to make his last confession, as he would answer it vpon his soule, when he was readie to kneele downe, to receiue the stroke of death, Master Sheriffe caused him to stay, and told him that he must goe downe for a while into the Hall, where finding Sir *Griffin Markham*, he willed him to tarry there till he returned.

Laft

Last of all, he went for the Lord *Cobham*, who hauing also ended his deuotion to God, and making himselfe ready to receiue the same blow, the Sheriffe finding the time come to publish the Kings mercie to the world, and to reueale his mysterie, he caused both the Lord *Gray* and Sir *Griffin Markbam* to be brought backe to the Scaffold, and there, before them all three that were condemned, and in the hearing of all the company, notified his Majesties Warrant, by which he was authoris'd to stay the Execution. Which strange and vnderferued Grace and Mercie, proceeding from a Prince, so deeply wounded without cause, or colour of cause giuen by himselfe toward them in any thing, but meerely contrary (to both the Lords especially) bred in the hearts, as well of the offenders as of the standers by, such sundry passions, according to the diuers tempers of their minds, as to some that shall receiue those things by report, which others did behold with their eyes, my relation may rather seeme to be a description of some ancient History, expressed in a well-acted Comedy, then that it was euer possible for any other man to represent, at one time, in a matter of this consequence, so many liuely figures of Justice and Mercy in a King, of Terror and Penitence in Offenders, and of so great Admiration and Applause in all others, as appeared in this Action, carried only and wholly by his Majesties owne direction.

The Lord *Cobham* (holding his hand to heauen) applauded this incomparable Mercie of so gracious a Soueraigne, aggravating his owne fault, by comparing it with the Princes Clemencie, wishing confusion to all men aliue, that should euer thinke a thought against such a Prince, as neither gaue cause of offence, nor tooke reuenge of ingratitude.

The Lord *Gray*, finding in what measure this rare King had rewarded good for euill, and forborne to make him an example of discouragement, and terror to all men that hereafter might attempt to break the bonds of loyalty, vpon the passions of any ambition, began to sob and weep for a great while, with most deepe contrition, protesting now, that such was his zeale and desire to redeeme his fault, by any meanes of satisfaction, as he could easily sacrifice his life, to preuent the losse of one finger of that royall hand, that had dealt so mercifully with him, when he least looked for it.

Sir *Griffin Markbam* (standing like a man astonished) did nothing but admire and pray. The people, that were present, witnessed, by infinite applause and shouting, the joy and comfort which they took in these wonderfull effects of Grace and Mercie, from a Prince whome God had inspired with so many royall gifts, for their conseruation, and would conserue for his owne glorie.

The crie being carried out of the Castle gates into the Town, was not onely sounded with acclamation of all sexes, qualities and affection, but the true report, diuulged since in all partes, hath bred, in the woorst-disposed mindes, such remorse of iniquitie, in the best such incouragement to loyalty, and in those that are indifferent such feare to offend, and generally such affection to his Majesties Person, as perswades the whole world, that Sathan himselfe can neuer so farre preuaile with any, as to make them lift vp their hearts or hands against a Prince, from whom they receiue so true effects of Justice and Goodness.

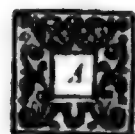
To conclude therefore, I haue now done my best to satisfie your desire, though I feele (to my grieve) how short I come to my owne wish; because I would haue expressed to the life (if it had beene possible) both the matter and the forme of this proceeding; of both which the wisest men, that haue seene and vnderstoode all particular circumstances, are at the ende of their wits, to giue an absolute censure, whether of them both deserue greater recommendation: this being most assured, that there is no Record extant, wherein so great wisdom and vnderstanding, so solid judgement, so perfect a resolution, to giue way to no request, or mediation; so inscrutable a heart, so royall and equall a tempered Mercie, after so clear and publike Justice, haue euer concurred so demonstratiuely as in this late Action,
where-

wherein this blessed King hath not proceeded after the manner of men and of Kings, *Sed celestis Iudicis æterniq; Regis more*, whereof he shall be most assured to reape these lasting fruites, of being beloued and feared of all men, obeyed with comfort, and serued with contiual joy and admiration. And so forbearing to hold you any longer at this time, I end. From my house, neere Salisbury, the 15th of December, 1603.

Your Loving Cousin and Friend,

T. M.

His Majesties Warrant, written with his own Hand.



ALTHOUGH it be true, that all well governid and flourishing Kingdomes and common Wealthis aire establisht by Iustice, and that these two Noblemen by birthe, that aire now upon the point of Execution, aire for thair treasonable practises condemnid by the Lawe, and adiudgit worthy of the execution thaireof, to the exemple and terror of otheris; The one of thaim hauing filthily practised the ouerthrow of the quhole kingdome, and the other for the surprise of our owin Personne; Yet in regaird that this is the first yeere of our Raigne, in this Kingdome, and that neuer King was so farre obleisht to his people, as we haue bene to this, by our entrie heere with so haintie and generall an applause of all sorts; Among quhom all the kinne, friendis, and allies of the saidis condemnid personnis vaire as forduart and duetifull as any other our good Subiectis, as also that at the very time of thair Arraignment none did more freely and reddily gine thair assent to thair conuiction, and to deliuer thaim into the handis of Iustice, then so many of thair neereft Kinsmen and Allies (as being Peeris) vaiere upon thair Inrie; As likenaise in regaird that Iustice hath in some sort gottin course alreadie, by the execution of the two Priestis, and George Brooke, that vaire the principall plotteris and intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the saidis treasonabill Machinations; Vee thairfore (being resoluid to mixe Clemencie with Iustice) aire contented, and by these Presentis command you, our Sheriffe of Hampshire, to superseide the Execution of the saidis two Noblemen, and to take thaim backe to thair prison againe, quhile our further pleasure be knowin. And since vee will not haue our Lawis to haue respect to personis, in spairing the great, and strikking the meaner sort; It is our pleasure, that the like course be also taken with Marckham, being sorry from our hairs, that such is, not onely the heynous nature of the saidis condemnid personnis crime, but euen the corruption is so great of thair naturall disposition, as the care vee haue for the safety and quiet of our State, and good Subiectis, will not permit vs to vse that clemencie towards thaim, quibich, in our owin naturall inclination, vee might very easily be perswadit vnto.

The CHARACTER of King JAMES. By Sir A.W. 1650.

THIS King's Character is much easier to take then his Picture; for he could never be brought to sit for the taking of that: which is the reason of so few good peeces of him; but his Character is obuious to every eye.

Hee was of a middle stature, more corpulent through his cloathes then in his body, yet fat enough, his cloathes ever being made large and easie, the Doublets quilted for stiletto prooffe, his Breeches in plaites and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted Doublets. His eye large, ever rowling after any stranger came in his Presence, in so much, as many for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance. His Beard was very thin; his Tongue too large for his Mouth, which ever made him speake full in the Mouth, and made him drinke very uncomely, as if eating his drinke, which came out into the Cup on each side his Mouth. His skin was as soft as Taffeta Sarsnet, which felt so, because hee never washt his hands, only rub'd his fingers ends sleightly with the wet

wet end of a Napkin. His legs were very weake, having, as was thought, some foule play in his youth, or rather before he was born, that hee was not able to stand at seven yeares of age: that weaknesse made him ever leaning on other mens shoulders: his walk was ever circular, his fingers ever in that walke fidling about his cod-peice: he was very temperate in his exercises, and diet, and not intemperate in his drinking; however in his old age, and *Buckingham's* joviall Suppers, when hee had any turne to doe with him, made him sometimes over-taken, which he would the very next day remember, and repent with tears; it is true he dranke very often, which was rather out of custome than any delight, and his drinckes were of that kind for strength, as *Frontiniack* Canary, high Canary wine, *Trent* wine, and *Scotish* Ale, that had he not had a uery strong braine, might have daily been overtaken, although hee seldome drank at any one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above one or two. He was very constant in all things, his Favourites excepted, in which he loved change, yet never cast down any (he once raised) from the height of greatnesse, though from their wonted neernesse and privacy, unlesse by their own default, by opposing his change, as in *Somerset's* case: yet had hee not beene in that foule poysoning businesse, and so cast downe himselfe, I doe verily believe not him neither; for all his other Favourites he left great in Honour, great in Fortune; and did much love *Mountgomery*, and trusted him more at the very last gaspe, then at the first minute of his Favouriteship. In his Dyet, Apparell and Journeys he was very constant; in his Apparell so constant, as by his good will he would never change his cloaths till verry ragges; his fashion never: infomuch as one bringing to him a Hat of *Spanisb* Block, he cast it from him, swearing he neither loved them nor their fashions. Another time, bringing him Roses on his Shooes, he asked, if they would make him a ruffe-footed-Dove? one yard of six penny Ribbond served that turne. His Dyet and Journeys were so constant, that the best observing Courtier of our time was wont to say, was he asleep seven yeares, and then awakened, he would tell where the King every day had been, and every dish he had had at his Table.

He was not very uxorious, though he had a very brave Queen that never crossed his designes, nor intermeddled with State-affaires, but ever complied with him, against the nature of any; but of a mild spirit in the change of Favourites; for he was ever best, when furthest from the Queen; and that was thought to be the first grounds of his often removes, which afterwards proved habitual. He was unfortunate in the marriage of his Daughter, and so was all Christendome besides; but sure the Daughter was more unfortunate in a Father, then he in a Daughter. He naturally loved not the sight of a Souldier, nor of any valiant man; and it was an observation that Sir *Robert Mansell* was the onely valiant man that he loved, and him hee loved so intirely, that for all *Buckingham's* greatnesse with the King, and his hatred of Sir *Robert Mansell*, yet could not that alienate the King's affections from him; infomuch as when, by the instigation of *Cottington*, then Embassadour in *Spaine*, by *Buckingham's* procurement, the *Spanisb* Embassadour came with great complaint against Sir *Robert Mansell*, then at *Algiers*, to suppress the Pirates, that he did support them; having never a friend there (though many) that durst speake in his defence, the King himselfe defended him in these words: *My Lord Embassadour, I cannot beleieve this, for I made choyce my selfe of him, out of these reasons; I know him to be valiant, honest, and nobly descended as most in my Kingdome, and will never beleieve a man thus qualified will do so base an act.* He naturally loved honest men, that were not over-active, yet never loved any man heartily untill hee had bound him unto him by giving him some suite, which hee thought bound the others love to him againe; but that argued a poore disposition in him, to beleieve, that any thing but a noble mind, seasoned with vertue, could make any firme love or union: for mercenary minds are carryed away with a greater prize, but noble minds, alienated with nothing but publicke disgraces.

He

He was very witty, and had as many witty jests as any man living; at which he would not smile himselfe, but deliver them in a grave and serious manner. He was very liberall of what he had not in his own gripe, and would rather part with 100*li.* he never had in his keeping, then one twenty shillings peece within his owne custody. Hee spent much, and had much use of his Subjects purses, which bred some clashing with them in Parliament, yet would always come off, and end with a sweet and plausible close: and truly his bounty was not discommendable, for his raising Favourits was the worst: rewarding old servants, and releiving his native Country-men, was infinitely more to be commended in him, then condemned. His sending out Embassadours, was no lesse chargeable then dishonourable and unprofitable to him and his whole Kingdome; for he was ever abused in all Negotiations: yet he had rather spend 100000*li.* on Embassies, to keep or procure peace with dishonour, then 10000*li.* on an Army that would have forced peace with honour. He loved good laws, and had many made in his time, and in his last Parliament, for the good of his Subjects, and suppressing Promoters, and propping Fellows, gave way to that *Nullum tempus, &c.* to be confined to 60 yeares, which was more beneficiall to the Subjects in respect of their Quiets, then all the Parliaments had given him during his whole Reign. By his frequenting Sermons he appeared Religious; yet his *Tuesday* Sermons, if you will beleeve his owne Country-men, that lived in those times when they were erected, and well understood the cause of erecting them, were dedicated for a strange peece of devotion.

He would make a great deale too bold with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, vergeing on blasphemie; but would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sinnes, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion: He had need of great assurance, rather than hopes, that would make daily so bold with God.

He was so crafty and cunning in petty things, as the circumventing any great man, the change of a Favourite, insomuch as a very wise man was wont to say, he beleved him the wisest Foole in Christendome; meaning him wise in small things, but a foole in weighty affairs.

He ever desired to prefer mean men in great places, that when he turned them out againe, they should have no friend to bandy with them: and besides, they were so hated by being raised from a meane estate, to over-top all men, that every one held it a pretty recreation to have them often turned out. There was in this King's time, at one instant living, two Treasurers, three Secretaries, two Lord-Keepers, two Admiralls, three Lord Cheife-Justices, yet but one in play; therefore this King had a pretty faculty of putting out and in. By this you may perceiue in what his wisdom consisted; but in great and weighty affaires, he was ever at his wits end.

He had a trick to coufen himselfe with bargains under hand, by taking 1000*li.* or 10000*li.* as a bribe, when his Counsell was treating with his Customers to raise them to so much more yearly; this went into his Privy purse, wherein he thought he had over-reached the Lords, but coufened himselfe; but would as easily break the bargain upon the next offer; saying, hee was mistaken and deceived, and therefore no reason he should keepe the bargain: this was often the case with the Farmers of the Customes. He was infinitely inclined to Peace, but more out of fear than conscience; and this was the greatest blemish this King had through all his Reign, otherwise he might have been ranked with the best of our Kings: yet sometimes would he shew pretty flashes of Valour, which might easily be discerned to be forced, not naturall; and being forced, could have wished, rather, it would have recoiled backe to himselfe, then carryed it that King it had concerned, least he might have been put to the Trial, to maintain his seeming Valour.

In a Word, take him altogether, and not in peeces, such a King I wish this Kingdome never have a worse, on condition not any better; for he lived in Peace, dyed in Peace, and left all his Kingdomes in a peaceable condition, with his own Motto *Beati Pacifici.*

A



A Short View of the long LIFE and RAIGNE of HENRY
the Third, King of ENGLAND. Presented to King JAMES,
by Sir Robert Cotton; but not Printed till 1627.



Wearied with the lingring calamities of ciuill armes, and afrighted at the sudden fall of a *licencious* soueraigne, all men stood at gaze, expecting the euent of their long desires (peace) and issue of their new hopes (benefit) For in euery shift of princes there are few either so meane or modest, that please not themselves with some probable object of preferment. To satisfie all, a child ascendeth the throne, mild and gracious, but easie of nature, whose innocency and naturall goodnesse led him safe along the various daungers of his father's raigne. Happy was hee in his vnkle, the earle of *Pembrook*, the guide of his infancy, and no lesse then for thirty yeares after, whilst *De Burgo*, that fast seruant of his fathers against the *French*, both in *Normandy* and *England*, with *Bygod*, earle of *Norfolke*, and others of like grauity and experience, did manage the affaires. Few and no other were the distempers then in state, but such as are incident to all; the commons greedy of liberty, and the nobillity of rule, and but one violent storme raised by some old and constant followers of his father, *Fulco de Brent de Fortibus* and others, men that could onely thriue by the warres, mi liking those dayes of sloath: (for so they termed that calme of King *Henry's* gouernement;) and the rather because the justice of quiet times vrged from them, to the lawfull owners, such lands and castles as the fury of war had vniustly given them: for finding in the vprightnesse of the King, that power of protection should not be made a wrong doer, they fell out into that rebellion, that, with it, ended their liues and competitors; professing that those their swords, that had set the crown vpon their soueraignes head, when neither maiestie nor lawe could, should now secure those small pitiunces to their maisters, when maiesty or law would not. Dangerous are too great benefits of subjects to their princes, when it maketh the mind only capable of merrit, nothing of duty. No other disquiet did the state after this feele, but such as is incident in all, the mallice to authority. Good and great men may secure themselves from guilt, but not from enuy: for the greatest in trust of publike affaires are still shot at by the aspiring of those that deeme themselves lesse in imployment then they are in merrit. These vapours did euer and easily vanish, so long as the helme was guided by temperate spirrits, and the King tied his actions to the rule of good counsell, and not to young, passionate, or single aduise.

Thirty yeares now passed, and all the old guides of his youth now dead, but *de Burgo*, (a man in whom nothing of worth was wanting but moderation) whose length of dayes giuing him the aduantage of sole power, his owne ambition and age gaue him desire and art to keepe out others, which wrought him into the fatal enuy of most, and that encreased in the title of earle, and great offices the King then gaue him. Time, by this, had wrought, as in it selfe, so in the hearts of the people, a reuolution, the afflictions of their fathers forgotten, and the surfeit of long peace, per-

chance, having let in some abuses; from hence the commons, to whom dayes present seeme euer worst, commend the foregone ages they neuer remembered, and condemne the present, though they knew neither the disease thereof, nor the remedy.

*Chron. de
Litchfield.*

To these idle and vnuall humors, fell in some of the young and noble spirites, warme and over-weaning, who being as truly ignorant as the rest, first by fallying the wisdom of the present and greatest rulers, (making each casuall mishap their errors) seem to decypher every blemish in government, and then by holding certayne imaginary and fantastike formes of commonwealths, flatter their owne beleefe and ability, that they can mold any state to these generall rules, which, in particular application, will proue idle and grosse absurdities.

Next, confirmed in their owne worth by *Sommery* and *Spencer*, *GualdeCouden*. they take it a fit time to worke themselves into action and imployment, a thing they had long desired, and now (though vnwilling to seeme so) doe sue for; and doubtlesse the farthest of their ayme was, yet, to become quiet instruments in serving the State, if they had bene then held fit and worthy.

But the King taught by the new earle, that *Consilia senum hastas juvenum esse*, and that such wits, (for so they would be stiled) were *Novandis quam gerendis rebus aptiores*, sifter in being factious to disorder then to settle affayres, eyther denyed or delayed their desires; for wise princes will ever choose their instruments *per negotia*, and not *supra*, creatures out of meere election, that are only theirs, otherwise, without friends or power.

*Math. Paris,
Hist. minor.*

Amongst this vnequal medly, there were of the nobility, *Richard* earle of *Pembroock*, *Glocester*, and *Hareford*, darlings of the multitude; some for the merit of their fathers, whose memories they held sacred, as pillars of publike liberty, and opposers of encroaching monarchy. At Rumenced the Armies met. Of the gentry, *Fitz-Geffeory*, *Bardolph*, *Chron. Petri* *Griffey*, *Mausnell* and *Fitz John*, spirits of as much acrimony and arrogant spleene as the places from whence they were elected, campe, court, or countrey, could afford any. These by force would effect

what the other did affect by cunning; but all impatient to see their ends thus frustrate, and that so long as the King followed the direction of the earle of *Kent*, they had small hope of their desires, they made often meetings; and, *Math. Paris.* as one sayth of them, *clam & nocturnis colloquiis aut flexum in vespertina die.*

In the end, *Sommery* and *Spencer*, two that were farre in opinion with the rest, gentle-men, by forraigne education and imployment, more qualified than vsually men of these times, and that set vppon their owne deserts the best places, when the streame should turne (which one of them (*Spencer*) did vnworthily obtrayne, for he dyed in a ctuall rebellion, *Iusticiarius Anglie*, against his master) advised, that the best meanes to remooue that great and good obstacle, the earle of *Kent*, out of the way of their advancement, was by sifting into his actions, and siding with his opposite, *Peter* bishop of *Winchester*, (an ill man, but gracious with the King) making still their ends, that the worthiest beeing driuen out by the worst, they shall eyther be able to mate him with his owne vice, which will bee euer more visible, as hee is more potent, and so remooue him at pleasure; or else glue over the King to such ministers, to their bad desires, as losing him the hearts of his people, might smoothe them away to their bad desires, *Honores quos quiescit respublica desperant, per arbara consequi se posse arbitrantur*. Thus counsell heard, approbued and put in practise, the corrupt and ambitious bishop is easily insnared to their part, by mony and opinion of increase of power.

*Cicero in Cat-
telline; Orat.
prima.*

Articles are in all hast forged and vrged against the earle, as sale of crowne land, wast of the Kings treasure, and lastly (that which these doubtfull times held capital) his giuing allowance to any thing that might breed a rupture between the soueraigne and the subjects, as hee had done in making way, with the King, to annihilate all patents granted in his nouage, and enforced the subject to pay, as the record sayth, *non iuxta singulorum facultatem, sed quicquid Iusticiarius estimabat.*

Lib. Bermondsey Vita abbati sancti Albani.

Lib. Bermondsey Vita abbati sancti Albani.

Well, hee cleared himselfe of all but the last, and did worthily perish by it; for after that ill princes coffers are euer the ruines of their first inventors: bad times corrupt good counsellors, and make the best ministers yeelde to the lust of princes; therefore this King cannot passe blamelesse, that would so easily blemish all former merits of so good a seruant, for that wherein himselfe was chiefe in fault.

But princes natures are more variable, and sooner cloyed than others; more transitory their fauours; and as their mindes are large, so they easily overlooke their first election, tying their affections no farther then their owne satisfactions.

The bishop now alone manageth the state; chooseth his chiefe instrument, *Peter de Rivalis*, a man like himselfe, displaceth his natives, and draweth *Poissions* and *Britons* into offices of best trust and benefit, and the King into an euill opinion of his people. For nothing is more against the nature of the *Englisch*, then to haue strangers rule over them. Of this man's time, *Wondour*, an author then living, sayth, *Iudicia committuntur iniustis leges ex legibus, pax discordantibus iustitia iniuriis*. Thus the plot of the tumultuous barons went cleare; and had not the discreeter bishops calmed all by datifull perswasions, and informing the King, that the support of this bold mans power (whose carriage before had lost his father *Normandy*, the loue of his people, and in that his crowne) would, by teaching the sonne to reject, in passion, the iust petitions of his loyall subjects (as of late the earle of *Pembroke*, his earle marshal of *England*, the due of his office) drue all the state into discontent, by his bad advise and corrupt manners; doubtlesse the rebellious lords had ended this distemper, as their designe was, in a ciuill warre.

Regis Rossini.

Annali de Ely.

Denials from princes must bee supplied with gracious vsage, that, though they cure not the sore, yet they may abate the sence of it; but best it is, that all fauours come directly from themselves; denials and things of bitterness from their ministers.

Thus are the strangers all displaced and banished, *Rivalis* extortions ransacked by many strict commissions of enquiry; the bishop, sent away disgraced, finds now, that *Nuda que sua scelere parentia diuturna*; and that in princes fauours there is no substance, betweene the highest of all and precipitation. The lords, still frustrate of their malicious ends, beganne to sow of these late grounds of the peoples discontent, *Querelas & ambigues de principis sermones & quaq; alia turbamenta vulgi*, and tooke it vp a fashion to eendear and glorifie themselves with the senselesse multitude, by depraving the Kings discretion and government, whose nature, too gentle for such insolent spirits, was forced (as *Trouet* sayth) to seeke, as he presently did, advise and loue amongst strangers, seeing no desert could purchase it at home: all bore themselves like tutors and controllers, few like subjects and counsellors. God, wee see, holdeth the hearts of princes, and sendeth them such counsellors as the quality of the subject meriteth.

Claus. anno 37 H. 3. M. 26. Chron. Hall.

For *Mauisford*, a *French-man*, became the next object of the King's delight; a gentleman of choice blood, education, and feature. On this mans content the heady affection of the soueraigne did so much doate, that at his first entrance of grace, in enuy of the nobility, hee made him earle of *Leicester*; and in no lesse offence of the Cleargy, by violating the rites of the holy church, gave him his vowed, vailed,

Chron. Litchf. Math. Paris. Roger Wondour.

filter to wife. More of arte then vsually some haue deemed this act of the Kings, making the tye of his dependancy the strength of his assurance; so both at his will.

Mounsford, made wanton thus with dalliance of his maister, forgetteth
Chron. Ioan. moderation: for seldome discretion in youth attendeth great and sud-
Sulgrave. daine fortunes. Hee draweth all publyke affayres into his owne hands, all fauours must passe from him, all preferments by him, all suites addressed to him, the King but as a cypher set to add to this figure, the more of number. Great is the soveraignes errour, when the hope of subjects must recognize it selfe beholden to the servant, which ought immediately to bee acknowledged from the goodnessse and good election of himselfe. Though princes may take, above others, some reposesfull friend, with whom they may participate their neereft passions, yet ought they so to temper the affayres of their fauour, that they corrupt not the effects of their principallities.

At this the great and grauest men began to grieue, knowing him vnworthy, without honour or merrit, thus to deale alone in that which should passe through their bands, and to leape ouer all their heads, to the greatest honour and offices, and therefore runne along with the then rising grace of the Kings halfe-brethren, (though strangers) hoping thereby to deuide that power which, otherwise, they saw impossible to breake.

Leicester, confident of his maister's love, and impatient to beare eyther
Chr. Reading. riual in fauour, or partner in rule, opposeth them all; but findeth in his ebbe of fauour the fortune of others, and that this King could euer as easily transerre his fancy as he had settled his affection. Great we see must be the arte and cunning of that man, that keeps himselfe afloat in the streame of soveraignes fauour; since the change of princes wils, which, for the most part, are ful of fancy and soone satiate, are hardly arrested. Who so would effect this, must onely attend the honour and seruice of his maister, and dispoyled of all other respects, transforme himselfe into his inward inclination, and worke into necessity of imployment, by undergoing the offices of most secrecy, eyther of publike seruice, or princes pleasures; he must also beate downe competitors of worth by the hands of others, conceale his owne greatnesse, in publike, with a fained humility, and what impoerency or gouernment he affecteth let it rather seeme the worke of others, out of conueniency, then any appetite of his owne.

Now were the raynes of rule, by this advantage, taken by the rebellious lords, and put alone into the hands of the Kings halfe-brethren, *Adam, Guido, Hen. Knigh-*
ton. *Godfray*, and *William*, himself as before, *et magna fortuna licentiam tantum usurpans*: for to act his owne part, hee was ever wyer-drawne,
Men. Leicester. when hee had such worthy servants as would often, for his honour, vrge it. For these masters (as *Willingford* termeth them) *Tanta elati*
jaflantia quod nec superiorem sibi intelligunt, nec parem mellitis & mollitis adulationibus
animum Regis pro libito voluntutis a ratione tramite declinantes, do alone what they list. They fill vp the place of iustice and trust with their country-men, strangers, exact of whom, how and what they please, waste the treasure and crown lands on themselves, and their followers, set prices on all offices, and rayne the lawe within the rule of their owne breasts. The vsuall reply of their seruants, to the playnts

Wil. de Ris- of the Kings subjects, beeing *Quis tibi restum faciet? Dominus rex vult*
anger. *quod dominus meus vult*. These strangers seemed, in their lawlesse carriage, not to haue bin inuited, but to haue entred the state by conquest.

Lib. Monaste- The great men they enforced not to obey, but to serue, and the meane
ry Ramsey. to liue so as they might justly say, they had nothing: yet lest the King should heare the groans of his people, and the wickednesse of his ministers, which good and able men would tell him, they barre all such accesse; suspicion, beeing the best persequer of her owne deserts, aymeth at those who haue more of verue

ruè then themselves, as fearing them most. Thus is the incapacity of government in a King, when it fails to be a prey to such lawlesse minions, the ground of infinite corruption in all the members of the state; all take warrant generally, from princes weakenesses, of licentious liberty, and greatnesse makes profit particularly by it, and therefore give way to encrease ill, to encrease their gaynes.

A famine accompanieth these corruptions, and that so violent, that the King is enforced to direct writs to all the shires, *ad pauperes mortuos sepeliendos famis media deficientes*. Famine proceedes; *Fames præcessit & secutus est gladius tam terribilis, ut nemo inermis secure possit provincias per-rangere*: for all the villages of the kingdom were left a prey to the lawlesse multitude; who *per diuersas partes itinerantes velut per consensum aliorum*, (as the record sayth) did imply that the factious lords, suspected by the King had giuen some heat to that commotion: seditious peeres bringing euer fewell to such popular fires.

Claus. anno 42 Hen. 3.

Chron. Lauden

Neyther was the church without a busie part in this tragike worke: for *Walter*, bishop of *Worcester*, and *Robert* of *Lincolne*, to whom *Mountford* and his faction, *præcordialiter adhaerebant*, were farre ingaged. In such designes church men are neuer wanting; and the distaste of the present gouernement (as well in the church as in the common wealth) will euer bee a knot of strength for such vnquiet spirits, who aswell frame to themselves some other form of gouernement then the present, in the church, as in the temporall state, as that which, with the giddy multitude, winneth best opinion, and did at this time fitly suite the peoples humours, so much distasting the new courts of the clergy, their pompe, their greedines and the Popes extortions.

Wil. de Rish-anger.

A fayre pretext was it to those factious bishops, to vse their bitter pens and speeches so farre agaynst religious orders, ceremonies and state of the church, that one of them incurred the sentence of excommunication at *Rome*, and treason at home; for hee enjoyned the earl of *Leicester*, in *remissione peccatorum ut causam illam* (meaning his rebellions) *vsque ad mortem assumeret, asserens pacem ec-clesie Anglicane nunquam sine gladio materiali posse firmari*. It was not the best doctrine that this man could plant, by liberty or warre, when the first church rose by fasting and prayer.

Math. Paris. Wil. de Rish-anger.

True pitey binds the subject to desire a good soveraigne; but to beare with a bad one, and to take vp the burthen of princes with a bended knee, rather in time so to deserue abatement, then resist authority.

Church-men, therefore, ought not always to lead vs in the rule of loyalty, but a knowledge of our owne duties; in difficult poynts of religion, where an humble ignorance is a safe and secure knowledge, wee may relye vpon them.

To supresse these troubles, and supply the Kings extremity, a parliament was called, much to the liking of those lords, who as little meant to releue the King as they did to acquiet the state; their endeavour at that time, being onely to open at home the pouerty of their maister, to lessen his reputation abroad, and to braue out their owne passions freely, whilst those times of liberty permit.

Barth. Cotton.

Chro. Normic. Chro. Worc.

Here they began to tell him hee had wronged the publike state, in taking to his private election the justice, chancellour and treasurer, that should bee onely by the common-counsell of the realme; commending much the bishop of *Chichester*, for denying delivery of the great seal but in parliament, where hee received it.

M. Paris.

Wendouer.

They blame him to have bestowed the best places of trust and benefit, in his gift, on strangers, and to leaue the *English* unrewarded; to haue yndone the trade of merchants, by bringing in maletools and

Wallingford, Paris.

heavy

*Wil. de Ri-
shanger.*

heavy customes; and to have hurt the common liberty, by *non obstantes* in his patents, to make good monopolies for private favorites. That he hath taken from his subjects *quicquid habuerunt in esculentis & pascuis; rusticorum enim equos, bigas, vinas, victualia, ad libitum, cepit.* That his iudges were sent in circuits, under pretext of iustice, to fleece the people, *causu fiditij; quoscunq; poterant diripuerunt.* And that Sir Robert de Purflowe had wrung from the borderers of his forrest, vnder pretence of encroachments, or assarts, great summes of money.

*Chron. Sancti
Albani.*

*Qual. de Ce-
uentry.*

And therefore they wonder, that he should now demand reliefe from his so pillled and polled commons, who by their former extremities, *& per auxilia prius data ita depauperantur ut nihil aut parum habeant in bonis.* And, therefore, aduised him, that since his needlesse expence, *postquam regni cepit esse dilapidator,* was summed vp by them

*Wil. de Ri-
shanger.*

to above 800,000 l. it were fitting to pull from his fauourites, who had gleaned the treasure of his kingdome, and shared the olde lands of the crowne, seeing one of them there, whom the lords described to bee *Miles litteratus,* or *Clarius militaris,* who had in short space, from the inheritance of an acre, growne to the possession of an earldome; and *Mausel,* another inferiour cleрке, that (besides 50 promotions with the cure of soules) rose to dispend, in annuall reueneue, 4000 marks, whereas more moderate fees would haue become a pen-man, no

Chron. Litchf.

Hist. minor.

*Wil. de Ri-
shanger.*

*Epist. Robert.
Lincoln.*

better qualified then with the ordinary fruits of a writing schoole: yet if a moderate supply would suite with the Kings occasions, they were content to performe so farre reliefe, in obedience, as the desert of his carriage should merit toward them: And so (as the record sayth)

Math. Paris.

Dies datus fuit in tres septimanas ut interim Rex excessuos suos corrigeret & magnates voluntati ejus obtemperarent.

*Math. Paris.
Regis Respon.*

2. de Wallingford

At which day, vppon new grant of the great charter, admittance to his counsel of some persons elected by the commons, and promise to relye vppon his natiues, and not strangers for aduise hereafter, they spare him such a pittance as must tye him to their deuotion for a

new supply.

Thus parliaments, that before were ever a medicine to heal vp any rapture in princes fortunes, are now growing worse then the mallydy; for from thence more malignant humours beganne to raigne in them then well composed tempers.

The King, by this experienced of the intent of his rebellious lords, and finding, that the want of treasure was the way whereby they enthralled his majesty, he begins now to play the good husband, closeth his hand of waste, and resolues himselfe (too late) to stand alone: such experience is pernicious to the private, and dangerous to the publique good of a state, when it neuer learns to doe, but by vndoing, and neuer sees order but when disorder shews it. Yet still, alas! such was his flexibility, when hee came to bee pressed by his French minions, that hee could not hold his hand any longer, from their vaste desires and endlesse waste. So that an author then living, sayth, it became a by-word, *Our Inheritance is conuerted to Aliens, and our Houses to Strangers.* Followers to a King excessive in gifts, are excessive in demands, and cut them not out by reason, but by example; fauours past are not accompted; wee loue no bounty but what is meere future; the more that a prince weakeneth himselfe in giuing, the poorer he is of friends; for such prodigality in a soueraigne, euer ends in the rapine and spoyle of his subjects.

Yet before the King would agayns submit himselfe, as hee had the last parliament, to so many brances and strict enquieries of his disloyall subjects, he meaneth to passe through

though all the shifts that extremity, of need with greatnesse of minde; could lay upon him. He beginneth first with sale of lands, and then of Jewells; pawneth Gascoyne, and, after that, his imperiall crowne; and when hee had neyther credit to borrow (having so often sayled the trust he had made) nor pawnes of his owne, hee then layeth to pawne the Jewells and ornaments of St. Edwards shrine; and in the end, not having meanes to defray the dyet of his court, was enforced to break vp house, and (as Paris sayth) with his queen and children, *cum abbatibus & prioribus foris humiliter hospitium quesivit & prandia.*

Claus. anno 46.

E 47, Henry 3.

Claus. anno 37

Henry 3.

This low ebbe, which agayne the Kings Imprudence had brought him to, gave great assurance to the rebellious lords, that they should now, at the last, have the souveraign power left a prey to their ambitious designs; and, to bring it faster on, they desire nothing more then to see the Kings extremity constrain a parliament; for at such times, princes are euer lesse then they should be, subiects more.

To hasten on the time, and adapt the meanes, there are sowne certayne seditious rumors, that the Kings necessity must repayre it selfe vpon the fortunes and blessings of his people; that having nothing of his owne left, hee might and meant to take of others: for Kings may not want, as long as the subiects have meanes to supplye.

Wil. de Ri-
somger.

This tooke fire, just to their minds, and wrought a little mooving in the state, which, doubtlesse, had flamed higher if the King had not asswaged it by proclamations, wherein hee declared; *Quod quidam maligni sinistra predicantes, illis falso suggererant illum velle eos indebito gravari, ac jura & libertates regni subvertere, & per suggestiones illas dolosas & omnia falsas eorum corda a sua mali ditione, & fidelitate auerterent;* but desireth, that, *Injustitiam animarum suorum perturbacionibus ne finem adhiberent;* for that hee was euer ready to defend them from the oppression of the great lords; *Et omnia jura & consuetudinis eorum debitas bonas, & consuetas, in omnibus & per omnia plenius observare,* and that they may rest of this secure: *De voluntate sua libera, litteras suas fecit patentes.* But seeing still that maiesty and right subist not without meanes and power, and himselfe had of neyther, so much as would stop the present breach in his owne wants, or his subiects loyalties, hee flyeth to the bosome of his people, for reliefe and counsell.

Claus. anno 49.
lib. 3.

At Oxford they met in parliament, where his necessity met so many vnderfull demands, that he was forced to render vp, to their rebellious will, his royall power.

Parl. Oxon.

Heere the commons knowing that, *Quam eligere inciperant,* they were *Loco libertatis,* stood with the King to have the managing of the state put to the care of twenty foure, whereof twelue by their election (whereto they looke strictly) and the other by him, who in all things was left a cypher, and in this (whether by fear or remissenes) filled up his number with Mountford, Gloucester, and Spencer, which, besides the weakening of his owne part, wonne to those his late opposites an opinion of great interest they had got in his fauour; hee now hath left neyther election of publike office, nor private attendants; his halfe-brethren and their followers he must dispoyle of all fortune, and exile by prescription vnder his owne hand, commaunding his writs, *pro transportatione fructuum suorum,* to bee directed to the earles of Hereford and Surrey, and not to passe eyther their money, armes, or ornaments, *nisi in forma quam dicti commites intunxerint;* and, after their departure, enjoyed the men of Bristol, that they should not permit any strangers, *sive propinquos Regis applicare in portu,* but so to bebaue themselves therein, that atwell the King, *quam magnates sui eos merito debeant commendare.*

Math. Paris.

Chro. Wore.

Chron. Litchf.

Claus. anno 49

Hen. 3.

Thus

Thus wee see how easily mens estates doe change in a moment, and how hard it is to make vse of things ill gotten.

Chron. Sancti Albani. Richard, Eldest of the Empire, the Kings full brother, and then beyond sea, must bee wrought by letter, as his free desire, to confirme, by oath, those former restrictions of regall power, which though performed, yet would the lords suffer neyther the one or the other to enter Douer castle (the key of the kingdome) which they had furnished, as most of the other fortes of reputation in the realme, with guardians of their owne, sworne respectiue to the state; and then taking the like assurance of *Rot. in Scro.* al the shrieues, bayliffes, coroners, and other publike ministers, searching the behauiour of many, by strict commission vpon oath, to winne *Wil. de Rishanger.* opinion in shewe among the vulgar, who groaned under their late extortions, whereas their end was truly, as it after prooued, by displacing the faythfull seruants of the King, to open a way to their owne dependants.

Thus changing sole power into the rule of many, and those by popular election, made the state beleue, that, by this forme of limited pollicy, they had vterly suppressed the minde of man for euer dreaming more vpon the imaginary humours of lycencious soueraignty: but it fell out nothing so; for now euery man beganne to estimate his owne worth, and to hammer his beade on euery deligne that might enlarge his power and commaund,

Then beganne the great men to rent, from the body of the crownes and regall signiorities, all such royal suitors as neighboured any of their owne seats, whereto they enforce their seruice, and so (as the record sayth) *ad sectas indebitas, & seruitutes intollerabiles subditos Regis compulerunt.* Thus sayling meane manners to become great honours, and renting asunder the regall iustice, they made themselues of so many subjects, whilst they lived in duty, *Rot. Regis in Scaca, 56. H3* *totidem Tiranni* (as the booke of Saint Albans sayth) when they had lest their loyalty, *magnas induxerunt magnates regni, super subditos Regis seruitutes & oppressiones*, which they bore patiently: for excesse of misery hauing no ease but custome, made men willing to lay the foundation of seruitude by the length of sufferance, which found no ease nor end, vntill the quiet of this Kings reigne.

Mountford, Glocester, and Spencer, the heads of this rebellious designe, *Wallingford.* hauing, by the late prouisions, drawne to the hands of the twenty foure Tribunes of the people the entire managing of the royal state, and finding that power too much disperfed to worke the end of their desires, forced agayne the King to call a parliament, where they deliuered ouer the *Wil. de Rishanger.* authority of the twenty foure unto themselves, and create a Triumvirate; *Chr. de Dunst.* *non constituenda Reipublica causa*, as they first pretended, for their owne endes, and so in the interest of some priuate contented, the publike was flayed; but to make a speedier way to one of them, as it fatally did, to become *Dictator perpetuus.* Ambition is never so high, but she thinks still to mount; that station which seemed lately the toppe, is but a steppe to her now, and what before was great in desiring, seemes little, being once in power.

These three elect nine counsellours, and appoint; *Quod tres ad minus* *Ordinat. inter* *alternatim semper in curia sint*, to dispose of the custody of castles, *& de* *Rec. Lond.* *alijs regni negotijs*: the chiefe iustice, chancellor, and treasurer with all offices, *majores & minores*, they reserve the choyce of to themselves, and bind the King to this hard bargayne, vpon such strong security. that he is contented, under the great seale and oathe, to loose to them the knot of regall duty, whensoever he assumeth to himselfe his regall dignity; *Liceat omnibus de regno nostro contra nos in surgere & ad gratiam nostram opem & operam dare, ac si nobis in nullo tenerentur.* This prodigy of fortune, on whom she

she had set a pittifull example of her inconstancy, finding no part of his sovereignty left, but the bare title, and that at their leaue, beggeth succour, from *Vibane* the fourth, agaynst his disloyall subjects.

The Pope, by his *Bul*, cancelleth his oath and contract, and armeth him with excommunications agaynst all those that returne not with speede to their due and old obedience: since promises made by men which cannot say they are at liberty, are weake; and force hath no power to make just interest.

The lords, on the other side, that had impied their wings with eagles feathers, and liked no game now but what was raked out of the ashes of monarchy, made head against their Sovereigne; and to mate him the better, called in ayde some *French* forces: Thus the common-wealth turned agayne her sworde into her owne bowells, and invited her ancient enemy to the funerall of her liberty; so that it was a wonder she should not at this time passe vnder a forrayne servitude. And though these men were more truely sensible of their owne disgrace, then of others misery, yet found they no better pretext for priuate interest then that of the publike. And therefore, at the entry of this war, they cryed, *Liberty*, although, when they came neere to an end, they neuer spake word of it.

At *Lewis* the armies met, where the King endeauours a reconciliation, but in vayne; for perswasions are euer vnprofitable when justice is inferior to force.

The sword decides the difference, and gaue the two Kings, and their eldest sonnes, prisoners. The person now, aswell as the regall power, thus in the hands of *Mountford* and *Glocester*, found neyther bond of security, nor expectation of liberty, but what the emulous competition of greatnesse (which now beganne to break out betweene these mighty riuals) gaue hope of: for *Leicester* meaning, by ingrossing, from his partner to himselfe, the person of the King, and to his followers the best portion of the spoyle, to draw more fruite from this advantage then it should in fellowship yeeld, dissolved the knot of all their amity.

Thus equall Authority, with the same power, is ever fatal (we see) to all great actions: for to fit mindes to so euen a temper, that they should not have some motions of dissenting, is impossible.

Mountford, hauing thus broken all faith with his confederates, and duty to his sovereign, left the path of moderation and wisdom to come to the King by that of pride and distrust. To him he telleth, that his armes and ends had no other object euer but order of the state, and ease of the people; that hee did not, in this, carry affection against duty, but well knew how to reyne his desires to his just power, and so no lesse to his majesties content, if hee would be ruled, which was to commaund the fortres and castles of his now opposite *Glocester*, and the rest, into his hands. It was hard to this King thus to take a law from his inferiour; but necessity, in soueraigne affaires, doth often force away all formality: and therefore this poor prince, who (now at the victors discretion) seemed to haue beene onely raysed to shew the inconstancy of fortune and vanity of man; suited himself with incomparable wisdom, according to the necessity of the time: neyther did humility wrong majesty, when there was no other meanes to contrayne spirits so insolent but dissembling. He therefore summoneth, in his owne person, the sorts of his fastest friends, to yeeld to his greatest enemies. This he enters in shew as his lodging, but in effect his prison, and saw himselfe forced to arme against his friends, and to receive now lawe from him to whom hee lately thought to give it. Thus *Leicester* is become a darling of the common rout, who easily change to every new maister; but the best durst not sayle along his fortune, by the light of his glory. *Chrystall*, that fairely glistereth, doth easily breake; and as the ascent of vsurping royalty is slippery, so the top is shaking, and the fall

fearefull To hold this man then, at the entry of his false felicity, fully happy, was but to give the name of the image to the metall that was not yet molten; for by this the imprisoned prince was escaped, and fast assured of *Glocester*, by the knot of his great minde and discontent, and both with the torne remainder of the loyall army vnitied, and, by speedy march, arriued vnlooked for neere *Evesham*, to the vnarmed troupes of the secure rebels, whom they instantly assayled: for it was no fit season to gite time, when no time did assure so much as expedition did promise.

* *Spencer*, and other lords of that faction, made towards the King, with the best speede for mercy; but could not breake out, beeing hurried along the storme of the giddy multitude.

Publike motions depend on the conduct of fortune; private on our owne carriage: we must beware of running downe steepe hills, with weighty bodies: they once in motion, *suo feruntur pondere*; stoppes are not then voluntary; but *Leicester* at that instant with the King, and out of the storme, might haue escaped, if his courage and hope had not made him more resolute by misfortune; so that hee could neyther forsake his followers, nor his ambition: thus, making aduersity the exercise of his vertue, hee came, and fell.

The King, by this blessed fortune, freed and obeyed, began to search the ground of his former misery, and why that vertue and fortune, that had so long settled and mayntayned, under his ancestors, the glory of his empire, had cast her in his time off, and conspired with her enemies to her almost ruine, as if the genius of the state had quite forsooke her. Here he findes his wastfull hand had been too quicke,

Rot. par. 53. both ouer the fortunes and the blessings of his people; the griping auarice of his ciuill ministers, and lawlesse liberty of his martiall followers,
H. 3. M. 51. the neglect of grace and breach of his word to have lost his nobility at
Rishanger. home, and necessity his reputation abroad, by making merchandize of

peace and warre, as his last refuge, so leaving his old allies became enforced to betake himselfe to persons doubtfull, or injured, and that by giving ouer himself to a sensuall security, and referring all to base greedy and unworthy ministers, whose counsell's were euer more subtle then substantiall, he had throwne downe those pillars of souerainity and safety, reputation abroad, and reuerence at home.

He now, therefore, making sweetnesse and clemency the entrances of his regayned rule (for the faults of most of the late rebels he forgot)
Jo. Tuxeter, a gracious kinde of pardoning, not to take knowledge of offences;
Mon. Bury. others he forgot, that they might live but to the glory of his goodnesse;
Rot. Cart. 51. for the fewer killed, the more remaine to adorne the Trophee.
52. H. 3.

Tyrants shed blood for pleasure, Kings for necessity: yet least his justice and power might too much suffer in his grace and mercy, some few hee punished by small fines, some by banishment, as the two guiltlesse, yet vnpittied, sons of the arch traytor. Treason so hatefull is to the head, that it draweth (we see in this) the carriage of the innocent children into an everlasting suspect, and what is suspicion in others is guilt in them.

Upon the constant followers of his broken fortunes he bestoweth, but with a more wary hand then before, the forfeiture of his enemies. Immoderate liberality he had found but a weake meanes to win loue; for it lost more in the gathering then it gained in the giuing. This bounty, bestowed without respect, was taken without grace, discredited the receiuer, detracted from the judgement of the giuer, and blunted the appetites of such as carried their hopes out of vertue and service.
Chro. Dunst. Thus at last he learned, that reward and reprehension, justly layd, doe ballance gouernment; and that it much importeth a prince the hand to bee equall that holdeth the scale.

In

In himselfe he reformed his naturall errors. Princes manners, though a mute law, have more of life and vigour, then those of letters; and though he did sometimes touch vpon the verge of vice, hee forbore euer after to enter the circle.

His Court, wherein at this time the faults of great men did, not onely by approbation but imitation, receive true comfort and authority; for their crimes now became examples: and customes he purged very judiciously and severely; since from thence proceeds either the regular or irregular condition of the common state.

Expende of house he measureth by the just rule of his proper reueneue; and was heard often to say, that his excesse of wast before had beene an issue of his subjects blood. The insolency of his souldiers, made lawlesse by the late liberties of ciuill armes, he spendeth in forraigne expedition: hauing seene that the quiet spirits vnderwent all the former calamities, and the other never were satisfied but in the misery of innocents, and would, if they had no enemies abroad, seeke out at home, as they had done before.

*Ordinat. auth.
Reg. aule.
Claus. an. 35.
H. 3. Rishanger.*

The rigour and corruption of his iudiciall officers he examineth, and redresseth by strict commission; for the sense of their seueritie became a murmure of his own cruelty.

*Pat. 53, 54.
H. 3.
Comment de
Traihsasson.*

The seats of judgement and counsell he filled up with men nobly born: for such attract, with lesse offence, the generous spirits to respect and reuerence. Their abilities he measureth not by fauour or by priuate information, as before, but by publike voice: for every man in particular may deceive and be deceived; but no man can deceive all, nor all one.

And to discover now his owne capacity, and what part he meaneth to bear hereafter in all deliberate expeditions, he sitteth himselfe in counsell daily, and disposeth affaires of most weight in his owne person. For counsellors, be they never so wise, or worthy, are but as accessaries, not principals, in sustentation of the state: their office must be subjection, not fellowship, in considerations of moment, and to haue ability to aduise, not authority to resolute.

For, as to liue, the prince must haue a particular soule, so to rule his proper and interne counsell; without the one hee can neuer be truly man, without the other he shall neuer be securely a prince; for it offendeth aswell the minister (of merrit) as the people, to force obedience to one vncapable of his owne greatnesse, or unworthy of his fortunes. This wonderfull change to the generall state (so hopelesse lately to recouer her former libertie, they sought now for nothing but the mildest seruitude) brought them home againe with admiration to his devotion and their owne duty.

He that will lay (we see) the foundation of greatnesse vpon popular loue, must giue them ease and justice; for they measure the bond of their obedience by the good awayes that they receiue.

This peace attended euer after his age and hearse, and hee happily liued to fashion his sonne and successor, and to make him partner of his owne experience and authoritie; whose owne hard education trayning him from that intemperance which makes men inferiour to beasts, framed him to affect glory and vertue; which made him superiour to men. So that all the actions of his future raigne were exact grounds of discipline and pollicy, for his best successour to rule by after; who as he was the first of his name, since the conquest, so was he the first that settled the law and state, deserving the stile of *England's Justinian*, and freed this kingdome from the wardship of the peeres; shewing himselfe, in all his actions after, capable to commaund, not the realme onely, but the whole world.

*Barth. Coton.
Chro. Norm.*

Thus doe the wrongs of our enemies, more then our owne discretions, make vs sometimes both wise and fortunate.

[See, in my Preface, a Letter, from a very ingenious Gentleman, relating to this excellent Piece]



The DANGER wherein the Kingdome now standeth, and the REMEDIE.

Printed 1628. ——— [Also by the same Hand, which Piece, though re-printed more than Once, (yet not within these last 50 Years, that I can learn) I am desired, by a particular Friend, to insert in this Number; he having, to that Intent, sent me the first Printed (but very faulty) Copy.]



AS soone as the house of *Austria* had incorporated itself with *spayne*, and by their new discoveries gotten to themselves the wealth of *Indies*, they began to affect, and have ever since pursued a first monarchy.

The Emperour *Charles* the fifth would first lay the foundation thereof in *Italy*, by surprizing *Rome*: from this, he was thrust by the force and respect of religion: *Henry VIII.* being made *caput federis* against him. He then attempted it in *High Germany*, practising by faction and force to reduce them first to petty states, and so to his absolute power. In this *Henry VIII.* againe prevented him, by tying the *Lutheran* princes under his confederacie and assistance. His sonne the *Second Philip*, pursued the same ambition in the *Nether-Germany*, by reduction whereof hee intended to make his way farther into the other. This the late Queene of *England* interrupted, by siding with the afflicted people on the one part, and making herselfe the head of the *Protestant* league with the princes on the other: drawing in, as a secret of state, the countenance of *France*, to giue the more reputation and assistance to them, and securitie to herselfe.

Spayne seeing his hopes fruitlesse by those vnions and streights, began first to breake, if hee may, the amitie of *France* and *England*: but finding the common danger to bee a fast rye, hee raiseth vppe in that kingdome a faction of his owne, by which the *French King* was so distressed, that had not the *English* counsell and assistance releived him, *Spaine* had there removed that next and greatest obstacle of his ambition: his counsell now tells him from these examples, that the way to this great worke is impassable, so long as *England* laies a net in his way; and the remove of that must bee the first of his Intents.

This drew on those secret practises often against the Queene, and his open furie in 88, against the state: which she seeing, by following the advice of a free counsell, would never after admit of peace; winning thereby the hearts of a loving people, who ever found bands and money at home, and keeping sacredly her alliances abroad, securing to her confederates all her time, freedome from *Spanish* flattery, and so ended her old and happy days in glory.

Spaine then, by the wisdom and power of that great lady, dispoiled of his means to hurt, though not of his desires, makes vp with her peacetull successour, of happy memory, that golden league, that (disarming vs at home by opinion of securitie, and giving them a power in our counsell by believing their friendships and pretended marriage) and gaue them a way to cherish amongst us a partie of their owne (bereft of power abroad) to leade in jealousy and slow diuision betweene vs and our confederates:

by

by which we may see they have swallowed vp the fortune of our masters brother, with the rest of the imperiall states, distressed the King of *Denmarke*, by that quarrell, diverted the *Swedens* assistance by the warres with the *Pole*, and mouing him now with the offer of the *Danish* crowne. And now, whether from the plot or our fatalitie, it hath cast such a bone betweene *France* and vs, as hath made themselves, by our quarrel of religion, a fast confederate, and vs a dangerous enemy: so that now wee are left no other assurance, against their malice and ambition, but the *Netherlanders*, where the tie of mutuall safety is weakened, by daily discontents bred and fed betweene vs, from some ill-affected to both our securities; that by the doubtfulnesse of friendship, as we now stand, wee may rather suspect from our owne domesticke faction, if they grow too furious, they will rather follow the example of *Rome*, in her growing; that held it equall safetie, honourable and more easie *dare Regem*, then *subjugare Provinciam*, considering the power they haue in their hands, then to give any friends assistance to serue the present condition of our state.

You may therefore see in what tearmes wee stand abroad; and I feare at home, for resistance, in no better state. There must be, to withstand a forraigne Inuasion, a proportion both of sea and land forces: for to give an enemy an easie passage, and a port to relieue him in, is no lesse then to hazard all at one stake; and it is to be considered, that no march by land can be of that speed to make head against the landing of an enemy, nor no such prevention as to be master of the sea. To this point of necessary defense, there can be no lesse then 240,000*l*. For the land-forces, if it were for an offensive warre, the men of lesse likelihood were the best spared, and were vsed formerly to make such warre, *Purgamento Repub*; if wee made no farther purchase by it. But for safetie of a common wealth, the wisdom of all times did neuer interesse the publike cause to any other, then such as haue a portion in the publike adventure. And that we saw in 88, when the care of the Queene and councill did make the body of that large army no other then the trayned-band, which with the auxiliaries of the whole realme, amounted to no lesse then 24000 men: neither were any of these drawn from forth their countries and proper habitations before the end of *May*, that there might bee no long agrievance to the publike: such discontentments being even to vs a more satall enemy then any forraigne force. The carefull distribution and direction of their sea and land forces being more fitting for a councill of warre then a private man to aduise of, I passe it over; yet willing, when I shall be called, humbly to offer vppe such observations as I haue formerly gathered by the former like occasions in this realme.

To make vp this preparation, there are requisite two things; Money, and Affections; for they cannot be properly severed.

It was well and wisely said of the great counsellor the Lord *Burleigh*; in the like case, to the Queene; "Win hearts and you haue their hands and purses." And I finde that of late, diffidence having bin a defect in the one, it hath unhappily produced the other.

In gathering then of money, for this present need, there are requisite three things; speed, assurance, and satisfaction; and the way to gather, as others in the like case haue done, must bee by that path-way that is called, *Via Regia*; being more secure and speedy; for by vnknowne and vntrodden wayes it is both rough and tedious, and seldom succeedeth. This last way, although it tooke place, as it were, by a supply at first, and received no generall deniall, yet since, it hath drawne many to consult with themselves and others in the consequence, and is now conceived as a pressure on their liberties and against law: I much feare, if now againe it bee offered, eyther in the same face, or by priue seale, it will bee refused wholly; neyther find I, that the restraint of those Recusants haue produced any other effect then a stiffe resolution in them and others to forbear: besides, although it went at first with some assurance, yet when we consider your Commissions, and other formes incident to such like ser-

vices,

vices, as how long it hangs in hand, the many delays are made, wee may easily see, that such a summe by Parliament granted is farre sooner and more easily gathered.

If any make the successions of time, to produce an inevitable necessitie to inforce it, if denied (whether in generall, or by Excise, or by Imposition, or particular in some selectt persons) which is the custome of some countries, and so conclude it, as there for the publique state, *suprema lege*, hee must looke for this to bee tolde him; "That seeing necessitie must conclude alwayes to gather money, as lesse speedy or assured, then that so practised (which cannot bee fitter then by Parliament) the successie attendeth the humour of the heedlesse multitude, that are full of jealousy and distrust, and so vnlike to comply to any vsuall course of leaue, but by force:" which if vsed the effect is fearefull, and hath beene fatall to this state: whereas that by Parliament resteth principally on the Regall person, who may with ease and safety mould them to his fit desires, by a gracious yeilding to their just petitions.

If a Parliament, then, be the most speedy, assured and safe way, it is fit to conceine what is the fairest way to act and worke it to the present neede. First, for the time of the vsuall summons, reputed to bee 40 days, to bee too large for this present necessity; it may bee by the dating of the writs lessened; since it is no positive law; so that care be had that there bee but one county day. If then the sum to bee leaui'd bee once agreed of for the time, in the body of your graunt there may be assignment made to the knights of every shire and county respectiue, who vnder such assurance may safely give security proportionable to the receipts, to such as shall advance in present for the publique service any summes of money.

The last and weightiest consideration, if a Parliament be thought fit, is how to remoue or comply the differences betweene the King and the subjects in their mutuall demaunds. And what I haue learned amongst the better sort of the multitude, I will freely declare, that your lordships may be more enabled to remoue and answere those distrusts, that either concerne religion, publique safety of the King and state, or the just liberties of the common wealth: for religion is a matter that they lay neere to their conscience, and they are led, by this ground of jealousy, to doubt some practise against it. First, for that the *Spanish* match was broken by the gratefull industry of my Lord of *Buck*, out of his religious care, as there hee declared, that the articles there demanded, in some such sufferance as may endanger the quiet, if not the state, of the reformed religion heere. Yet there haue passed (when hee was a principall actor in the conditions of *France*) as hard, if not worse to the preservation of our religion, then those with *Spaine*; and the subject is strengthened by the close keeping of his agreement, in the point there concluded.

It is no lesse argument of a doubt to them of his affections, in that his mother, and others, many of his ministers in neere imployment about him, are so affected. They talke much of his aduancing men *Papistically* devoted; some placed in the campe of neere service and chiefe command; and that the *Recusants* haue got these late years, by his power, more of courage and assurance then before. If to cleere these doubts (which perhaps are worse in fancy then in truth) hee take a course, it might much advance the publyke service against the squeamish humours, that haue more violent passion then settled judgment, and are not the least of the opposite number in the common-wealth.

The next, is the late misfortunes and losses, both of men, munition and honour in our late undertakings abroad; which the more temperate spirits impute to want of counsell, and the more sublime wits, to practise.

They begin with the *Palatinate*, and lay the fault of the losse there, on the improved credite of *Gondamor*, distrusting him for the staying of supplies to Sir *Horace Vere*, when Colonell *Cecill* was cast on that imployment; by which the King of *Spaine* became the maister of the Kings childrens inheritance: And when Count *Mansfield* had a royall supply of forces to assist the princes

of

of our part for the recovery thereof, eyther plot or error defeated the enterprize from us, to *Spaine's* advantage. That Sir Robert * *Manisfield's* expedition to *Arziers*, should purchase only the security and guard of the *Spanish* coasts. To spend so many 100,000 *l.* in the *Cadix* voyage, against the advise of the Parliament, onely to warne the King of *Spaine* to be in a readinesse, and so weaken ourselves, is taken for such: a signe of ill affection to him amongst the multitude. The spending of so much munition and victuals and money in my Lord *Willinghbits* journey is conceived an vnthrilitie error in the director of it: to disarme ourselves in fruitlesse voyages, may (to some over curious) seeme a plot of danger, to turne the quarrell of *Spaine*, our auncient enemy (that the Parliament petitioned and gaue supply to support) vpon our allies of *France*, and so soone after (a new and happie tie) gaue much talke, that wee were not so doubtfull of *Spaine* as many wish; since it was held, not long agoe, a fundamentall rule of theirs and our security, by the old Lord *Burleigh*, that nothing can prevent the *Spanish* monarchie but a fastnesse of the two princes, whose amitie gaue countenance and courage to the *Netherlands* and *German* princes to make head against his ambition: and we see, by this disunion, a fearefull defeat hath happened to *Denmarke*, and that party, to the advantage of the *Austrian* family. And thus farre of the waste of publike treasure in fruitlesse expeditions, and an important cause to hinder any new supply in Parliament. Another feare that may disturbe the smooth and speedie passing of the Kings desire in Parliament, is the late waste of the Kings liuelyhood, whereby is like, as in former times, to arise this jealousie and feare, that when he hath not of his own to support his ordinarie, for which the lands of the crowne were setled vnalterable, and called *Sacrum Patrimonium Principis*, that then hee must of necessitie rest on those assistances of the people, which euer were collected and consigned for the common-wealth. From hence it is like there will be no great labour and stiffnesse to induce his Majestie to an Act of Resumption, since such desires of the state haue found an easie way in the will of all princes, from the 3d *Henry* to the last. But that which is like to passe the deeper to their disputes and care, is the late pressures they suppose to haue been done vpon publike liberties and freedome of the subject, in commanding their goods without assent by Parliament, confining their persons without especiall cause declared, and that made good by the Judges lately, and pretending a writ to commaund their attendancé in a forreigne warre: all which they are like to enforce as repugnant to many positue lawes and customary immunities of this common-wealth. And these dangerous distrusts to the people are not a little improved by his vnexampléd course, as they conceiue an inland army in winter season, when former times of great- Anno 88. est feare produced no such; and makes them, in their distracted feare, to conjecture idly, it was raysed wholly to subject their fortunes to the will of power, rather then of law, and to make good some farther breach vpon their liberties and freedome at home, then defend us from any force abroad. How farre may go such jealousies, if they meet with any vnusuall disorder of lawlesse souldiers, or an apt distemper of the loose and needy multitude, which will easily turne away vpon any occasion in the state they can side withal to a glorious pretence of religion and publike safetie, when their true end will bee onely rapine of the rich, and ruine of all, is worthy a provident and preventing care.

I haue thus farre delivered (with that freedome you pleased to admit) such difficulties as I have taken vp amongst the multitude; which may avert, if not remove impediments to any speedy supply in Parliament at this time; which how to facilitate may better become the care of your lordships judgments then my ignorance: only

* *Manfell*. — See a full Account of that unsuccessful Enterprize in the 2d Volume of *MORGAN'S History of ALGIERS*.

only wish, that to remove away a personall distaste of my lord of *Buck* amongst the people, hee might be pleased, if there bee a necessitie of Parliament, to appeare a first adviser thereunto; and what satisfaction it shall please his Majestie, of grace to giue at such time to his people, which I would wish to bee grounded with precedents of his best and most fortunate progenitors, and which I conceiue will largely satisfie the desires and hopes of all, if it may appeare in some sort to be drawn downe from him to the people, by the zealous care and industry that my lord of *Buck* hath of the publique vnitie and content, by which there is no doubt but he may remaine not only secure from any farther quarrell with them, but merit happy memory amongst them of a zealous patriot: for to expiate the passion of the people at such time with sacrifice of any of his Majesties servants, I haue ever found (as in *Edward 2*, *Richard 2*, *Henry 6*.) no lesse fatall to the master then the minister in the end.

As well for Variety-sake, as to fill up this vacant Page, take the following Verses, said to have been written originally at Rome, in Italian, about 1679, and by Pasquin addressed to his then Holiness. This Version, which appeared in 1680, is fathered on a certain English Cardinal.

CHARACTER of a True ENGLISH-MAN.

THE free-born English, generous and wise,
 Hate Chains; but do not Government despise.
 Rights of the Crown, Tributes and Taxes, they,
 When legally exacted, freely pay.
 Force they abhor, and Wrongs they scorn to bear,
 More guided by their Judgment than their Fear,
 Justice, with them, was never held severe.
 There, Pow'r by Tyranny was never got:
 Laws might, perhaps, enslave them; Force cannot.
 Kings are less safe in their unbounded Will,
 Join'd with the wretched Pow'r of doing Ill:
 Forsaken most when they're most absolute.
 Laws guard the Man, and only bind the Brute.
 To force that Guard with its worst Foe to join,
 Can never be a prudent King's Design:
 What Prince would change to be a Cataline?
 Break his own Laws, shake an unquestion'd Throne?
 Conspire with Vassals to usurp his Own!
 Let France grow proud beneath the Tyrant's Lust,
 While the rack'd People crawl, and lick the Dust:
 The Manly Genius of this Isle disdains
 All Tinsel Slavery, or Golden Chains.
 England to servile Yoke could never bow:
 What Conquerors ne'er presum'd, who dares do now?
 In vain your Holiness does rack your Brain:
 No Son of yours that happy Isle can gain.
 Arm'd with true Gospel, and undated Law,
 They guard themselves, and keep the World in Awe.
 While CHARLES survives, and Parliaments can sit,
 They scorn your Tories Swords, and Jesuits Wit.

LET-

LETTER to the COMPILER.

S I R,

“SEVERAL Gentlemen, my Friends (who possibly will be of Service to you
 “ in this your Affair, not only in being *Customers*, but otherwise) join with me
 “ in Opinion, that it may not be amiss to re-print the inclosed popular *Piece*;
 “ especially since, on the strictest Inquiry, we cannot learn of its ever having been re-
 “ ved.”

“ Few, or rather none are ignorant, that, in those unhappy Times of Faction
 “ and Rebellion, all *Royalists* were termed *Malignants* and *Delinquents*, abundance
 “ utterly ruined, and most of those who had the luckiest Escapes. were heavily fined :
 “ But scarce any Remembrance remains of the Particulars of such Fines, nor to what
 “ Uses appropriated; and consequently, as this gives an undoubtedly genuine Account
 “ of the several large Sums of Money, so levied on more than 100 Persons of For-
 “ tune, Rank and Distinction, we have Reason to think, that their present Off-Spring
 “ will not be displeased to have such dear-bought Trophies of their Progenitors Loyal-
 “ ty publickly known and perpetuated.”

“ If this comes not too late, we shall be glad to see it, correctly, inserted in your first
 “ *Number* : And by complying with this Request you will highly oblige those whose Re-
 “ commendation and other Assistance, toward forwarding your well-judged Undertaking,
 “ shall not be wanting, and more particularly my own; as being, ”

Sir,

Your hearty Well-wisher,
 and Humble Servant,

H. S.

IMPROPRIATIONS purchased: With a *List* of such Persons from whom
 the COMMISSIONERS for COMPOSITIONS with DELINQUENTS,
 at *Goldsmiths-Hall*, have purchased any Revenue for Increase of Mainte-
 nance to the *Ministry*: Allowing for the same proportionably, by De-
 duction out of the *Fines* imposed on them. — Published for the Use of
 those whom it may concern, 1648.

23 Decembris, 1645.

Humphrey Walcot, of Walcot, in the County of Salop, Esq; to settle 160*l.* per
annum, viz. 40*l.* per annum apiece, for the maintenance of four Ministers in
 the several Chappels in the Parish of *Clun*, in the said County; for which
 he is to be allowed 447*l.* and so his Fine of 947*l.* is reduced to 500*l.*

10 Januarii, 1645.

Sir John Harpur, of Swarkeston, in the County of Derby, Knight, to settle 110*l.*
 per annum, viz. 20*l.* per annum upon the Vicar of Barrow, 40*l.* per annum upon
 the Church of Ticknall, and 50*l.* per annum upon the Church of Repton; for which
 he is to be allowed 583*l.* and so his Fine of 4583*l.* is reduced to 4000*l.*

24 Februarii, 1645.

Sir Walter Wrottesley, of Wrottesley, in the County of Stafford, Knight, to settle
 15*l.* per annum for ever upon the Minister of Tetenhall: for which he is allowed 180*l.*
 and so his Fine of 1512*l.* 10*s.* is reduced 1332*l.* 10*s.*

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Arthur

3 Martii, 1645.

Arthur Caley, of *Brompton*, in the County of *York*, Gent. to settle 20*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *Sneton*, and his Successors for ever; for which his whole Fine of 150*l.* is remitted.

7 Martii, 1645

Sir *Richard Tankred*, of *Whixley*, in the County of *York*, Knight, to settle 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Vicar of *Whixley*, and his Successors for ever; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 746*l.* remains 346*l.*

Eodem die.

Edward Page, of *Oundle*, in the County of *Northampton*, Gent. to settle 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *Oundle*, and his Successors for ever; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 500*l.* is reduced to 100*l.*

Eodem die.

Sir *John Goodricke*, of *Hunsingoe*, in the County of *York*, Knight, to settle 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *Hunsingoe*, and his Successors for ever; for which he is allowed 308*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* and so his Fine of 1508*l.* 14*s.* 8*d.* is reduced to 1200*l.*

18 Aprilis, 1646.

John Bulloke, of *Darleigh*, in the County of *Derby*, Esq; to settle 130*l.* for ever, (*viz.*) 90*l.* *per annum* upon *Derby*, and 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Vicar of *Norton*; for which his whole Fine of 1300*l.* is remitted.

Eodem die.

Gregory Armitage, of *Nether-Shitlington*, in the County of *York*, Gent. to settle 8*l.* *per annum*, for ever, upon the Church of *Dewsbury*, where the Vicar hath but 30*l.* *per annum*; for which he is allowed 82*l.* out of his Fine of 482*l.* and so his Fine remains 400*l.*

25 Aprilis, 1646.

James Pennymann, of *Ormesby*, in the County of *York*, Esq; to settle 100*l.* *per annum*, for ever, *viz.* 50*l.* *per annum* upon the Vicar of *Maske*, and 50*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *Gisbrough*; for which he is allowed 1000*l.* and so his Fine of 1750*l.* is reduced to 750*l.*

4 Junii, 1646.

Thomas Savage, of *Elmeley Castle*, in the County of *Worcester*, Esq; to settle 60*l.* *per annum*, for three Lives, upon the Vicar of *Elmeley*; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 1500*l.* is reduced to 1100*l.*

20 Junii, 1646.

Sir *Charles Bolles*, of *Lowth* in the County of *Lincoln*, to settle 36*l.* *Settled.* *per annum* for two Lives, upon the Church of *Alford*; for which he is allowed 270*l.* and so his Fine of 670*l.* is reduced to 400*l.*

14 Julii, 1746.

Sir *Thomas Badd*, of *Fairham*, in the County of *Southampton*, Knight, to settle 30*l.* *per annum*, for five Years, upon the Minister of *Lemington*; for which 60*l.* is allowed him out of his Fine of 530*l.* and so there remains 470*l.*

23 Julii, 1646.

Christopher Byerley, of *Midridge-Graunge*, in the County of *Durham*, Esq; and *Anthony Byerly* his Son, to settle 200*l.* *per annum*, for ever, upon the Church of *St. Andrews Auckland*, and upon the four Chappels thereunto belonging; for which is allowed 2001*l.* out of the Fine of 6391*l.* and so there remains 4390*l.* Sir

28 *Julii*, 1646.

Sir *Thomas Hammer*, of *Hammer*, in the County of *Flint*, Knight, to settle 80 *l. per annum* upon the Vicar of *Hammer*; for which the latter *Settled.*
 Moiety of his Fine being 500 *l.* is accepted.

30 *Julii*, 1646.

Sir *Henry Anderson*, of *Penley*, in the County of *Hertford*, Knight, to settle 25 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Minister of *Bitterley*, in the *Settled.*
 County of *Salop*, and his Fine remains 2110 *l.*

6 *Augusti*, 1646.

Alexander Hill, of *Taunton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Gent. to settle 20 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Church of *Mary Magdalen* in *Settled.*
Taunton aforesaid; for which his whole Fine of 192 *l. 8 s.* is remitted.

20 *Augusti*, 1646.

Robert Kirbam, of *Finished*, in the County of *Northampton*, Esq; to settle 100 *l. per annum* upon the Ministers of *Cotterstocke* and *Clapthorn*; *Settled.*
 for which he is allowed 1000 *l.* and the Fine remains at a Third, 1905 *l.*
 at a Sixth, 763 *l.*

25 *Augusti*, 1646.

Thomas Audley, of *St. Ives*, in the County of *Huntington*, Esq; to settle 30 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Minister of *St. Ives*; for which *Settled.*
 he is allowed 300 *l.* out of his Fine of 500 *l.* and so there remains 200 *l.*

4 *Septembr.* 1646.

Marmaduke Wilson, of *Dighen*, in the County of *York*, Gent. to settle 50 *l. per annum*, for three Lives, upon the Minister of *Manckfriston*; for which his Fine of 320 *l.*
 is wholly remitted.

7 *Septembr.* 1646.

Sir *Michael Warton*, of *Beverley*, in the County of *York*, Knight, to *Settled the*
 settle 180 *l.* for four Lives, upon the Ministers of *Cottingham* and *Skid-*
by, and also 60 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon such place as this Commit-
 tee shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1680 *l.* and so his Fine of
 4000 *l.* rests 2320 *l.* *180 l. per an-*
num, but he
hath not set-
tled the 60 l.
per annum.

18 *Septembr.* 1646.

Sir *Richard Grosvenor*, of *Eyton*, in the County of *Chester*, Baronet, *Settled.*
 to settle 130 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Ministers of such places
 as this Committee shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1300 *l.* and so his Fine of
 2590 *l.* remains 1290 *l.*

24 *Septembr.* 1646.

George Lord Chandois, to settle 100 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Minister of
Harefield, in the County of *Middlesex*, for which he is allowed 1000 *l.* and so his
 Fine of 4976 *l.* at a Tenth, remains 3976 *l.* and at a Third, his Fine of 12440 *l.*
 rests 11440.

26 *Septembr.* 1646.

William Thomas, of *Swansey*, in the County of *Glamorgan*, Esq; to *Settled.*
 settle 45 *l.* for ever, upon the Minister of *Landilo Tallepont* in the said
 County; for which he is allowed 450 *l.* and so his Fine of 786 *l.* is reduced to 336 *l.*

1 October, 1646.

Sir Richard Leveson, of *Trentbam*, in the County of *Stafford*, Kt. Settled. to settle 380*l.* per annum for ever, viz. upon the Minister of *Trentbam* 90*l.* per annum, upon the Minister of *Barlaston* 50*l.* per annum, upon the Minister of *Sheriffs-Hall* 40*l.* per annum, upon the Minister of *Treesall* 60*l.* per annum, all in the County of *Stafford*; as also 80*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Lillestall*, 10*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Shawbury*, and 10*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Clarely*, in the County of *Salop*; and the remainder to be settled upon such places as this Committee shall appoint; for which he is allowed 3846*l.* and so his Fine of 9846*l.* is reduced to 6000*l.*

Eodem die.

Sir Henry Griffith, of *Agnes Burton*, in the County of *York*, Baronet, to settle 178*l.* per annum, for two Lives, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which is deducted 1246*l.* and so the Fine of 8793*l.* is reduced to 7547*l.*

6 October, 1646.

Settled. Sir Charles Gawdy, of *Crowles-Hall* in *Denbenham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, Knight, to settle the Rectory and Tythes of *Ashfield*, *Tborpe*, *Denbenham* and *Kenton*, valued at 150*l.* per annum, for the maintenance of the Minister there; for which is deducted 1260*l.* and so the Fine of 1789*l.* is reduced to 529*l.*

Eodem die.

Settled. Henry Bunbury, of *Stanney*, in the County of *Chester*, Esq; to settle 25*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Stoake*, and his Successors for ever; for which he is allowed 250*l.* and so his Fine of 1950*l.* is reduced to 1700*l.*

8 October, 1646.

Richard Lord Viscount *Mollineux*, to settle 357*l.* for ever, viz. 100*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Shipley*, 47*l.* per annum upon *Southover*, near *Lewis* in *Suffex*, 60*l.* upon *Honybourn*, and the remainder upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 3570*l.* and so his Fine of 9037*l.* is reduced to 5467*l.*

9 October, 1646.

Richard Cabell, of *Bucksastliegh*, in the County of *Devon*, Esq; and Richard Cabell his Son, to settle 30*l.* per annum, for ever, upon the Minister of *Bucksastliegh*, and his Successors; for which there is allowed 300*l.* and the Fine to remain 1430*l.*

13 October, 1646.

Isaac Mountague, of *Westow*, in the County of *York*, Esq; and George Mountague his Son, to settle 91*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum, for 14 Years, viz. 50*l.* per annum upon the Church of *Buttercrambe*, and the remainder upon the Church of *Westow*; for which is allowed 500*l.* and so the Fine of 790*l.* remains only 290*l.*

15 October, 1646.

George Rawliegh, of *Farnborough*, in the County of *Warwick*, Esq; to settle 50*l.* per annum, for two Lives, upon the Minister of *Mollington*; for which is deducted 445*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* and so his Fine of 735*l.* is reduced to 289*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

20 October, 1646.

Settled. Sir Charles Berkeley, of *Bruton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Knight, to settle 156*l.* per annum, for ever, and the Reversion of 50*l.* per annum, now in Lease for two Lives, viz. 100*l.* per annum upon the Minister of *Bruton*, 30*l.*

30*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Pitcombe*, and 30*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Brubam*; and then his Fine to be 400*l.*

27 *Octobris*, 1646.

William Blythman, of *Newlatbs*, in the County of *York*, Esq; to settle 50*l. per annum*, for 26 Years, upon the Minister of *Peniston*; for which he is allowed 350*l.* and so his Fine of 508*l. 10 s.* is reduced to 158*l. 10 s.*

Eodem die.

Edmund Ashton, of *Chatterton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Esq; to settle 140*l. per annum*, for ever, viz. 40*l.* upon the Chappel of *Shaw*, and the residue upon the Chappel of *Oldham*; for which his whole Fine of 1414*l.* is remitted. *Settled.*

Eodem die.

Robert Melsh, of *Ragnall*, in the County of *Nottingham*, Esq; to settle 130*l. per annum*, for three Lives, after the expiration of two Years, viz. upon the Minister of *Asbam* 40*l. per annum*, upon the Minister of *Dayton* 30*l. per annum*, and 60*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Ragnall*; for which he is allowed 900*l.* and so his Fine of 1800*l.* is reduced to 900*l.* *Settled.*

29 *Octobris*, 1646.

Sir Walter Smith, of great *Bedwin*, in the County of *Wilts*, Knight, to settle 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Islington*; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and the Fine of 1085*l.* is reduced to 685*l.* *Settled.*

Eodem die.

Ralph Sneade, of *Keel*, in the County of *Stafford*, Esq; to settle 100*l. per annum*, for ever, upon the two Chappels of *Keel* and *New-Chappel*, that is, 50*l. per annum* to each of them; for which he is allowed 1026*l.* and his Fine remains 1000*l.* *Settled.*

31 *Octobris*, 1646.

Bryan Cooke, of *Doncaster*, in the County of *York*, Alderman, and *Bryan Cooke* his Son, to settle 87*l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum*, for ever (over and above the 12*l. per annum* already allowed) upon the Church of *Arkesey*; for which there is allowed 873*l.* and so the Fine remains 1460*l.* *Settled.*

3 *Novembr.* 1646.

Sir William Robinson, of *Newby*, in the County of *York*, Knight, to settle the Rectory of *Baldersley*, of the value of 80*l. per annum*, for the maintenance of a preaching Minister in that Parish where the Tithes arise; for which he is allowed 798*l.* and so the Fine of 2175*l.* is reduced to 1377*l.*

Eodem die.

Sir James Tbynne, of *Longleate*, in the County of *Wilts*, Kt. to settle 50*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Froom* for ever; for which he is allowed 500*l.* and so his Fine of 3586*l.* is reduced to 3086*l.* He is also to settle the *Impropriation* of *Lullington*, in the County of *Somerset*, for the maintenance of a Minister there; for which a proportionable Allowance has been made.

7 *Novembr.* 1646.

Sir Francis Fane, of *Ashton*, in the County of *York*, Knight of the *Bath*, to settle the *Impropriation* of *Mether-Kennogg*, in the County of *Brecknock*, of the value of 160*l.*

160 *l. per annum*, for ever, according to the Order of the Committee of Plundered Ministers, dated 4 *Novembris*, 1646, for which he is allowed 1642 *l.* and so his Fine of 2442 *l.* is reduced to 800 *l.*

12 *Novembr.* 1646.

Settled. Sir Francis Hawley, of *Buckland-Sorum*, in the County of *Somerset*, Knight, to settle 50 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon the Minister of *Darston*; for which he is allowed 507 *l.* 18 *s.* and so his Fine of 757 *l.* 18 *s.* is reduced to 250 *l.*

19 *Novembr.* 1646.

John Minshull, of *Vale-Royal*, in the County of *Chester*, Esq; to settle 30 *l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Minshull* for ever; for which he is allowed 300 *l.* and so his Fine of 1040 *l.* is reduced to 740 *l.*

24 *Novembr.* 1646.

Sir John Munson, of *South-Carleton*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Kt. to settle 50 *l. per annum*, for two Lives, as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 351 *l.* and so his Fine of 3027 *l.* is reduced to 2676 *l.*

Eodem die.

Richard Kirkby, of *Kirkby*, in the County of *Lancaster*, Esq; to settle 50 *l. per annum* (more than what is already paid) upon the Minister of *Haweshead* and his Successors; for which he is allowed 501 *l.* and so his Fine of 751 *l.* is reduced to 250 *l.*

28 *Novembr.* 1646.

Mountjoy Earl of *Newport*, to settle 40 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon such place as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 400 *l.* and so his Fine of 4579 *l.* is reduced to 4179 *l.*

Eodem die.

Thomas Earl of *Southampton*, to settle 250 *l. per annum*, for ever, upon such place as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 2500 *l.* and so his Fine of 6466 *l.* is reduced to 3966 *l.*

1 *Decembris*, 1646.

Settled. Orlando Bridgeman, of the City of *Chester*, Esq; to settle 140 *l. per annum*, for ever, viz. 50 *l. per annum* upon *Whitegate*, and the residue upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1660 *l.* 1 *s.* 5 *d.* and so his Fine of 2246 *l.* 7 *s.* 2 *d.* is reduced to 586 *l.* 5 *s.* 9 *d.*

3 *Decembris*, 1646.

Sir Vincent Corbet, or *Moreton-Corbet*, in the County of *Salop*, Kt. to settle 80 *l. per annum* upon the Church of *Linslade* for ever; for which he is allowed 800 *l.* and his Fine of 2822 *l.* is reduced to 2022 *l.*

5 *Decembris*, 1646.

Settled. Thomas Cholmondeley, of *Vale-Royal*, in the County of *Chester*, Esq; to settle 120 *l. per annum* upon the Vicars of *Over-Whittenhal* and *Whitegate*, for sixteen Years to come; for which he is allowed 719 *l.* and so his Fine of 1169 *l.* is reduced to 450 *l.*

Richard

8 Decembris, 1646.

Richard Spencer, of *Orpington*, in the County of *Kent*, Esq; to settle 40*l. per annum* upon the Vicar of *Orpington*, for three Lives; for which he is allowed 330*l.* and so his Fine of 630*l.* is reduced to 300*l.* Settled.

Eodem die.

George Penruddock, of *Broad-Chalke*, in the County of *Wilt*, Esq; to settle 110*l. per annum*, for ever, viz. 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Great-Wenlock*, in the County of *Salop*, and 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Brombrough*, and 30*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Eastham*, in the County of *Chester*, for eighteen Years to come; for which he is allowed 900*l.* and so his Fine of 1000*l.* is reduced to 100*l.* Settled.

Eodem die.

Edward Dymock, of *Kyme*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Esq; to settle the Rectory of *South-Kyme* and *North Kyme*, and the Rectory of *Billinghay*, of the value of 200*l. per annum* upon the two Churches or Chapels where the Tithes do arise, viz. 100*l. per annum* a piece; for which he is allowed 2000*l.* so his Fine of 7133*l.* is reduced to 5133*l.* Settled.

12 Decembris, 1646.

Randolph Edgerton, of *Betley*, in the County of *Stafford*, Esq; to settle 70*l. per annum*, for ever, viz. 20*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Betley*, 20*l. per annum* upon the Chappel of *Audley*, 30*l. per annum* upon the Chappel of *Talke*; for which he is allowed 705*l. 10 s.* and so his Fine of 1411*l.* is reduced to 705*l. 10 s.* Settled.

15 Decembris, 1646.

James Duke of *Richmond* and *Lenox*, to settle the Rectory of *Leighton*, in the County of *Huntington*, valued at 182*l. per annum*, upon the two Churches where the Profits arise, for the term of two Lives; for which he is allowed 1274*l.* and so his Fine of 9810*l.* is reduced to 8536*l.* Settled.

23 Decembris, 1646.

Edward Kirton, of *Castel-Cary*, in the County of *Somerset*, Esq; to settle 20*l. per annum* upon the Vicar of *Castle-Cary*, for three Lives; for which he is allowed 150*l.* and so his Fine of 504*l.* is reduced to 354*l.* Settled.

7 Januarii, 1647.

Edward Kinaaston, of *Oatley*, in the County of *Salop*, Esq; to settle 50*l. per annum* upon the Chappel of *Duddleston*, for ever; for which he is allowed 500*l.* and so his Fine of 2000*l.* is reduced to 1500*l.*

21 Januarii, 1647.

Sir Henry Frederick Thynne, of *Cause Castel*, in the County of *Salop*, Knight, to settle the Improprate Parionage of *Kempsford*, of the value of 100*l. per annum*, for ever, and the Rectory of *Buckland* and *Laverton*, of the value of 100*l. per annum* for eighty Years, upon such Places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is to be allowed 2000*l.* and so his Fine of 7160*l.* to be reduced to 5160*l.*

23 Januarii, 1647.

Sir Richard Newport, of *High-Ercall*, in the County of *Salop*, Knight, to settle 173*l. 18 s. 8 d. per annum*, for ever, upon the several Places where the Tithes arise; for

for which there is allowed 1739*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* out of the Fine of 10000 *l.* imposed on the said Sir *Richard Newport*, and *Francis Newport* his Son and Heir Apparent.

Eodem die.

Settled. *Francis Lord Dunsmore*, to settle 70*l.* *per annum*, for ever, viz. 50*l.* *per annum* upon *Dunchurch*, and the residue upon the Church of *Lawford*; for which he is allowed 840*l.* and so his Fine of 3694*l.* is reduced to 2854*l.*

28 *Januarii*, 1647.

Settled. *Edward Wilsford*, of *Kingston*, in the County of *Kent*, to settle 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Church of *Flamborough*, in the East-riding of the County of *York*, for ever; for which his whole Fine of 400*l.* was remitted.

11 *Februarii*, 1647.

Settled. *Edward Whitcomb*, of *Bishops-Norton*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Esq; to settle 50*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *Harpwell*, for which he is allowed 500*l.* and so his Fine of 1013*l.* 10*s.* is reduced to 513*l.* 10*s.*

25 *Februarii*, 1647.

Gilbert Atkinson, of *Newark*, in the County of *Nottingham*, Gent. and *John Atkinson* his Son, to settle 50*l.* *per annum*, for two Lives, upon the Church of *Wellingore*; for which there is allowed 275*l.* and so the Fine of 629*l.* is reduced to 354*l.*

6 *Martii*, 1647.

Settled. *John Lynn*, of *Southwick*, in the County of *Southampton*, Esq; to settle 40*l.* *per annum* upon the Church of *Southwick*, for ever; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 641*l.* is reduced to 241*l.*

11 *Martii*, 1647.

Settled. *Richard Brown-John*, of *Burgh-Cleare*, in the County of *Southampton*, Gent. to settle 20*l.* *per annum* upon the Minister of *East-Kennet*, in the County of *Wilts*, for ever; for which he is allowed 200*l.* and so his Fine of 245*l.* is reduced to 45*l.*

13 *Martii*, 1647.

Settled. *Robert Lord Viscount Kilmurrey*, to settle 120*l.* *per annum*, for ever, upon the several Ministers of *Wrenbury*, *Burlodam* and *Alton*; for which he is allowed 1200*l.* and so his Fine of 3560*l.* is reduced to 2360*l.*

18 *Martii*, 1647.

Thomas Owen, of *Shrewsbury*, in the County of *Salop*, Esq; and *Edward Owen* his Son, to settle 20*l.* *per annum*, for ever, upon the Church where the Tythes lie; for which the whole Fine of 294*l.* is remitted.

20 *Martii*, 1647.

Mountague Earl of Lindsey, to settle 150*l.* *per annum*, for ever, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1500*l.* and so the Fine of 4260*l.* is reduced to 2760*l.*

William

23 Martii, 1647.

William Orme, of Langdon, in the County of Stafford, Gent. to settle the Tithes of Upper-Masfield, of the value of 36 l. per annum, for ever, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 360 l. so his Fine of 1395 l. is reduced to 1035 l.

[Yet, afterwards, upon Review, was Increased 500 l. more, besides Decimation; the Reason whereof was, that he did not in effect garrison and furnish with Provisions the Close of Litchfield (at the Request of the Church) upon the first besieging thereof; by which, and his being plundered before the re-taking, and oft marching with the King, at his own Charge, a Personal Estate of 2000 l. was consumed, he having no Profits of his Real Estate of 500 l. per ann. for four Years; tho' betwixt 1637 and 1654, he had by one Wife fourteen Children. And farther, in Revenge of his steady Loyalty, was barbarously taken out of his Bed, when sick of a Palfie, and imprisoned at Stafford, so long as to bring him to Distraction. —* Note, That his Son, Thomas Orme, laboured under these Misfortunes (and others of the like kind) many Years, and the whole Family brought to utter Ruin.]

30 Martii, 1647.

Sir Edward Osborn, of Kineton, in the County of York, Bar. to settle 100 l. per ann. for ever, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1000 l. and so his Fine of 1649 l. is reduced to 649 l.

12 Maii 1647.

William Fitzberbert, of Tiffington, in the County of Derby, Esq; to settle 55 l. for ever, upon the Church of Tiffington; for which he is allowed 560 l. Settled.

7 Julii, 1647.

Timothy Tourneur, of Bould, in the County of Salop, Esq; to settle 22 l. per annum, upon the Vicar of St. Almonds, for ever; for which he is allowed 308 l. and so his Fine of 1000 l. is reduced to 692 l. Settled.

13 Julii, 1647.

George Walker, of Salt, in the County of Stafford, Gent. to settle 30 l. per annum, for his Life, upon the Church of Weston, for which he is allowed 150 l. and so his Fine of 166 l. 17 s. is reduced to 16 l. 17 s. Settled.

14 Julii, 1647.

Timothy Pussey, of Selston, in the County of Nottingham, Esq; to settle 50 l. per annum, for ever, upon the Church of Crych, in the County of Derby; for which he is allowed 500 l. and so the Fine of 967 l. is reduced to 467 l.

15 Julii, 1647.

Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Thomas Delves, of the County of Chester, Knights, to settle the Impropriation of Wybunbury, in the said County, and the same to be employed; 50 l. per annum to Wybunbury, and the rest to Nantwich; for which they are to allowed according to the usual Rates of this Committee.

20 Julii, 1647.

Thomas Glasfowr, of Lea, in the County of Chester, Esq; to settle 50 l. per annum, for 14 Years upon the Church of Shapwick; for which his whole Fine of 314 l. is remitted. Settled.

22 Julii, 1647.

William Harcastle, of *Larton*, in the County of *York*, Gent. to settle the Rectory of *Coverham*, and the Chappel thereto belonging, for ever; for which he is to be allowed out of his second Payment.

Eodem die.

Settled. Sir *Roger Jaques*, of the City of *York*, Knight, to settle 80*l. per annum*, for three Lives, upon the Ministers of *Tbuske* and *Raschall*; for which he is allowed 600*l.* and so his Fine of 840*l.* is reduced to 240*l.*

29 Julii, 1647.

The Lord *Savile* having compounded for the Rectory of *Morley* and *Woodchurch*, in the County of *York*, at the yearly value of 60*l.* which is much undervalued; it is ordered, that if the said Rectory be of the value of 136*l. per annum* (as is affirmed) that then the overplus be settled upon the Church of *Woodchurch* aforesaid.

21 Octobris, 1647.

Settled. *Richard Baddeley*, of the City of *Durham*, Gent. to settle 16*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Auckland*, for ever; for which his whole Fine of 162*l. 10 s.* is remitted.

Eodem die.

Henry Mansell, of *Randewy*, in the County of *Glamorgan*, Esq; to settle the Tythes of *Knoilston*, for the Term of seven Years, for the Maintenance of the Minister there; for which he is allowed 21*l. 8 s. 4 d.*

22 Novembris, 1647.

Settled. *Edward* Earl of *Dorset*, to settle 164*l. per annum*, for ever, viz. 80*l. per annum* upon *St. Dunstan's* in the *West*, and 84*l.* upon the Church of *Lullington*, in the County of *Derby*; for which he is allowed 1640*l.* and so his Fine of 2415*l.* is reduced to 775*l.*

Eodem die.

Sir *Edward Alford*, of *Offington*, in the County of *Suffex*, Knight, to settle the Rectory of *Chelsonbam* and *Charleton*, in the County of *Gloucester*, valued at 75*l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum*, for his Life upon such place as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed, according to the usual Rates of this Committee, out of his Fine of 2908*l.*

Eodem die.

Sir *Sutton Coney*, of *Northstoake*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Knight; to settle 13*l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum* upon the Minister of *Bassingthorpe*, for ever; and Sir *William Thorold* of *Marston*, in the said County, Knight, to settle 36*l. 13 s. 4 d. per annum*, for ever, out of the Rectory of *Sistan* in the said County, for the Minister's Maintenance there; for which they are to be allowed 500*l.*

1 Decembris, 1647.

Settled. Sir *Thomas Bridges*, of *Kaynsam*, in the County of *Somerset*, Kt. to settle 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Kaynsam*, for ever; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 1268*l.* to be reduced to 868*l.*

20 Decembris, 1647.

Settled. *William* Lord *Brereton*, to settle 80*l. per annum*, for 215 Years, viz. 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Brereton* (besides the 20*l. per ann.* already

already paid) and 40*l. per annum* upon the Chappel of *Church-holm*, belonging to the Parish of *Sanbach*; for which he is allowed 400*l.* and so his Fine of 2538*l. 18s.* is reduced to 1738*l. 18s.*

17 *Januarii*, 1648.

Robert Laurence, of *Creech-Graunge*, in the County of *Dorset*, Esq; to settle 140*l. per annum*, for ever, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 1400*l.* and so his Fine is reduced to 28*l. 15s.*

28 *Januarii*, 1648.

John Fanshawe, of *Parflowe*, in the County of *Effex*, Esq; to settle 40*l. per ann.* for 21 Years, upon the Church of *Dagenham*; for which he is allowed 280*l.* which leaves his Fine 210*l.*

25 *Februarii*, 1648.

Sir Gervase Scroope, of *Cockerington*, in the County of *Lincoln*, Kt. and *Adrian Scroope*, Esq; his Son, to settle 80*l. per annum*, for ever; *Settled.* viz. 50*l. per annum*, upon the Church of *Grimbleby*, and 30*l. per ann.* upon the Church of *Holbedgo*; and also to settle 40*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Cockerington*, for three Lives; for which there is allowed 1100*l.* and so the Fine of 4682*l.* is reduced to 3582*l.*

Eodem die.

Baptist Lord Viscount Campden, to settle 100*l. per annum*, for three Lives, upon the Church of *Langham*, and 50*l. per annum*, for his own Life, upon the Church of *Hampstead*; for which he is allowed 1000*l.* *Settled.* and his Fine remains 9000*l.*

28 *Februarii*, 1648.

Francis Watson, of *London*, Merchant-Taylor, to settle 65*l. per ann.* upon the Church of *Great-Dawly*, in the County of *Salop*; for which *Settled.* his whole Fine of 523*l. 13s. 4d.* is remitted.

Eodem die.

Sir Henry Compton, of *Bramble-Tye*, in the County of *Suffex*, Knight of the *Bath*, to settle 50*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Lemington*, in the County of *Gloucester*, and 20*l. per ann.* upon the Church of *Stretton*, in the County of *Warwick*: he is also to settle 396*l. 13s. 4d. per annum*, for three Lives; viz. 130*l. per annum* upon the Church of *Caton*, in the County of *Lancaster*, and the Residue as the Parliament shall appoint; for which he is allowed 3675*l.* and so his Fine remains 1614*l.*

1 *Martii*, 1648.

Edward Savage, of *Nobery*, in the County of *Worcester*, Esq; to settle 50*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Quointo*, in the County of *Gloucester*; for which the whole Fine of 445*l. 16s. 8d.* is remitted. *Settled.*

6 *Martii*, 1648.

Robert Morley, of *Fulforth*, in the County of *York*, Esq; to settle 61*l. per annum*, for three Lives, upon the Minister of *Cawood*; for which he is allowed 457*l. 10s.* and so his Fine of 885*l.* is reduced to 427*l. 10s.*

Eodem die.

Sir Lewis Watson, of *Rockingham*, in the County of *Northampton*, Kt. to settle 100*l.* for eight Years, viz. 60*l. per annum* upon the Minister *Settled.* of *Kettering*, 20*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Taxley*, 10*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Holm*, and 10*l. per annum* upon the Minister of *Winwick*; for which he is allowed 1000*l.*

15 Martii, 1648.

Sir Clement Fisher, of Packington, in the County of Warwick, Bar.
Settled. to settle 60 *l.* per annum, for ever, viz. 30 *l.* per annum, upon the Minister of Packington, and 30 *l.* per annum, upon the Minister of Buckenball; for which he is allowed 600 *l.* and so his Fine of 1140 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* is reduced to 540 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.*

Eodem die.

Laurence Winnington, of the Armitage, in the County of Chester, Esq;
Settled. to settle 40 *l.* per annum, for ever, upon the Minister who shall officiate at the Chappel of Goostree; for which his whole Fine of 411 *l.* is remitted.

16 Martii, 1648.

George Warner, of Woolston, in the County of Warwick, Esq; to settle 80 *l.* per ann. viz. 36 *l.* per annum upon such Minister as shall live and officiate at Stretton, and 44 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Woolston; for which he is allowed 800 *l.* and so his Fine of 1660 *l.* is reduced to 860 *l.*

17 Martii, 1648.

Thomas Fanshaw, of Jenkins, in the County of Essex, Esq; to settle 20 *l.* per annum, for ever, upon the Church of Lowlayton, in the said County; for which he is allowed 800 *l.* and so his Fine of 1300 *l.* is reduced to 500 *l.*

Eodem die.

John Lukenor, of Westdean, in the County of Suffex, Esq; to settle
Settled. the Rectories of Chilgrove, Binderton, Singleton, Dudling, East-dean and Charleton, of the value of 150 *l.* per annum, upon such places as the Parliament shall appoint; for which his whole Fine of 1000 *l.* as also his Mother's Fine, being 522 *l.* in all 1522 *l.* is remitted.

22 Martii, 1648.

John Crook, of Mothcombe, in the County of Dorset, Esq; to settle 120 *l.* per ann. for ever, viz. 50 *l.* per annum upon Christ Church, 35 *l.* per ann. upon Ellingham, and 35 *l.* per ann. upon Ripley, all in the County of Southampton; for which he is allowed 1200 *l.* out of his Fine of 4885 *l.*

31 Martii, 1648.

Mary Countess Dowager of Northampton, to settle 170 *l.* per annum,
Settled. for her Life, viz. 30 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Henstaunton, 20 *l.* per ann. upon Hilton, 20 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Harsford, 30 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Paxton, 10 *l.* per ann. upon Winwick, 50 *l.* per ann. upon the Minister of Taxley, and 30 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Huntington, all in the County of Huntington; for which she is allowed the Remainder of her Fine, being 425 *l.*

17 Aprilis, 1648.

Sir Robert Banister, of Passenham, in the County of Leicester, Kt. to settle 50 *l.* per ann. upon the Church of Hungerton, for ever; for which he is allowed 500 *l.*

21 Aprilis, 1648.

Andrew King, of London, Merchant, to settle 30 *l.* per ann. for seven Years, upon the Minister of Wickardisbury, in the County of Bucks; for which the Residue of his Fine, being 120 *l.* is allowed.

23 Junii 1648.

Sir Robert Tracy, of Toddington, in the County of Gloucester, Kt. to
Settled. settle 7 *l.* per ann. for ever, upon the Minister of Winchcombe, for which he is allowed 70 *l.* out of his Fine of 1510 *l.*

Alexander

24 Septembr. 1648.

Alexander Middleton, of *Drayton*, in the County of *Somerset*, Gent. to settle 35 *l.* 14 *s.* 3 *d.* per ann. for three Lives; for which his whole Fine of 250 *l.* is allowed.

Warwick Lord Mohun, Baron of *Oakhampton*. to settle 80 *l.* per ann. for ever, upon such place or places, as either the Parliament, or this Committee shall appoint; for which he is allowed 800 *l.* out of his Fine of 2090 *l.* Settled.

Sir Thomas Smith, of the City of *Chester*, Kt. to settle 110 *l.* per ann. upon such place as this Committee shall appoint; for which, Allowance is made, according to the usual Rates, by this Committee. Settled.

Richard Seabourn, of *Hereford*, Esq; to settle 29 *l.* per ann. for 99 Years, upon the Minister of *Felton*; for which the Remainder of his Fine is allowed; and so the Fine remains 300 *l.* Settled.

The whole *Revenue*; in Fee, for Lives and Years, which is ordered to be settled, is per annum, 9389 *l.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.*

The *Abatements* for the several *Augmentations*, according to the Rate of ten Years Purchase for a Fee, and so proportionably for other Estates, amounts unto 84,544 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.*

This is set forth by the *Parliament*, that every Parish, to which any *Augmentation* is appointed, may view this; and if the *Revenues* be not settled according to the Intention of the *Parliament*, that the Parishes concerned may repair to *Goldsmith's-Hall*, that Course may be taken for settling the same accordingly.

Anthony Irby, Chairman.

Die Veneris, 1 Septembr. 1648.

Ordered by the COMMONS assembled in Parliament; That the Committee, at Goldsmith's-Hall, do certify unto this House, on this Day sevensnight, an Accompt what Impropropriations of Delinquents are purchased by them, upon Allowances therefore made to the said Delinquents, upon passing their Fines; and what Impropropriations are, in pursuance thereof, settled effectually by Law.

H. Elsyng, Cler. Parl. D. Com.

If

[If the Author will pardon my publishing the following Copy of Verses, I make no Doubt but the Reader will.]

To all whom it may concern to know Me, *Greeting.*

I'm nor *High-Church*, nor *Low-Church*, nor *Tory*, nor *Whig*;
 Nor fluttering Young Coxcomb, nor formal Old Prig;
 Not eternally Talking, nor silently Queint;
 No profligate Sinner, nor pragmatical Saint.
 I think Freely, I own; yet I firmly Believe!
 I'm nor Vain of my Judgment, nor pin't on a Sleeve.
 To shift Truth from all Rubbish, I do What I Can;
 Since, GOD knows, if I Err, I'm a Fallible Man:
 Nor can I, in Nature, conceive any other
 Of the wisest Arch-Priest that is born of a Mother.
 I can laugh at a Jest, if not crack'd out-o'-Time;
 And excuse a Mistake, tho' not flatter a Crime.
 Quite Unbiass'd I view Things around, as they pass;
 Nor squint at the Great-Ones thro' a Blackening Glass.
 As a Statesman corrupt is the Devil in Hell!
 So, since Princes thro' Servants must hear, see and smell;
 I do therefore love Those who sub-minister Well.
 Any Faults of my Friends I would scorn to expose;
 And detest Private Scandal, tho' cast on my Foes.
 I put none to the Blush, on whatever Pretence;
 For Immodesty shocks both Good-breeding and Sense.
 No Man's Person I hate, tho' his Conduct I blame;
 I can censure a Vice, without stabbing a Name.
 To amend, not reproach, is the Bent of my Mind:
 A Reproof is half lost, where Ill-nature is join'd.
 Whilst weak Authors their Strains to the *Printing-Press* send!
 To be Tacit is Manners; 'tis Vile to Commend.
 When Merit appears, tho' in Rags, I'd respect it;
 And plead Virtue's Cause, shou'd the whole World reject it.
 Cool Reason I bow to, wheresoever 'tis found;
 Its Degraders I loath, tho' in Sindonsbe-gown'd;
 And rejoice when Sheer Science with Favour is crown'd.
 I'm Content with my Station: Yet were it made Better!
 To the Gods upon Earth I'd be thankfully Debtor.
 I nor envy the *Thersites*, nor critique his Verse;
 'Tis his Duty, 'till Death, the *Queen's* Fame to rehearse:
 And, if his Pen be so strong thro' Ages to hold,
 The Great-Little Bounty to all Times should be told.
Edmund Spenser far'd worse (so blind *Fortuna's* Wheel varies!)
 For his Giant-like Work on the *Queen* of the *Fairies*.
 To no Party I'm Pump; in no Squabbles I join;
 Nor Damn the Opinion that differs from Mine.
 Evil Tongues I contemn; no Mob-Treasons I sing;
 I doat on my *Country*, Yet am Liege to my *King*!
 Length of Days tho' I wish for; Yet, with my last Breath,
 I'm in Hopes to betray no mean Dreadings of Death:
 And, as to those Mazes after Death to be trod,
 I submit to the *Doom* of an Infinite GOD.

In

In a certain old Book (a small Octavo) beautifully Printed on a Black Letter (which Book has neither Beginning, End, nor Running-Title, so I know not what to call it) I met with the following bold, remarkable Piece, which, by the Imprint, appears to have come to Light in the second Year of our Catholic Queen MARY, but a few Weeks before the first Arrival of her Catholic Consort Don Philip of Austria, afterwards the ever memorable K. Philip II. of Spain, whose Vincible Armada made our Ancestors that Friendly Visit, in 1588. And as I set out with a very notable SERMON, I hope none will take amiss my closing this Number with a no less notable PRAYER.]

A PRAIER to be sayd of all-trewe Christians against the Pope and all the enemyes of Christ and his Gospell.

O LORD, Almighty God and heauenly Father, we haue verily well deserued that thou shuldst ponish and correct vs. But we besech the most gracious Father, that thou wilt ponish and correct vs thy self, fauorably and with mercy, and not in thy fury and indignacion. It is better for vs, O Lord, to submitt our selues vnder thy rodd and correction, and to yeld our selues in to thy handes than in to the handes of menn or of our enemies. For great is thy mercy. Against the, O Lord, haue we sinned: we haue not kept thy word and commandementes: we haue done euil in thy sight. But we haue done nothing for the which the *Deuel* or the *Pope* and hys ministers ought iustly to correct vs, neither haue thei any auctorite to correct or ponish vs. But thou maist vse them as thy terrible rodde against vs, for as much as we haue sinned against the, and therewith worthily deserued most greuous ponishment. Good Lord, we haue done no offence for the which thei ought iustly to ponish vs. But this is their sening that we shuld most blasphemously sinne and offend against the, as thei doo. That we shuld disobey the for their pleasures, and blaspheme the, and committ ydolatry and supersticion, and bileue in fables and false doctrine and religion, as thei doo. And so that we wold soo doo, thei care not what whoredom, murther, theft, filthines, or what other abomination so euer we did otherwise. But this all the sinne which we haue done against them, that we professie and confesse the, which art our God and Father, with thy Son our Sauior *Jhesus Christ*, and the Holy Gost, to be the only trewe God. For if we wold forsake and denye the, and thy Word, which thou hast reuelyd vnto vs, both the *Deuel* and the *Pope*, with all their ministers, wold lett vs alone, and suffer us to lyue in rest.

Wherefor, thou mercyfull Father and most earnest Judge ouer our enemies, cast thine cies vpon vs. For thei are thy enemyes more than thei be our enemyes. And in that thei persecute and uexe vs, thei persecute and uexe the. For that Word which we do professie and byleue, is not ours but thyne: and all to gether is the working of thy Holy Gost in vs. Which thing, the *Deuel* and the *Pope*, with such enemyes of thyne, can not abyde. But thei wold be our God in thy place, and in steade of thy Word, thei wold establissh Lyes. For the *Pope*, in steade of the most precious sacrifice and oblacion of thy Sonn *Jhesus Christ*, wold stablissh and sett vp the fayned sacrifice of his own inuencion, the detestable and abominable *Masse*, and other fals and wicked articles, contrary to the trewe doctrine of thy Word. Wherefor awake and aryse, O gracious Lord God, and sanctifie thy name in vs, which they doo most abominably blaspheme and dishonor. Strengthen and increase thy Kingdom in vs, which thei goo about to subuert. And work thy Will in vs, which thei resist and will not suffer. But thou, O Lord, suffer vs not to be troden vnder fote, and to haue an ouerthrowe of them which seeke not to ponish or correct vs for our sinnes, but rather that thy Name, thy Word and Works shuld not be had in remembrance among vs, but utterly quenched, that thou shuldst no more be a God, nor no more haue any flock or people to prayse, professie and confesse

feile the. For thei cast away thy Word, and sett vp their own inuencions. Thei subuert the trew vse of the Sacramentes, and sett vp Idolatros ceremonyes. Thei banish and kepe in pryson the trew Preachers of thy Word, and send a brode false Teachers, belly-goodes and shameles hipocrytes. Thei mind utterly to subuert thy Truth and all Godlynes; and to plant all hipocrisy and abominacion. Wherefor good Lord, of thy Mercy, abate thow their pryde, aswage thow their malice, confownd and disappoint thow all their diuyses and practyses, deliuer thy Turtell-doue, thine Elect, owt of their handes: that thei and we all being preferued thorow thy Defence, from all such perels and dangers as thei practise and diuise against vs, may glorifye thy Name, which art the only preferuer of all that trust in the, thorow thy dere Sonn Iesus Christ, *Amen*.

O Lord arise, help and deliver thy Peple of Ingland, for thy Names Sake.

O Lord defend thy elect Peple of Ingland from the bandes and force of thy enemyes the Papistes.

O Lord graciously looke vpon the afflictions, sorowes, and necessityes of thos that doo truly professe and bilene thy Word, Amen.

Imprynted at *Grenewych*, by *Conrade Freeman*, in the Month of *May*, 1554

With the most gracious licence and priuilege of God Allmighty, Kyng of Heauen and Erth.



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By J. MORGAN, GENT.

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P O S T.

*H*AVING the Satisfaction of finding my Project not disliked by any of my Reading Acquaintance, and of being informed, from divers Quarters, that many so far approve of the Specimen, already published, that their only Apprehension is, lest the Design (as so many others have done) should drop, I think proper to assure the Public: "That, very far from dropping it, we are determined to push it on vigorously, as being in no Want of good Materials so to do, besides what Recruits are hourly pouring in; not to build on what are in View from elsewhere: Also, that this Number II. is no other than the Precursor to the subsequent four, which (in order to turn out with Vol. I. before I am many Weeks older) are forthwith to be distributed at as many Printing-Houses."

Yet, as a Professor of Frankness, I cannot but make open Acknowledgement of the several Objections I find already started: To all which I shall return such Replies as do at present occur.

Imprimis.—Certain of my Booksellers tell me, that some fling it by, purely on Account of its abounding with Divinity. But then they add, that I was wrong, in styling that venerable, introductory Discourse on Stewardship, a SERMON.

Answer.—Humph! *Why that is really true enough. I might indeed (had it not been for honestly following my Copy, which I shall still do in all Essentials) have exhibited it under a more modish Denomination, as Essay, Dissertation, or the like. But I stand corrected; and shall henceforth be more parcimonious of my Theology: Not but it pleases me to find all who have, deliberately, perused the said respectable Treatise, allowing the same (nem. con.) to be, in its Kind, uncommonly excellent.*

Secondly:—*From the same and other Hands I have it, that Fault is found with my first Choice: Some Persons urging, that I might have made a better and choicer Collection; at least, for the setting out, when whatever I had of better than ordinary, should then and there have appeared, in order to take People in, as the Phrase is.*

Answer.—*Now to this, I know not well what to say: Especially as none of the Fault-finders were at the Pains of Pointing out any Particulars by them disapproved, nor so good as to leave, or send me any Thing they judged better than ordinary, to embellish my next Number. Had that been done, it would have been both Friendly and Public-spirited.*

But Censuring in general, without particularizing, savours of Cavil for Cavil-sake. Nor am I for taking-in Folks with the best at first; but rather for having every Thing, I offer them, be as good as the best; I mean, give them nothing but what carries with it some Share of Merit. That I have done so hitherto, I hope will readily be granted, by all unbiaſſed Readers; and therein my Intention is to persevere: Nor will they, who delight in looking back to the Writings of those who have gone before us, and begrudge not a few Pence in gratifying that their Curiosity, fail of being my Customers.

Thirdly.—*Others, it seems, say my Pamphlet is dear; that is, they would have liked better to have had it for a Shilling, or Eighteen Pence at most: Yet, on turning it over, they own, "There is a devilish Deal of it, nay, too much by half, of such close Print, for one Pamphlet." "Besides, cries another, 'tis true, here are some pretty Pieces, which I'd be glad to have Single; but for the rest, I have seen 'em already, and would not give a Farthing for 'em."*

Answer.—*Who can please every Body! All who know any thing of Print and Paper, must allow this cannot be afforded Cheaper. And I beg of those Gentlemen, who like only Part of this Work, that they would be so good as to consider, that it would be no very easy Matter for them to find that Part of it they do like; and when, luckily, they do find it, I much Question whether (with all its Imperfections) it is to be purchased even so reasonably as is my whole well-printed Number. Nay, have we not Retailers of Scarce Pamphlets, who talk big of 3 l. per Dozen, take 'em as they come, having*
first,

first, with a still farther View, set a-part those they themselves imagine to be the most valuable? And as for my Subscribers, I am sure they have their Books cheap enough: Nor am I anxious that any of them (when they see the Volume, with its large Index, &c. all complete) will repent of their Good-Nature and Condescension, in that now so unfashionable a Branch of Faith, as the Trusting me with Twelve-Shillings.

Fourthly, and Lastly, and Worst of all.—I am informed, that some have expressed a Sort of Disgust at the Quotations, from Catholic Books, &c. introduced in Number I. Intimating as if such may breed Ill-Blood, and all that!

Answer.—Bless us! How can this be? I am quite at a Loss to conceive why it should. The Pens of ingenious Romanists entertain me as agreeably as those of any others, and doubtless will do the like to at least some of my Readers; and why may they not therewith be gratified? Besides; how can any of us well take Exceptions at Extracts given us from Writings of approved Authors of our own Belief?

In short, once for all, I would be understood to be absolutely a Neuter in Party-Affairs: But shall not fail of reviving what I judge will best take with my Readers. A Neuter I say; and that not without some Ground: Since, were nothing farther to be considered, such I am as a FREE-MASON. For at once to let-in the Curious into one of the Grand Secrets and Mysteries of Masonry, we Brethren, strictly speaking, are of no Party. —Thus much for Answering to Objections.

But a propos of my Brethren the MASONS. Being not unapprized of the Precariousness of getting off a very large Impression of almost any Book, I cautiously determined not to glut the Town with my PHOENIX, nor over-print myself; so only ventured on 500: And surely, one need not fear being much to seek for so moderate a Number of Lovers of Reading. Besides, I say, in case of the worst, we have, among that our numerous Fraternity, some Hundreds of Gentlemen-Masons, whom the Royal Craft has taught to be no less in-love with Polite Literature than with Secrecy, Morality and Good-Fellowship. Of these, tho' I have not yet gone my Rounds, I have several, already, in my List of Subscribers: And it is well known, how exemplarily zealous the whole Body is, in doing Good Offices to Brethren.

Quite contrary to the Method I began with, I have now modernized the Orthography; and am commended for so doing, except in what is very Antique, or Singular in its Kind; as is Friend F o x's Will, whose Beauty consists in its Ugliness, and to have gone about mending it, would have been quite marring it; so it goes just as it is now to be seen, at the Prerogative-Office.—Words and Phrases, how obsolete soever, I let alone; but strike-out Superfluities of Letters, &c. The Families of fix't, furnish't, purchas't, and the like, I utterly banish; and wish the same could be as easily done by other Deformities of our, otherwise beautiful, Language, the Particulars whereof I shall not now enter upon. But wherein I most assume a Liberty of deviating from my Authors is, in substituting, on all proper Occasions, the Words who, whom, which or what, instead of that, so frequently and so abusively used, by too many, even at this very Day.—Take one Instance.

A Person (who looks like Some-Body too) said very earnestly, to another, in my Hearing, but a very few Days since; “I'm sure, that that, that that Villain, that married that Bitch Moll Trott, reports of that poor Girl my Sister, that's now in her Grave, is a damn'd Lie; and that's that that I'll maintain to that Man's Teeth that says the contrary.” And doubtless if that Man, that said that, can write, he would write it just as I do. Now, if one were to forge a Collection of Periods, and pick out short Monosyllables (of which we have no Scarcity) and connect them, with such an Inundation of Thats, would it be any great Difficulty to frame a Discourse, in allowable English, wherein at least half of it should be nothing but that, that! Which I take is not to be done in any other Language.—But so much for that; and that's an End of that. For I now think, that it begins to be Time, that I also make an End of that Thing that you may call Prefacing, or that that else you please.

PHOE-

PHOENIX BRITANNICUS.

N U M B. II.

VOX CIVITATIS:

O R,

LONDON's Complaint against her Children
in the COUNTRY.

Shewing to them her *Infirmity, Poverty, desolate Misery.*

Upbraiding them with *Unkindness, Uncharitableness, Distrustfulness.*

Informing them of her *Comfort in God, Counsel to them.*

Chiding the Country for their *Ignorance of God, and his Hand. Hard-heartedness in Entertaining, Burying.*

Taken from her own Mouth, and written by *Benjamin Spenser, M. A.*

J O B xix. 21.

*Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, oh my friends, for the hand of
God hath touched me.*

L O N D O N:

Printed by J. D. for Nicholas Bourne. 1625.

To the Honourable, Reverend and Worshipful *Magistrates*,
Ministers and *Physicians* resident with me; and to all
other my *Christian* Children, who have, out of a good
Conscience, staid with me in this Time of my grievous
Affliction, administring to me wholesome *Cordials*, or
comfortable *Words*, or charitable *Works*;

Greeting,

A Brother is born for *Adversity*; and true *Friendship* indeed is
tried in *Misery*: God hath tried you, and I have found you
such as I may trust. Therefore all the *Blessings* that I can
conceive in my Heart, and all the *Gifts* in my Hands light up-
on you; since you have comforted my drooping Heart, and strength-
ned my feeble Knees.

And now since you have taken both *Care* and *Cure* of me, let me pre-
vail with you farther to *Patronage* this my *Complaint*, and *Exproba-*
tion, and to defend it from the malevolent *Tongues* and *Hands* of some of
my fugitive *Children*: for all that are fled are not obstinate against me,
but fearful, or wanting *Knowledge*, and yet pitiful to me in their *Di-*
stractions. This your *Patronage* I desire, not for *Contention* but *Edi-*
fication; because if any *Contention* be, whosoever wins, I may chance to
lose *Love*. Therefore, with the *Apostle*, I wish all Things may be done
with *Meekness*. And the *Blessing* of God the Father, the *Grace* of *Jesus*
Christ, and the *Fellowship* of the *Holy Ghost* be with you all.

Your Nurling Mother,

London City.

V O X C I V I T A T I S.

HE that hath many Enemies beleaguering him, may doubt which to set upon first, with most Safety to himself. And as *Physicians* are distracted with the many Infirmities of an old patch'd-up *Patient*, which Disease in him to take away first, that the other make not head against his Life, so I now poor, distressed, rejected, diseased *London*, once the *Phoenix*, now the *Owl*; once the *Paragon* of *Beauty*, now a *Pattern* of *Deformity*; lately the Crown and Pride of *Great Britain*, now a Scare-crow and Scorn; know not which way to turn me first. My God is angered, my Household plagued, my hopeful Children dispersed. Which *last* grieves me not *least*, that I should nourish Children, who should in Time of Need so forsake me. I have solicited God in Supplication; I have comforted my Family with my best Adjutation; but my Sorrows increase, and my Friends decrease, which makes me send out (in the Bitterness of my Soul) this Exclamation against them, this Declaration to them.

Ah! well said St. *Chrysostom*; *Quod est in arboribus Humor, hoc est in hominibus Amor*: The Love in Men is like Juice in Trees, which Humour seldom re-visits the Root being once sent forth, but shoots forward into Sprigs, Leaves or Fruit: So Childrens Love seldom reflects on the Parents, but boundeth forward to some other Object. And so deal you (my Children) with me, whose Ungratefulness I much pity; though, it may be, you regard it not. But howsoever, I must discharge my Conscience in relating your Faults, that so (if in your Absence some of my lewd Sons prey on your Goods) you may not blame me for not informing you: nor when you return, if you taste of Correction, you may not take heinously my reforming you. And lest you think I speak without Cause, consider my Infirmary, Poverty, small Company.

And that you are not guiltless, neither of these Miseries, nor undeserving my Expostulation, I pray consider your Unkindness to God and me, Uncharitableness to the Needy, Distrustfulness in God's Providence. And yet that I am not comfortless, mark my Confidence; nor loveless to you, observe my Counsel, in that I wish you to reclaim, repent, and believe.

And lastly, commend me (I can scarce say kindly) to those untaught Country-Creatures, whom neither Fear of God, nor Knowledge of his Word, nor Example of my Civil Government, nor kind Entertainment, nor leasing, nor lending, nor trading, nor my large contributing to their Briefs, can win to the kind well-coming of my Children dispersed, through their Infirmary, nor to the burying them without Inhumanity. And let those *unjust Justices* and *surly Sirs* know my Displeasure, who care not though I starve for Want of Food, who keep back the People, as much as in them lieth, from bringing Sustenance hither, for fear the *Plague* should come thither *in a pair of Panniers*. But their Fault I will put last, as the least in comparison of yours, who fright them with your Amazedness. But you should have had more Hope in God, more Trust in his Word, more Love to me, more Respect to yourselves, than thus to expose your Bodies, dead or alive (in this Case) to the rude Courtesy of the ignorantly-fearful (I had almost said) faithless Country.

And all this comes to pass because I am touched with Infirmary, which what it is you shall know: My Infirmary is Natural, Spiritual.

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My

My Spiritual Infirmary is Sin in general; but in particular, Security in Prosperity, Unsensibleness of Visitation, murmuring in Want, abusing Plenty.

Which you my Children have not been behind-hand to augment; neither are you guiltless. Have not you infected my *Air* with *swearing*, my *Taverns* (which I erected to comfort the Sorrowful) with *spewing up* your *Surquedry*? My *Shops* with *Cheating*, my *Churches* with *Hypocrisy*, my *Suburbs* with *Baudry*? What Sin am I tainted withal, of which you have not the Tincture? What Paint have I put on, of the which you not the Visor? You have *grinded my Poor*, you have *eat my People like Bread*, you have *sold them for old Shoes*, you have *oppressed by Might and Bankruptism*, you have *left Debts unpaid*, you have *opened a Way for unconscionable Men to undo others by your departing*, and *left me*, last of all, to *Desolation*, as if you were none of those who had augmented my Sin, and therefore need not partake of my Punishment. These Mischiefs you have left behind you, though your Bodies are absent, and I feel the Smart of yours and my own Folly.

There are some of you, who are absent, whose Nakedness (with *Constantine*) I had rather cover with my Cloak, then discover. But I see *some wilfully let go the Plough*, and never look after it: I see *Shepherds smitten with Fear*, *Sheep scattered*, *Hearers fickle*, for want of due ordering, *Church Discipline rejected*, *Sacraments neglected*, *the Bread of Life vilified*, *your selves in Counsel and Example despised*. I am benefited by your Prayers and Pains, therefore will I spare Reproof, as not worthy to do it. But yet observe (I pray you) (especially the most of you that are fled) how your People grow dissolute, their Natures insolent, their Ears itching, their Appetite greedy, their Heads distracted, their Hearts unsettled. I accuse no Father of the Church, for they have no particular Place of Residency, the Care of all the Churches lies on them, and they deputed you over particular Congregations for your own Good and the Peoples also, that the Church may want no Tendence. Yet I say not, that you have been the Fountain of all this. For you my Lay-Children (for the most part) cannot complain for want of teaching, since you have followed so little, and plaid the Wantons with your Bread. For are not *the Judges corrupt*, turning *Judgment into Worm-wood*? Your *Juries unjust*, inclining to the *strongest Side*, because they shall be well paid? *Officers cruel and hard-hearted*; *Physicians and Chirurgeons aiming more at Coin than Cure*; *Lawyers speaking not according to the Truth*, but the *Greatness of the Fee*: *Church-Officers full of Partiality and Connivency*, resolving (as it may seem) to be *forsworn before they undertake the Office*? I will not say that some get by their Offices, relying on the Power of their Place, for want of strict examining their Account. If any be so honest to complain of Offenders, *Court-Cobwebs cannot hold the great Flies*, *their Luggage is so heavy*; but some Officers, like a Spider, can draw in the little Fly to the Center. And though a Man have never so much Diligence, some Under-Officers (for a Wager) can frustrate all with their private *Indulgence*. No wonder if my Younger Children be bad, when my Elder be no better; for to their Example, *totus componitur orbis*: and yet some of these are gone, as if they were never the Men.

And if their Sins would spur away as fast as they, I should complain of no other Infirmary. But *Quicquid delirunt isti plectuntur Achivi*, whatsoever you have done I find the Scourge of it, and with my poor Inhabitants may say, with *David* in the Person of my Saviour; *The Rebukes of those that offended thee, fall upon me*. Yet I excuse not my self, nor my Residents as innocent, but would not have my self only censured, because I bear the Punishment. I know that I have sinned in my *Hard-heartedness*, in *not mourning for my late Sovereign*, whose Subjects now follow him in Death. I often desired War, *when God cried Peace*, or *Sickness* to consume my Multitudes and Strength; and now am weakened. Oh turn to me again, thou *Lord of Hosts*, *shew us the Light of thy Countenance*, and we shall be whole. I know also that I have the Poor
with

with me, a rude People, whom I cannot rule, whose Necessity hath hardened them, and their Dejection driven them to *commit Sin with Greediness*; and as Cooks frame all things to the Palate, and omit things profitable; so do they (saith *Philo*) omit Good, and turn all things to their present Pleasure. But I have a Generation here likewise, who *make Conscience of sinning*, whose Tears are daily poured forth, and Prayers sent out, and Ejaculations shot up for my restoring, who (I do hope) shall be heard in that they pray for, and I shall be cured, and they shall be blessed.

The second kind of Infirmary or Malady.

In the mean time my Sorrows are multiplied, not more by Sickness than by Scandals of weak Phantasies, and by the comfortless Desertion and Deceffion of my Children. My Scourge inflicted on me is the *Plague*: A Disease *scarful* enough, yet not half so *scarful* as my *Sins*, through which I have run boldly enough, and in which the Country People hath taken part with me. A Disease, which *David* chose before Famine or the Sword: *Let me fall into the Hand of God*, and not of Man. A Disease, which is some Sign of God's Favour: For he hath not suffered *Famine to blast our Fields with her barren Breath*, neither hath he said, *Sword cut through this Land*: but like a Father hath taken us in hand himself, as *David* calls it, *the Chastisement of his own Hand*: *Let me fall into the Hand of God*. A Disease, that was the *last Blow* that God took at *Ægypt*, and the common Scourge of *Israel*, and usually set on by an Angel, whose Stroke moved the Mud of Man's Nature to his own Ruin, which else lieth still and settled, and destroys Man some other way in time. I confess, that I have heard related, that some of my Sister-Cities have been infected by strange Accidents: but *God is my Master*, and not Fortune my Mistress. Some say the Infection happeneth by Constellations, ominous Aspects, evil Conjunctions, unseasonable Weathers: but these must extend themselves then beyond a City and her Suburbs; because in these Occurrences the Air is tainted, and then not kept within the Compass of one Cities Hemisphere.

Some have been (they say) infected by mere Stinks: they are noisom indeed, but have no more relation to kill this Way by a *Plague*, than by other Ways and Diseases, which they may breed and bring to pass. Bad Fumes are Discommodities that I am much troubled withal, by reason of my noisom Children, and idle Servants; but yet my Breath is not so obnoxious as is reported: for if it were, five would die to one that doth die; it surely being the common Breath by which all with me do live; and there are two weak Bodies for one strong, counting Women and Children. And beside, if my Breath were infectious, then would those Creatures, whose Nature have Affinity with Man (as Swine, Cocks and Hens) receive such Infections in the Streets, as would forthwith slay them, though they were not kept up in Plagued Houses. Therefore do not scandal me, and add Affliction to the Afflicted, but consider, *God is my Rock, and his Word is my Pillar, and the Ground of Truth*. I know that God may use outward Means to infect, and suffocate. But lest we should lean too much to Nature, he doth not (in Scripture) reveal this Disease so executed: but either he doth express it done by an Angel, or else doth silence the Execution thereof in a mute Anger. *Num. 19. 45.* *Job* was smitten with Scabs; yet the Scripture attributeth it to the Devil; and why should we think but that, in a Disease so mortal, so quick dispatching as this; but that he used his good Angel, incensed with his Masters Displeasure, or else sent Satan to buffet us for our Presumptions.

Our Church acknowledgeth the *Plague* to be God's Arrow, and *Hippocrates* calleth it *δύλατον κακον*. And therefore for God's Cause, lest you detract from his Honour, lay it not upon me. I know that those Houses, wherein God hath smitten one (for want of Care and Means) may and do taint others; but what is this to my Breath, or that Men

Men should think therefore I am totally infected. Or if one go abroad out of such a House into a Congregation, and there (because they have not been aired first) taint another (as we surmise :) or sometimes one being afraid of another, their Heart faints, their Blood turns, and they die of the *Plague*, their Passions (though not stricken) helping to work the Humours of their Body to a Sore; is this sufficient to forget the Operation of God in this *Plague*, or condemn me, or leave me utterly desolate? God hath said, that *he will send evil Angels* among us; yet these can but vex them to whom their Licence extends: yet I make no doubt, but God makes the Pestilence ordinarily to cleave to a Man by Infection, but this doth not hold always that he doth so, and when it doth take one by Infection, it is not always mortal.

And this is the Infirmary with which I am at this time affected. And that I draw you not into Error, take the Judgment of other Ancients, and let none think, by an obscure Evasion, to make me the more to be shunned in necessary neighbourly Comfort, by saying the *Plague* in Scripture and ours were not all one; because theirs were suddain, ours are lingering. For God made those sharp, that *we*, who were to live under the times of Mercies, *might be warned by his Severity to them*. And if he had suffered them to have lived under the Stroke but so long as *Hezekiah* did, it would have broken out on them as it did on him, and us at this Day. God is more merciful to us then, who, by Space between his Strokes, calleth to Repentance. But let not us abuse this Mercy, and cry out rashly, and childishly (before God toucheth us) that all *London* is infected. Indeed lying and breathing under God's stroke oftentimes infects others. Hath not God therefore given you learned *Physicians* to your Brethren, to help you with Preservatives against the Infection, though they cannot recover the Fish that is stricken? And if we use these good Means, hath not God given us his Word, which declares his Power, in restraining not only the Infection, but the Violence of his *devouring Angel* also, as our late King James, of blessed Memory, called it in his *Parliament-Oration*, the last *Plague* time. And have not our *Magistrates* most worthily and carefully provided to shut them up, or dispose of them elsewhere, who have been stricken. Which Course might do some good, but that we lack Persons and Purfes to keep in, and keep the Sick when they are within. All these things being observed, I need not be left like *Job*, on a *Dunghill*, nor my Infirmary be so much shunned, that I and my Children should be so many Miles severed.

The *Venerical Pox* is ten times a baser Disease, and more absolutely infectious: yet my Sons (I shame to own them) that have it, are called *Good Fellows*. Men will not stand upon it to drink either Wine, or smoak Tobacco with them, who are more fit (not for the *Pesthouse*) but the *Pestrinum*, the *Bridewell*. The *Chirurgions* never shun to cure these: but because the Hand of God is upon me, and a less infectious Disease, tho' more pernicious, I am shunned of some *Pastors* and *People*, *Physicians* and *Chirurgions*, as if they staid they should be all dead Men; whereas this Disease is a culling and a picking out of Men, to set forward (as in a Muster) which causeth it to take at the Beginning one here and another half a Mile off, then leap thither again where it was first, and take them away whom at first it left, as the *Weekly-Bills* testifies: neither can it be proved, that all these have by any contracting or conventing ever met together, especially since Houses were shut up. So that (as *Fernelius* saith) this Disease hath a hidden Beginning, and why not a hidden Procession? But only that, in Continuance, some Accidents do befall, upon which our Reason hath more ground to traverse and discourse.

But some will say, the *Plague* is mortally infectious; and therefore it is Wilful Murder to stay if I may go. I cannot say so, if it be thy Place and Calling to stay. But I say, thou then dost kill them wilfully (by thine own Argument) whom thou leavest behind, or settest to keep thy Sick: except thou thinkest that Servants and poor Keepers may be killed up by Authority.

But

But surely if it were but well observed, my Infirmary rather deserveth an humble Reverence, than to breed a Scandal, or an Offence. If it were merely natural, Men might, like natural Men, fly from it. But as it is secretly hidden from the Heathen (as *Galen* and *Hippocrates*) who grant the Beginning thereof to be very secret: so the Scriptures declare unto us that hidden Beginning, that so we might know, under what Covert to hide us. The 91st *Psalms* tells us, in Verse 1, 4. of the *Shadow and the Wings of the Almighty*. Therefore the *Septuagint* translates that *Psalms*, where we find the Word *Pestilence*, by the Word λόγος, which signifies a Word. Or else they call it πᾶγμα, a Thing arguing the strange Nature thereof. These learned *Jews* went to the Cause of the *Plague*. I am not ignorant, that the Heathen learned Physician *Galen*, called it λοιμός, because of its destroying Nature, and mortal Disposition; and *Hippocrates* called it ἐπιδημία, because of its spreading Nature. These Men went no farther then the Effect, which was visible; but the invisible Operator and Operation was hidden from them, and therein they did but guess. The Scriptures call us to an outward Admiration of this wonderful Work, and an inward Adoration of God, who is the Enlarger and Restrainer hereof; who makes such sweet Promises in the 91st *Psalms*, concerning Deliverance from it; as, *Thou shalt go on the Asps and the Dragon*. Which *Mollerus*, on that *Psalms*, saith, signifies the *Pestilence*, and used by the *Psalms*ist, *Us vim veneni significantius exprimeret*: Yet not the Force of it to Infect, but to Kill; for the Sting of the *Asps* poisons but those whom it strikes, it imparts not the same Force to another not *contacta*, no not by touching of the Body so stung. Yet this my Infirmary doth; yet always not absolutely to Death; nor doth it always infect to Sickness (*Deo juvante*) for we see that your *Searchers, Keepers, Sextons, Bearers*, are the seldomest taken with it.

Therefore the Beginning of this my Infirmary being invisible, the Procession doubtful, the Destroying selective, (as it were *Morbis rationalis*, a Disease that did cull out of Discourse or Reason, Men appointed to die, and not always infect the next adjacent Places:) my learned and reverent Sons of former Times, in my Affliction, divinely have called for metaphysical Perfumes. So did Mr. Fenton in his Spiritual Perfume, as if Kitchen Fire did as much Good to purge away this Disease, as our Pots of Frankinsense doth in my Streets, when the Wind blows it all to one End. And that we might have Recourse to God above (though not without outward Means) another of my well-reputed Sons counts no *Phantasy*, that Print (as it were) of a Blow on some.

Mr. Fenton
in his Spirit-
tual Perf.
Mr. Holland
in his Sp.
Presf.

The Sores we may know from whence they are; the Tokens ordinarily we may discern: but from whence is this? This seems to be (πληγή) or *Plaga*, a Blow indeed so termed, *Revel.* 16. 9. All these do but shew us, whom first, and mainly to believe upon, the God of Spirits, who can call back his Serjeants, and withdraw his Action, and forgive our Debt, and forbear our Lives till some other time.

Yet I fear me, all this will not drive my Smells out of your Nose. If Stinks do it, do you think the Stinks will be ever the less, when so many Thousands are dead? No. And yet you will come to Town then: and when here is the more Stir, here will be the more Stink.

Object. But why did not my Stinks kill you before now?

Ans. Because (say you) God gave not the Word.

Object. Why do not then the most stinking Places (as the Shambles) infect first, now God hath given the Word?

Ans. Because God will not have it so, you will say.—True, by the same Reason you may be saved here, and die there, or here when you come back, because God will have it so.

Object.

Object. But you will say, if it comes not only by such Means, why happens it upon the City, rather than the Country?

Ans. Because God is ever liberal of Favours toward great Congregations; his Favours are more plentiful, more visible, and Men are more sensible of them. And therefore you shall find the Apostles (for the most part) dedicating their Epistles to Cities; and the Prophets likewise bending their Prophecies thereto. Now where he is most plentiful in these, he is also of his Corrections. So to *Israel*; no People better fed, better taught, soundlier whipped. And it is most equal, that when Men abuse (*λόγος ζωῆς*) the clear Word of Life, 1 Joh. 1. 4. Psal. 91. 3. they should have (*λόγος παραχωδῆς*) the bemudding Word of Death.

Secondly, It is done to the City, for the Country's Example, that the *Pagi*, and the *Villages* round about might tremble, and that the *Pagani* thereof might leave off their *Paganish Conversation*, and stand in Awe, and Sin not: which thing, if they do not, though we have the sharp Ends of the Rod, they may have (as heretofore) the Stumps. Mistake me not; I do not hope for it, I fear it. For remember when God afflicted us the last time, when we had *Zijm*, had not you *Iim*? When we had the *Scratch-Owl*, had not you the *Night-Raven*? When we had the *Pestilence*, had not you the *Plague* also? You had; and you did taste of mine Infirmary.

Therefore consider what I have declared of it, and use all good Medicines; but above all Medicines, take *Faith*, *Hope*, and a good *Conscience*. You shall find them (my dear Children) of more Force then the greatest *Antidote*. Remember the Promise of God in that 91st *Psalms*, 14, 15, 16 *Verses*, count it precious, let it be thy *Buckler*, as it is in the fourth Verse. *Mollerus*, on that *Psalms*, saith, *Eos qui certa fide in Deum recumberent tutos fore a pestis sevitia*; that those who trust in God shall be free. So Mr. *Cupper*, on the same *Psalms*; and St. *Chrysostome* on the same *Psalms* saith, *Securus habitat in terra, & prolixam vitam inveniat*; he shall dwell secure, and find a long Life; but *totum hoc fit per spem*, saith he. True it is, for we see some scape Fire and Sword with Boldness; others overcome their Enemies with Fortitude; and shall not the Quintessence of Fortitude, the Spirit of Valour (which is Confidence in God) do much more? Doth not Godliness profit to all Things, both to this Life, and that which is to come? 1 Tim. 4. 8. If any one object, that godly Men die of it: it is true. Doth God deceive their Trust in that? No: He giveth them Life, and a better Life. For God will not be stinted to Temporaries by his own Children; and if he takes one away in this Mind, I hope he doth him no Wrong. Some wicked Men you will say scape too: That is, because God will be better than his Word to all Men, that the Mouths of all Men may be stopped. He spares evil Men sometimes, that they may fulfill their Sin; he takes away the Good, from the Evil to come. And this is thy Encouragement, that if he spares of both Sorts, why not Thee, if thou stayest in thy Place, and necessary Calling? But thou fearest to die, because neither prepared in Faith nor Profession. Therefore I conclude my Disease to be sore, as to be most infectious; yet God can restrain it; and though he hath sent out his *Evil Angel*, yet I will trust in the *Good Angel of the Covenant*. Do you so likewise, that you may be Partakers of my Faith, not mine Infirmary; and cry, *O Lord thou hast been our Refuge from one Generation to another*. You have seen my Infirmary, the Nature of it, the principal Remedy against it. What else is to be used in natural Cure, against natural Infection, I leave to your learned and grave Brothers of *Physick*. I have prescribed that which never failed: *Probatum est*. James 5. 17.

But this is not all my Trouble, for my Sorrows are increased like my Poverty. Sins: Sickness hath consumed my Substance; and with *David*, I justly say, *I am Weak and Poor*.

My Poverty lieth in being void of Trade, Money, and Victual.

All

All which I am well-nigh destitute of at this Time. This I confess to be justly inflicted on me for my Pride, with which I have sought to out-face Heaven. My tinkling Feet, and my tip-toe Pace, my horned Tyaraes, and crisped-curved Locks, Shin-pride, and Shoe-pride. Fulness of Bread hath made me lift my Heel against my Maker. *I said in my Prosperity, I should never be moved; but thou, O Lord, hast turned thy Face, and I am troubled.* My Children have been so full-fed, that they have fallen out among themselves, the Meanest thinking himself as good as the *Magistrate*, and the *Mighty* refusing to look upon the Cause of the *Mean*. My *Merchants* have been the *Companions of Princes*, but now are gone, their Place is scarce to be found. How hath my Back groaned with heavy Burdens, and now *Isaiah* stands still for want of Work. One Waine may carry all I sell in a Day. I have had such Trading, that I could scarce find Time to serve God, but now every Day is a Holiday, *because I have profaned his Holy Day* (even his blessed Sabbath) *which hath been dedicated to him, as a Remembrance of his glorious Resurrection.* But I have lain dead in Sins and Trespases. *I have given Liberty to my Servants to execute their Wills in Sabbath-breaking, and Deceiving:* now God hath proclaimed Liberty for them to the Pestilence, to Wandering, and to Idleness. My Apprentices have been the *Children of Knights and Justices of the Country*, (which they accepted at my Hands joyfully) but now my Children are cast out by *those Swines like Dung, rated like Beggars, served like Swine in Hogsties, buried in the Highway like Malefactors.* But whither doth my Grief transport me? *This the Country shall hear of hereafter.*

I have opened my *Coffers* to the *Countries Wants* full often, and have some of their *Worships in Bonds* still; but now I want it for my poor Children, *and they neither look to discharge their Debt, nor in Requital of my Kindness will shew Pity to my dispersed and despised Children.*

I have had Feasts admired at, whose very Sight hath cloyed the Appetite, and my very Reason hath turned Cook to cocker the Palate of my Wantons, I would those Feastings had stocked my poor Kindred in my Suburbs, and set them to work, *that there might be no complaining in my Streets: with which Sacrifice God would be well pleased.* The worst Servant in my House hath had Bread enough, and now I starve for Hunger: for many of my Children cry for Bread, and I fear me, die of the Stomach Sickness, as well as the Spotted Sickness, if there were a Bill could be gotten of all Diseases. *David's Tears* are my Repast; his Sighs my Repose. *Job's Message* is the News most rife on my Exchange. One Country robs me of my *Asses*, another of my *Camels*; my *Sheep* are consumed, my *Children* are bruised, my self stricken with Boiles and Sores: I see nothing but my Nakedness. *Those great Gates*, which were wont to be furnished with spangled star-like Beauties, are now the Lodging for poor Children, or Places for Dung and Draught. My *Chamber* and *Treasury*, which was wont to be my Refuge, can no more supply my Wants, it hath been so swept; beside, the *Stock* of my *Corporations* hath been broken to maintain my Wants, and yet my Children cry for Bread: and their Brethren that remain, are pressed with their Maintenance, and urged, almost beyond their Ability, to find them Necessaries.

This Misery, makes me again remember my Folly; who have wished for some Means that might consume some of my Children; I being not able to maintain them. And God hath said, *Amen*, to my ungracious Desires; for he hath taken them away, who might have served for my Defence. And now I see, when God sends Mouths, he sends Meat also; for though I have buried so many Thousands, I have nothing more than I had in Wealth, or Trading: Nay, there are many who would be glad their Houses were visited, that they might be kept by the Parish, because they have nothing to eat. Yet, I have some wicked Wretches, who have learned of some Country Farmers, when they want, to grumble against God for something, and when they have God's Plenty, to murmur for nothing. For their Eye is Evil, because God is Good.

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When they have Corn enough, they say, it is worth nothing, and they can make no Money of it; but they can make themselves Curses with it, for hording it up, when they should make Bread of it for the Poor. If they have Bread for their Babes, and Food for their Hinds, and Provision for their Beasts; and a reasonable Price for the Remainder; have they not sufficient? Yes, more than they deserve, unless the *Pillory*. Such as these have helped to hale a Curse from God, and by their Means it is I am so lean in Looks, so lank in Purse, and so empty in Stomach. But I have deserved my self more than all these Punishments doubled; yet, shall they scape who help to increase them? No: That is my Fear, that God hath not yet done; and my Grief, that mine own Children should farther provoke him, and help to aggravate my Sorrows.

For I am not only weak by Sicknefs, poor, being destitute of Means; but forsaken, being desolate and forlorn of Company. But here lies my Comfort; *The Poor shall not always be forgotten; the Expectation of the Needy shall not perish for ever.* Psal. 9. 18. And although it may be asked, in respect of my *Babylonish Sins*, how is *that golden City ceased*? Yet I have this Hope in God's Mercy; that *the First-Born of the Poor shall feed, and the Needy lie down in Safety.* Isa. 14. 4. 30. For as St. *Austin* hath it, *Panper est in animo Dei, non in sacculo*; the Poor is in God's Mind, not in his Purse; so that his Purse may be scattered upon the Rich, but his Mind runs on the Poor.

But yet, who would think Children should be so unkind to a Mother, who hath educated them in the Knowledge of God, and in the Experience of her Bosom-Love, to let their Mother be forlorn of Company. My Company, that I stand in need of, but want, are, Ministers, Physicians, Traders.

The one would help me, being *Soul-sick*; the other, being *Body-sick*; the third, being *Belly-sick*. There are others, whom I find missing too, as my *Lawyers*, by whose Science it hath been spoken of me, as it was of the City of *Abel*: *They shall ask Counsel at Abel, and so they ended the Matter.* 2 Sam. 20. 18. But these, my Sons of late Time, have robbed me of that good Report; and it is said now, *If they ask Counsel at London, so they may begin the Matter*; but let it end when it will. These Men I miss, but I do not want them, except only the *Master-Bees*: I could spare the *Swarm* of them, especially the *Wasps*, that do little but *sting*, and *suck Honey*. I do not mean them, that do *Fus dicere*, or *Fus dare*; but those that do *Fus esse*, swallow the Law, but not *Fus edere*, bring little to Light; those that fill *Westminster-Hall* so full of Cobwebs, though (as they say) it be built with *Irish Wood*, where no Spiders will endure: It may be so, for all the *Spiders* are *below*. I blame not these for Absence, because many of them be employed by my *Royal Sovereign*, and the *Father* of my *Country*: And I know that their judicious Consultations may benefit me wheresoever they are.

There be others, whose Company I miss; namely, those that should have an Eye to their *Ward*, that it may be defended from Misery or Disorder this Sicknefs Time; whose very *House-keeping* might have *relieved* some, *refreshed* others: but their Countenance and good Example, in *Fasting* and *Praying*, would have encouraged all. But they are gone and left the Burthen upon one *Magistrate* and a few *Assistants*, whose Care can extend but to his own Ability, except his Power can command them to stand to their Charge as he doth. But they sit in the Country secure, and thank God they are there. Indeed if they had stayed here, pitying my Distress, aiding me in Weakness, by disbursing their Money, and exercising their Places, and afterward (when God had ceased his Hand, and they given him condign Thanks for his Mercy) they then solacing themselves in the pleasant Shades, *might thank God for his Preservation*, and their *Recreation*, with a safe Conscience. But to thank God for his Conni-
vency

veney in their natural Courses (except for his Mercy that therein they be not consumed) is false Fire, and favours more of the *Kitchen* than the *Conscience*. Let them thank their *Coach-Horses*; for *I have so fed their Masters* (for the most part) that I am sure they could never have gotten half so far without them.

But the higher my Childrens Groans rise, the more I look about me, and the more help I still miss. Where be my *Surgeons* now, that can *mortify* and *revive a Wound* when they list; and *rub over an old Sore*, and *pick many a Pound out of the paring of a Man's Toe*, and *can scarify a green Wound*, and *cauterize an old One*? Where is the Aid I should have of these skilful Men? These are *Shavers* in their Kind: but at this time they had rather *Carve at a Capon*, or *Anatomize a Rabbit*, than *Lance a Sore*, and do their *Duty* out of a good *Conscience*, to their sick Mother. If a Man that is *hanged* fall to their Share, who but they to *Cut* and *Carve*? but to what Purpose think you? As the Priest did of old, *Pectoribus inbians spirantia consulit exta*, gape upon his Guts, and then make good Chear for their own. These have the Terms of Art explained, the Secrets of Nature opened; but to what Purpose, if it be done to Admiration, rather than Operation, and to shew the Work of Nature, and yet not to help Nature? For now I stand in need, I am posted from the *Physician* to the *Surgeon*, by the *Surgeon*, left to the *Barber*; where, if I will *wash*, and *be gone*, and so forth, *I may*; he can do no more.

But I did suppose, that my *Physicians* would not have stirred. Men that have *Antidotes at Command*, *Electuaries*, *Pomanders*, and what not; *whole Apothecaries Shops full of Conceits and Receipts*, to keep all the *Cinque-Ports* of Man's Body *invulnerable*. Or if a Man be sick, they can, or who can (under God) *restore Nature*, and *restore Health*? They have many *Powders* and *Antidotes* for other Men, or for their Money, but none to strengthen their own Heart, so much as to stay in a City where the *Plague* is. To these Men belongs that Saying, *Luke 4. 23. Medice cura teipsum*. And this Question, which was most noisom, *Job's Disease*, or, the *Plague*: and this Demand, which conduceth most to Salvation; the Opinion of a Naturian, (*the Plague is Infections*) or the Prescription of Divinity (*he that bath an Office, let him wait on his Office*.) If you think the latter, *hoc age & vive*, our Blessed Saviour shall approve you; *when I was sick, you visited me*. Why are we bidden to honour them? Because, saith the Son of *Syrach*, *They be ordained for thy Health*. Are they so? The more uncharitable and unconscionable they, to leave me in this Distress. But, since I have set them on *Horse-back*, they are *rid away*. My Saviour said, that *the Sick needs the Physician*, not the Healthful. Yea, but they say, the *Physician* now stands in no need of the Sick, for he hath filled his *Purse*, and is gone. O, sweet *Samaritan*, if thou hadst done so to them, or me, when thou foundest me lying in the Highway to Hell and Death, what had become of us? Well, had I but for all this the *Priest* to stand by me in this *Leprosy*, I could have born it: but *as a wounded Spirit none can bear*, so neither can I suffer the Loss of my *Spiritual Salve*: I blame not you, that have two *Cares*, and two *Cures* (for you are gone every Summer to discharge your Office to your Country Sheep, and when that is done, I know you will return) but you have no Charge to pay your Charges, but my *Purse*.

And especially you that leave your Pastoral Charge in the Country, taking up your *Litter* (*Lecture* I should say) and yet *Litter* as you use it, making of *London* a *Station*, till your own Ends be achieved, or till some Cross befall me, and then you are gone. Nay, because you would not be said to forsake my People, you have sent my People away before, with your great Persuasions to fly. *You love not two Livings, till you have them; but a Living and a Lecture is an easy Task*, because they are not two Cures of Souls, and it is true; *for one is a Wounding of Souls for Want of Cure*.

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But this may be defended, you think; for there is much Difference between the *Temple*, and *the Gold of the Temple in Swearing*, so it may be there is in *Preaching*, Matt. 23. 16. He that hath the Charge of two Temples, that is something; but he that is called to one, and takes the Gold of another or two, with Neglect of his own, that is nothing: for my Money may be taken, and your Sheep *left upon the Downs* in the Country, with any Hireling that will do it cheapest. And though my City-Children lie sick, and so the rest want Food it matters not, you have other Sheep then; let the *Parson* look to these, say you, let the *Physician*, saith he, let the *Surgeon*, saith he, let the *Curate*, saith he, and so with *Job* I am brought to the Ash-heap. But if my Children would be ruled by me, they shall chuse such *as will stand to their Teaching, and them also; in Life and Death, Sicknes and in Health*, doing their Duty out of a good Conscience.

But let me not condemn the Just with the Unjust. There are some of this reverend Profession, who are *worthy of double Honour*, who have abode with me in Temptations; *the Lord shew Mercy to them*, and to those worthy *Physicians*, who have not been ashamed of my Bonds, nor childishly affrighted at my Infirmity. And those *Surgeons*, who have addicted themselves to my Health, the Lord remember them when they are in Trouble; with all the rest, who have, with me, *humbled themselves under God's Hand*, and administred sweet Comfort when it was Bitterness with me. My respectful Eye shall ever be upon them, and their Names as Occasion shall serve, exalted to my Power, and that beyond ordinary Discourse; especially those *Aarons*, who have stood betwixt the Living and the Dead. In mean time, accept these Ejaculations to God for you in Requital: *The Lord bear you in the Day of Trouble, the Name of the God of Jacob defend you, strengthen you when you lie sick upon your Bed, and deliver you not unto the Will of your Enemies.*

But would one think my Tradesmen should go, if but for their Profit sake. But the Devil knows their Mind, that *Skin for Skin, and all that a Man hath, he will give for his Life*. But yet God's Servants have ever preferred his Service, their Calling, before their own Lives. Moses would rather suffer Affliction with his Brethren, than live in Pharaoh's Court. Uriah would not lie with his Wife, nor eat, nor drink unto Mirth, while God's Host was in the Field. And Solomon saith, *it is better to go to the House of Mourning than Feasting*. But these are all too little to persuade you, till I set before you your Faults, as well as mine own Defects, which are these, *Unkindness, Uncharitableness, Distrustfulness.*

Your *Unkindness* appears in these four Particulars: *First*, in disgracing me; *Secondly*, in your Country-merriment; *Thirdly*, in your leaving me desolate; *Fourthly*, in not paying your Debts.

Your Disgrace appears in leaving my *Streets bare, my Temples empty, Unkindness. my Shops shut up*. My *Cheapside*, that hath been my *Plate Cup-board*, hath scarce a *Stall-cloth* to defend it from the common *Iniquation of ordinary and dirty Roots*. Beside, you have made my Savor to *stink in the Country* thro' your Rashness, and their Ignorance. *Secondly*, your *Unkindness* appears in your jocund Behaviour in the Country, at whose Lightness those *Sylvans* wonder, as at People more unnatural than themselves. Methinks you should fear lest benumbing Death might creep on your Angles (which I see conveyed along my Streets for your Pleasure) like the sleepy Venom of the *Cramp-fish*. Or while you *shoot in Pastime*, you should fear lest the *Arrow that flies by Day* should aim at you in earnest, Psal. xci. 5. You bewray the Weakness of your Affection to me, and your Fellow Brethren, your Insensibleness of God's Hand, and your Shallowness in Religion, even by this. *Thirdly*, have you not adventured me to the common Spoil? If God did not watch the City; If I had not one Son left whose Care hath shewed him a Father to me, how might my Doors be broken open, my Chests ransacked, mine Obligations torne, my Bonds cancelled. You will not believe this, yet some of you (I fear me) will

The Lord
Mayor.

will be sensible of it. God continue him in this Care, and reward him for it. You have *fastened* your Doors with *Padlocks*; some have *Powder to blow them open*. When you return, complain not what you have lost; lest I smile at your Folly, and seem to pity your Misfortune. *Fourthly*, have you not left some of your Debts unpaid, by which I should be relieved, never considering what may become of you and yours? and then how your Creditors Hearts must be turmoiled to seek after their own! Have not many of you carried away the better Part of your Estates in Money, and *sowed them by the High-way as the Lord hath scattered your Bodies*? I could name some, *but Time will bring them to light*.

To this add your *Uncharitableness*, and then see whether I speak without Cause; which *first* appears in not relieving the Poor, who like a Cripple cannot follow your nimble Coursers. I am not ignorant that some have given out of their Superfluity, others out of pure Charity, but the most have not: and so the little which is left, is consumed, and like *Pharoah's Kine*, we seem never the fatter; for what is this among so many?

Uncharitableness.

Secondly, It shews itself in condemning the Poor, that they are so obvious to the *Plague*, as if God had a Quarrel against none but them. I know they are, for the most part, *ill Livers, intemperate of Tongue and Appetite, gross Feeders, and such as disorderly thrust themselves into Danger*; all this may conspire to their Ruin, by preparing their Bodies for other Diseases as well as the *Plague*: for this Disease takes hold on them more than others, because they be most in Number: but my *Penny Fathers* have not all escaped it, nor the *finest Feeders*, and therefore your Judgment of the Poor is somewhat too harsh.

Thirdly, It appears in not assisting me in your Prayers. It may be you will say, that you do in private: if I had seen it here, I would have more easily believed it: for many of you are gone, where you have *no Preaching, nor yet orderly Prayers*, or at least but *lean Sermons*, though you have *fat Pasture*. And how you will forget your Duty, when you are not taught it, I may justly fear.

Other *Inconveniencies* you have brought about, as, *discouraging those that stay*; they weakly conceiving that they are but dead Men. Some are of a stronger Temper, but yet *Comes in via pro vehiculo est*; your Company might have been a great Ease unto them.

Again, by your departing indiscreetly, how have you *disjointed the Country with Fear, procured rough Usage to your selves, and caused me to fare the worse for your Sakes*; for I can scarce get Provision from the Country, and so my Misery is doubled.

But though you have forsaken me, I could never think you would have forsaken your God, but rather *received Evil at his Hands as well as Good*. But you have either, in this, *distrusted God's Will*, that he will not save you, or else his Power that he cannot save you; the *Plague* being a Disease of a depopulating Nature: or else you mistrust that this *Plague* came by some Accident; and so it doth *catch that catch may*, every one that comes near it. But my Saviour saith, *that a Sparrow falls not to the Ground without the Will of your Heavenly Father*. But you will say, that you take your Flight as a Means to bring God's Will to pass in saving you: you say well, if you can prove it. Do you think that God will save none that stay? Or that he will spare all that be Abroad? I dare not say so. I fear you would fain wrest God's Will to yours. I grant

Distrustfulness.

I speak of those who, by their Place and Calling, should not have stirred, but stood to their Charge.

that evil Things coming from the Hand of God, may and ought to be avoided when God shews a Man a Gap to go out at; but this must not be the *Gap of our own Fantasy*. When God leaves a Man a lawful Gap, he doth not cross some positive Point of Religion. And if the Case be doubtful, then are we to bend our selves to that Course, which may suit best with the Analogy of Faith, and not to our own Particular, except

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cept that Particular hold also in as full Grounds of Religion, as the other Course. Therefore in all such Passages we are to observe, that *what we do be not against Piety, Charity, Nature, Civil Policy*; as that we decline not from God, from our Neighbour, from our Kindred, nor from the Common-wealth.

And these wholesome Rules, my reverend Sons have laid down in former Times, though misconceived of some of their Followers, who, willing to please their own Nature, have caught something from them, not observing their whole Intent. I make no Doubt, *but in general, and open Punishments you may, and ought to shift for your selves by Removal, as in Famine Abram did; and in Persecution from one City you may fly to another*, saith my Saviour. But in an uncertain Punishment (wherein none can assure themselves absolutely in going or staying, of Life and Death) when Religion and Nature rather invites us to stay, it is vain Fear to fly, or else Self-Love without religious

Respect: except you be such a one as by Flight neither hurteth other
 * Mr. Balm- nor others. Or else you be such * whose Residence is not necessary.
 ford in his But who are unnecessary (if they be Members of a Common-wealth)
 Dial. of the I know not, except Women, and young Children, and some Servants,
 Pest. p. 69. or Sojourners, or Gentlemen, who have no Relation to me as necessary Members. For if you think the rich Men may go, then hath the

middle Sort little to do; so that in fine, they will not find themselves very needful: and let them go too, and then others have nothing to do: and then I shall have none left but the Poor, nor of them but only such as can make no Scape into the Country, and so the Subject of the *Physician* and the *Minister* being almost gone, there will be little Need of them too. And for the *Magistrate*, it will scarce be worth his Pains; he may appoint an Under-Officer to keep the Poor Folks in Order. But a Common-wealth is a Body, and one Member methinks should nourish another; but especially in a *Christian* Common-wealth. For, as *Job* speaks in his own Person, *a Man in Misery should be comforted of his Neighbours, but Men have forsaken the Fear of the Almighty*, Job 6. 14. the latter Part of the Verse I may say with him concerning you: You were ever taught to stand to your Calling; especially in a doubtful, and invisible Correction.

One of my worthy Sons, a Doctor of *Physick*, did much blame you the last *Plague*, for your unnatural starting one from another. And as I remember these
 § Dr. Hering were his Words: § *It remaineth that acknowledging the Pest his Contagion, we notwithstanding (who are Christians) carefully avoid that Faith- his Defence, lest and Paganish Fearfulness, whereby we are made to break all the printed 1624. Bonds of Religion, Consanguinity, Alliance, Friendship, and Policy.*

So that you see how careful they were, and yet how head-strong you have been. We do the *Pagans* wrong to put this Fearfulness on them, for they strive to do the uttermost Duties to the Sick and the Dead. It is now *Christian* Fearfulness; the more our Shame.

Some of you will say, that God, it may be, sent it to scatter the City, and punish the Pride thereof that way. That is hidden from thee, though likely: but thou knowest, that God *useth to send Croffes for Sin, and yet withal to try us whether we will cleave to him or no*. But you have forsaken him, his Word, and me also. Some I fear will ask, Why may not they fly as well as the King and State, (indeed some have been forwarder then his Majesty in that Business) their Lives are as dear to them? Oh! remember what *David's* Worthies said unto him, *Thou art worth ten thousand of us*, 2 Sam. 18. 3. he that thinks not so, knoweth not what *the Light of Israel meaneth*, 2 Sam. 21. 17. The King is the Head and Tower: The Council is the Heart of a Land, and ought to be defended from Diseases, lest the Life be endangered. Beside, their Affairs are such as that they may be considered of in other Places as well as here. For want of these Considerations I am almost beggered; I was at a *low Ebb* before, but *now it is full*

full Flood with me, but of Misery. I have scarce a Rag left to hang on me. For my *Woollen-Drapers* are departed; *Watling-Street* is like an empty Cloyster. And for *Linnen-Drapers*, *London* may grow lousy, if she be not the better provided before-hand. In *Cheapside*, one can scarce change a Piece of Gold (for a Penny Profit) through the whole Row. And if I want *Spice* to make comfortable Broth, I must stay the Return of the next Voyage; for the *Grocers* are gone also.

Thus am I left disconsolate, because *God hath touched me*; and as *Euripides*, *πῖντα φίλοι πᾶς τις ἐκποδὼν φίλος*, every Friend shuns the Distressed; but if I should so deal by you (whose Servants are dead, whom you set to keep your Goods) all might run to Ruin. But I have not so requited you, nor will, while I am able to help you. For though you have forsaken me, yet my God hath not; and therefore, for his Sake, I cannot but love you, and wish you well; and I pray God that a Fear of no worse Thing drive you Home, than that which has driven you Abroad.

But now I remember where you are, and how both You and I have been abused by those rough-hewen and unnatural *Idumeans* (who have neither Knowledge in, nor Sense of your Brother *Jacob's* Afflictions) I cannot shew my Comfort in God, nor my Counsel to you, till I have uttered my Stomach to them, whom I condemn of *Ignorance* and *Hard-heartedness*.

First, Of *Ignorance*, I might say of *Manners*, but that you will grant at the first Word; or of *Cruelty*, but that appears plain enough; I might say of *Covetousness*, as hording of Corn, but you are contented to be convinced of that, so you may get my Money. But I say I condemn you of *Ignorance*, which is the Fountain of all this Misdemeanor. For you are ignorant, first, of *God*, and secondly of *God's Hand*; and that appears, by your *strange Fables of the Plague*, as if God had no Stroke in that Disease, till you feel it. You more reverence the *Clouds* than the *Creator*; and have better Skill in the *Weather* than the *Scripture*. *You Hypocrites can discern the Face of Heaven, but not the Season, nor the Time of God's Visitation.* Many of you suppose God to be an *Old Man in Heaven*, and think the Times were never good since your *Hens* left laying so many Eggs, that made your Heads addle ever since: like those *Jews*, that thought it a fine Time when they offered Cakes to the *Hosts of Heaven*. You are afraid to do Good, lest God should not mark you; and if you do Evil, you cry, *God sees not, neither doth he understand.* Some of you, I confess, to be better learned, by the Pains of your careful *Ministers*, but yet many of you also, are ignorant of *Charity* toward them whom God hath afflicted.

How could it else come to pass, that you are so shy both of them untouched, and me being visited, and to others of my Children distressed. Some of those, who are whole, you have locked up in Houses, debarring them of Things necessary, and the Liberty of Air, Walks, and the Church. Hard-heartedness.

Some you have imprisoned, I hope they will know by what Statute, if you have done as the Report goes. Them that are visited, you will not suffer to have Attendance, but they must lie comfortless, and die desperate of all Help in this World. They whom God smites by the Way, you let them die in Ditches, or draw them to a Hole like Dogs; and this (I perceive) you will not do, but for Fear their Carcases should infect your Air. But if God should suffer the Devil to haunt those Places, for such inhuman Usage, then you will remember your Cruelty. For no Sin will astonish you, but *Buggs*, it may be, would affright you. But I fear, God hath worse *Rods in Pickle* for you than so, though they will suit well to the Knowledge and Belief of many of you.

But your *Justices*, whose Name doth import *Square-dealing*, would never sink into my Mind, to be the Authors of all this Discourtesy, and unchristian Dealing, till I heard the Country-People relate plainly to me, that they were warned by those profound and admired *Justices*, that none of them should dare to come and convey any

Relief

Relief unto *London*, upon Pain of being shut up fourteen Days; *oh rare Providence!* and this was confirmed by their *Worships* Hands: *oh fearful Warrants!* and published as a Proclamation; *oh grand States-men!* but therefore I fly to *Cesar*, as the Woman of *Samaria*, crying; *Help my Lord, oh King!* 2 Kings 6. 26. For I will not believe, that this Strictness is from thee, neither can I think that thou art willing; nay, I know thou art not willing, that I should be plagued and starved at once.

Ob you Pagans! can you be so cruel to a *Mother in Israel*, to whom the proudest of you have been beholden, either for Coin or Counsel? *Worse than Barbarians*, for they would comfort poor *Ship-wracked Paul*; and though they misconceived him while the *Viper* was upon him, yet they thrust him not out till they saw farther: and so you, when my Disease hath left me, will come fawning up to me, and offer me your Service: but I shall believe you at Leisure. You will urge some bald Excuse or other, for this Unkindness at your Lodgings (which if I can bring to pass, shall be) at the *Saracens Head*, because you have shewed your selves *Pagans*. As for your Followers, they may lie in their Throat, or any where, with your *Worships* Permission. I fear me few such as you will be approved at *God's Bar*, and Bench for this: *When I was sick you visited me*. But if you have a botched Horse, with his Back full of Ulcers, you can find a Farrier to cut out the exorbitant Flesh; but let a *Son or a Daughter of Abraham* die for want of Tenderness. If one of you have an Ox, or an Ass, in a Ditch, you will help him out, and may, though it were the Sabbath-day in Case of Necessity; but you can give Warrants to let your Brother-Christians die in a Ditch. Your Inn-keepers profess Hospitality; and if a Man will, he may drink like a Swine: but if the Afflicted of God desire Repast or Repose, they must lie with the Swine. If their Chambers reek with Smoak of Erebus, and Sink (like a dead Dog) of spewing; that is not infectious, because they are used to it. But if a Christian come from me weary with Travel, though he hath no Disease, yet he is kept out with Bills, lest his Breath should infect their stinking Rooms.

Some of them can keep a *Fox in a Coverlet*, and a *Whore in a Closet*, whose Soul already hath burst forth often with odious Sores, and infectious Swellings; but they can make no shift for a sick Body, whose Soul would bankrupt them to imitate the Patience thereof under God's Hand; but they must drop down without Commiseration. Do you neither fear God, nor Man, that you are thus insolent? If a Man die, he must be dragged at a Horse-Tail, like *Hector*, or drawn with Men, like *Tamerlaine*. If he live, he must lie in Solitude, or Misery. Oh base Heathenism! unheard-of Barbarism! I see there is no Tyrant like superstitious Opinion. If I should give my Fury the Bridle, I should set such Marks on you in this my Rage, as a *Lioness robbed of her Whelps* would do, or send out some *Satyrs*, whose sharp Scourge should make you hide your selves. But oh God! thou hast taught me Patience, and I intreat thee, if I have offended in this, pardon the Exuberancy of my Passion, which swells so high to think of my Childrens Calamity, aggravated by these Mens Cruelty. I have now played the Part of a weak Woman, overcome with Injury; yet I have not out-run the Constable, for he is in the Country.

But now I must shew these unnatural Men (lest they laugh at my Anger, and rejoice at my Tribulation) that tho' I am grieved, I am not discouraged: and to my Children, that I love them, tho' I do (not without Cause) reprove them. I am not disheartened: First, because I have Hope, that this Plague is *God's Purge*, to make me more healthy in Soul and Body. In Soul; for it is good to be afflicted, and those whom God loveth he chastiseth. I hope it is *God's Rod*, not his Sword, to correct me, not to destroy me: his Fire to purify, not to enflame and consume me.

And this not without Reason: for,

First, This Course my God hath used heretofore, to bring me into the right Way. Secondly, Because he hath not given me to Slaughter of my Enemy, nor Famine, but hath given me Hope of the Fruits of the Earth; and hath taken me into his own Hands

Hands to chastise me, and I know *with him there is Mercy, and with my Saviour plenteous Redemption.*

Thirdly, Because he doth it by Degrees, as so many Warnings, that should ask Forgiveness before he strike again, when as he might consume me at once.

Fourthly, Because he hath left me as yet the Pillars of my Age, to lean on like *Jachin and Boaz*; good Ministers, as Monitors, to remember me, and good Magistrates, as Fathers, to provide for me. But above all, the Frontispiece of Beauty, built upon these Pillars, a good and gracious King, whose Heart I know, and hear, doth pity my Distress.

Fifthly, I hope it will purge my Body from bad Humours, as vicious Persons: Nay I know it hath already of Abundance, and the rest will stand (I hope) in more Awe.

And *again*, it favours of Mercy, in that the Poor is taken from him, that is too strong for him (namely this hard World) and God hath made more Room under me. And if I *provoke him not farther*, and draw his Punishment out longer by *distrusting, or presuming, or for want of repenting*, all may turn to my Good in an extraordinary Measure. If my *proud Flesh* were but abated, and my *Pleurisy of vain Desires* wasted, my *stinking Weeds* extirpated, I know the Lord can heal me in a trice, and would too, *for he wills not the Death of Sinners*; and to his Children his Love never had Beginning, and therefore can never have Ending.

Some good Men are taken away, and many lay it not to Heart. I could not well spare them, but only for the Lord, here are so few upon the Earth. But he will take them also, *lest his Children, like Prodigals, should assume their Portion in this Life.* Therefore *despise me not, you of Idumea in the Country, but make* Obediah's Prophecy against them *that commiserate not Jacob's Affliction*, Obed. 5. 10. And be not thou a Rod, helping to beat God's Children, lest my Heavenly Father afterward (to shew his Love, and ease my Grief) throw that Rod into the Fire of his Fury likewise. And say not with thy self, that my Children brought it to thee; for it was begun this Year in the Country as soon as in the City.

Therefore *barden not your Hearts, but let your timely Repentance prepare yourselves*, either to entertain it, or prevent it. And howsoever your Weakness hath prompted you on to use this Violence, yet because *we are Brethren*, and so may continue in Love and Peace, as well as in Profession of Truth, my Prayers shall be poured out for your Preservation from inward Errors, and outward Evils.

And you my dear Children, wheresoever you are dispersed, take not too heinously my Reproof, since it is just, nor reject my Counsel, since *Counsel to them.* It is the Token of my Love. I know your Hearts are here, unless your Treasures are there. Why should they, or we be thus separated, but rather come together, and join Heart and Hand together, and help to keep the Blows from one another: or else the Smart of them, when they are given by our best charitable Endeavours. I know if all but the Poor had gone, God would not have destroyed them all, lest you should want Subjects for your Charity. Or if they had gone too, yet he would not have ended his Quarrel against my Walls, but either have followed you in hot Pursuit by the Way-side (as he hath done many) or else he would have waited till you had returned, and have begun again, lest you should have gloried in your own Inventions.

The last of these is yet to be feared. And therefore *reclaim your erroneous Confidence in your Flight.* Else though that my Heart pant after you, though my Arms would fain embrace you, yet I love you so well, that I would not draw you to Inconveniency. Therefore for your Health and Preservation thereof, by some good *Antidote* against your Change of Air, I refer to your learned Brothers of *Physic*: not that I think my whole Air is infected, or mortal, but sickly to any that comes out of a fresher Air, and more dangerous now because you have somewhat to fright you. To

strengthen your Heart take this Cordial, *Repentance, and a good Conscience, urged from God's Mercy, and built on his Word, and well tempered together.* And for a good Perfume, take the *Lord's Incense*, appointed in *Exodus*, viz. *Myrrh, clear Gum, Galbanum, and Frankencense*, *Exod. 30. 34.* Which four Ingredients, have Relation to *Prayer and Profession, Faith and Charity.* These may be your Practise, and your Contemplation; not to hold to your Nose of *Vain-Glory*, or *Hypocrisy*, as *Exodus 30. 38.* But to offer to God out of the Censor a zealous Heart. And then thou shalt smell it, and others too, and God be satisfied, and thy House well aired: and then thou mayst return with Safety and Comfort. And if God do touch thee with the *Plague*, thou shalt have the *Pledge of his Love*: if with the *Pest*, and not mortally, yet he hath the *Test* and *Proof* of thee, and thou the *Proof* and *Trial* of him. If he give thee the *Blow of Death*, and the *Word of Life* also, he doth no Hurt.

When thou comest, come with this Consideration; for it is mine, and I have found it effectual: *Neither would I be rid of his Word of Life, revealed in the preaching of the Gospel in my Temples, to be eased of his Hand of Sicknes on my Houses.*

Come therefore to your old Habitations, not to your old Sins: and as God hath swept my House, so desire him to garnish it with Vertue, and furnish it with Graces, lest worse Things happen to me and you. And glory not in your Inventions, or worldly Policy, or Care, but in God's Power and Mercy, that we may safely rejoice together, and magnify his great Name in his Holy Temple. And think not they on whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were greater Sinners than the rest of the People, but unless you repent, you will all perish.

Neither do you (my Children) which are here Resident, boast against your weaker Brethren: be not high minded but fear. Let not the Custom of God's Judgment harden thee, but relate unto thy wandering Brethren God's Wonders in his Judgment, and Mercies in Sicknes, to his Glory, and thy Comfort, and their Encouragement. And if there be any Evil lurk in thy Heart, which the Broom of God's Wrath hath not swept out, repent heartily, lest thou brag before the Victory, and so God cut thee off suddenly. That so doing, you may live in Love and Peace together to your Lives End.

For if this Canker-worm do no Good, he hath a Palmer-worm ready to bring Famine; if that prevail not, he hath a Catter-pillar that unsensibly shall devour your Commonwealth, and the Brother shall betray the Brother for want of Love, or for Love of Gain. If that serve not to reclaim you, he hath Locusts of Heretics, and Enemies to extirpate us, and pill us bare of every good Thing; and so what one leaves, the other shall devour. And therefore prevent this Morpew, that begins to spread over my Body by timely Repentance, by a seasonable and humble Acceptation of this kind Correction: which God turn unto Good, and seal unto your Souls, that the Remembrance hereof may be a Scourge sufficient to you upon every falling into Sin. That your Hearts may smite you, and you return before God turn upon you in his just conceived Wrath. Fall not to Complaining, but to Compunction; look not at the Deadness of Trading, but the Deadness of Faith, and God shall work all for the best.

This I wish may be done when you meet, and before you meet. For, as David drank not the Water of Bethlem, which was bought with Blood (but sacrificed it) so neither ought you to bestow our Deliverance on your Ends, but on God's Honour, which hath cost the Life of so many thousands. In the mean time, the Lord keep you all in Soul and Body, until our Meeting, and after, even to the Coming of our Lord Jesus.

P. S. If this Declaration wants Science, or that Eloquence that might beseech me, consider my Trouble, the Absence of my Orators, the skutting up of my Libraries, so that I was content with a common Secretary.

THE

THE COMMONS PROTESTATION.

Tempore J A C. Reg. Annoque Primo.

[*From a M. S. Copy.*]

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY, from the HOUSE
of COMMONS Assembled in PARLIAMENT.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE cannot but, with much Joy and Thankfulness of Mind, acknowledge your Majesty's great Graciousness, in declaring to us, by our *Speaker's* Mouth, that you rested now satisfied with our Doings; which Satisfaction notwithstanding, tho' most desired and dear unto us, yet proceeding merely from your Majesty's most Gracious Disposition, and not from any Justification, which on our Behalf hath been made, yet we find this Joy intermingled with no small Grief, and could not (Dread *SOVEREIGN*) in our Dutiful Love to your Majesty, and in our Ardent Desires of the Continuance of your Favour towards us, but tender, in humble Sort, this farther Satisfaction; being careful to stand right, not only in the Eye of your Majesty's Grace, but also in that much more in the Ballance of your Princely Judgment; on which all Assuredness of Love and Grace is founded, into which Course of Proceeding we have not been rashly carried, by vain Humour of Curiosity, or Contradiction of Presumption, or Love of our own Devices; unworthy Affections in a Court of Parliament, much more unworthy in Subjects towards their Sovereign: But (as the Searcher and Judger of all Hearts doth know) for those and no other undue Ends in the World to increase and nourish your Majesty's gracious Affections towards your Loyal and Loving People, to assure and knit all your Subjects Hearts most firmly to your Majesty, to take away all Cause of Jealousy on either Part, and end Differences for Times ensuing, and to prevent and comptroll all sinister Reports, which might be unseasonably spread, either at Home or Abroad, with Prejudice to your Majesty, or the good Estate of the Kingdom.

With those Minds (Dread *SOVEREIGN*) your Commons of *England* (represented now in us their Knights, Citizens and Burgeses) do come with this humble Declaration to your Highness, and in great Affiance of your Gracious Disposition, that your Majesty, with Benignity of Mind, correspondent to our Dutifulness, will be pleased to pursue it. We know (and with great Thankfulness to God acknowledge) that he hath given us a King of such Understanding and Wisdom, as is rare to find in any Prince in the World. Howbeit, no Human Wisdom (how great soever) can pierce into the Particularities of the Rights and Customs of the People, or of the Say-

ings or Doings of particular Persons, but by Tract of Experience, and faithful Report of such as know them, which it hath pleased your Majesty's most Princely Mouth to deliver; what Grief, what Anguish, hath it been unto us, at some Times, in Presence to hear, and so in other Things, to feel and find by Effect, your Majesty (to the extraordinary Prejudice of all your Subjects, and in particular of this House, the Commons thereof) so greatly wronged by Information, as well touching the State of the one, as the Privileges of the other, and their several Proceedings, during this Parliament; which Informations (though apparent in themselves, and to your Majesty most injurious) yet have been, in some humble and dutiful Respect, rather hitherto complained of among our selves, than presumed to be discovered and opposed against your Majesty.

But now, no other Help or Redress appearing, and finding those Informations to have been the first, yea the chief and almost sole Cause of all the discontentful and troublesome Proceedings so much blamed in the Parliament, and that they might be again the Cause of the like or greater Discontents and Troubles, (which the Almighty God forbid) we have been often constrained, in Duty to your Royal Majesty (whom with thankful Hearts we serve) as to our Native Country, for which we serve in this Parliament, to break our Silence, and freely to disclose unto your Majesty the Truth of all such Matters concerning your Subjects the Commons, as hitherto, by Information, hath been suppressed or perverted.

Wherein, that we may more plainly proceed (which next unto Truth we affect) in this Discourse, we shall reduce these Informations into three principal Heads.

I. Touching the Cause of the joyful receiving your Majesty into this Kingdom.

II. Concerning the Rights and Liberties of your Subjects of England, and the Privileges of this House.

III. Touching the several Actions and Speeches passed in this House.

It hath been told us, to our Faces, by some of no small Place, and the same also spoken in the Presence of your Majesty, that, * the 24th of *March* last was Twelve Months, we stood in so great Fear, that we would have given half we were worth for the Security wherein we now stand; whereby some, misunderstanding of Things, might perhaps conjecture, that Fear of our own Misery had more prevailed with us in the Duty (which on that Day was performed) than Love of your Majesty's Vertue, and Hope of your Goodness towards us.

We, contrariwise, most truly protest the contrary; that we stood not at that Time, nor of many a Day before, in any Doubt or Fear at all; we all professing the Religion by Law established, being by manifold Degrees the greater, the stronger, and the most respective Part of this your Majesty's Right, were both resolute in our selves, and all other Abilities to have maintained the same against all the World, and vigilant also in all Parts to have suppressed such Tumults, in Regard of our Power, united Minds and Readiness, as by the Male-content, and Turbulent have been attempted.

But the true Cause of our great Thankfulness and Joy in performing that Days Duty was, the great and extraordinary Love which we bear towards your Majesty's most Royal and Renowned Person, and a longing Thirst to enjoy the happy Fruits of your Majesty's most wise, religious, vertuous and gracious Heart, whereof not Rumours, but your Majesty's own Writings, have given us a strong and undoubted Assurance.

* *The Day whereon Q. Elizabeth died.*

For

For from hence (Dread *SOVEREIGN*) a general Hope was caused in the Minds of all your People, that under your Majesty's Religion, Peace, Justice, and all Vertue should renew again, and flourish; that the Better Sort should be cherished; that the Bad reformed and suppressed, and a moderate Ease should be given us of those Burthens and Oppressions, under which the whole Land did groan.

This Hope being so generally and firmly settled in the Minds of your most Loyal and most Loving People (recounting what great Alienation of Mens Hearts the defeating of great Hopes doth usually breed) we could not, in Duty as well to your Majesty, as to our Counties, Cities and Boroughs, who have sent us hither, not ignorant or misinstructed of those Proofs of their Desires and Hopes, but according to the ancient Use and Liberty of Parliament, present our humble Petitions to your Majesty, of different Nature; some for Right, and some for Grace, to the Ease and Relieving us of some just Burthens and of unjust Oppressions, wherein what due Care, what Respect we have had, that your Majesty's Honour and Profit should be conjoined with the Content and Satisfaction of your People, shall afterwards in their Places appear.

How concerning the ancient Rights of the Subjects of this Realm, chiefly consisting in the Privileges of this House of Parliament, the Misinformations openly delivered to your Majesty, have been in these three Things.

First, That we had not our Privileges of Right, but of Grace, only renewed every Parliament, by way of Donative, upon Petition, and so to be limited.

Secondly, That we are no Court of Record, nor yet a Court that can command a View of Records; but that Proceedings are here only to Acts and Memorials, and the Attendance with the Records is Courtesy, not Duty.

And *Lastly*, That the Examination of the Returns of Writs, for Knights and Burgesses, is without our Compass, and due to the *Chancery*.

Against which Assertion (most Gracious *SOVEREIGN*) tending directly and apparently to the Overthrow of the very Fundamental Privileges of our House, and therein of the Rights and Privileges of the whole Commons of the Realm of *England*, which they and their Ancestors, from Time to Time, have immediately enjoyed under your Majesty's most Noble Progenitors.

We the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons, in Parliament Assembled, and in the Name of the whole Commons of the Realm of *England*, with uniform Consent, for Ourselves and our Posterity, do expressly *protest*, as being derogatory, in the highest Degree, to the true Dignity, Liberty and Authority of your Majesty's High Court of Parliament; and consequently to the Right of all your Majesty's said Subjects, and the whole Body of this your Kingdom; and desire that our *Protestation* may be entered and recorded to all Posterity; and, contrariwise, with all humble and due Respect to your Majesty (our Sovereign *LORD* and *HEAD*) against those Misinformations we most humbly and truly avouch, that our Privileges and Liberties are our Right and due Inheritance, no less than our Lands and Goods, they cannot be held from us, or impaired, but with apparent Wrong to the whole State of the Realm; and that our making Request, in the Entrance of Parliament, to enjoy our Privileges, is an Act only of Manners, and doth weaken our Rights no more than our serving the King for our Lands, by Petition; which Form, tho' new and more decent than of the old by Precipee, yet the Subjects Right is no less, new than old.

We avouch also, that our House is a Court of Record, and so ever esteemed; and that there is no Standing Court in this Land that ought to enter into Competency, either for Dignity or Authority, with this High Court of Parliament, which, with your Majesty's Royal Assent, gives Laws to other Courts, but from other Courts, receives neither Laws nor Orders.

And *Lastly*, We avouch, that the House of Commons is the sole Judge of the Returns of all such Writs, and of the Election of all such Members, as belong unto it,
without

without which the Freedom of Election were not intire; and that the *Chancery* (tho' as a Standing Court under your Majesty) be to send out these Writs, and to renew the Returns, and to preserve them, yet the same is done only for the Use of the Parliament, over which neither the *Chancery*, nor any other Court, ever had, or ought to have any Jurisdiction from those misinformed Possessions.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

The greatest Part of our Troubles, Distrusts and Jealousies, which have apparently found, that in this first Parliament of the happy Reign of your Majesty, the Privileges of our House, and herein the Liberty and Stability of the whole Kingdom, have been more universally and dangerously impugned, than ever (we suppose) since the Beginning of Parliaments: For although it may be true, that in the later Times of Queen *Elizabeth*, some one Privilege now and then was, by some particular Act, attempted against our Privileges; besides that, in Regard of her Sex, which we had much Cause to tender, and much more to avoid all Trouble, which, by wicked Practices, might have been done, to impeach the Queen of your Majesty's Right in the Succession, those Actions were passed over, which we hoped, in succeeding Time of free Access to your Highness, so renowned for Grace and Justice, to restore, redress and ratify; whereas, contrariwise, in this Parliament, which your Majesty, in great Grace (as we nothing doubt) intended to be a President for all Parliaments that should succeed, clean contrary to your Majesty's so gracious Desire, by Reason of those Informations, not only the Privileges, but the whole Freedom of the Parliament and Realm hath, from Time to Time, upon all Occasions, been mainly hewed at, as the Freedom of our Persons in Elections hath been impeached, the Freedom of our Speech prejudiced by often Reproof, particular Persons noted with Taunt and Disgrace, who have spoken their Consciences in Matters proposed to the House (but with all due Respect and Reverence to your Majesty) whereby we have been in the End subject to so extraordinary Contempt: As a Goaler obstinately to withstand the Decrees of our House: Some of the Higher Clergy to write a Book against us, even sitting in the Parliament: The Inferiour Clergy to inveigh against us in the Pulpit; yea, to publish their *Protestations*, tending to the Impeachment of our most ancient and undoubted Rights in treating of Matters for the Peace and good Order of the Church: What Cause we, your poor Commons, have to watch over our Privileges is manifest in itself to all Men: The Prerogative of Princes may easily, and do daily grow; the Privileges of Subjects are for the most part at an everlasting Stand: They may, by good Providence and Care be preserved; but being once lost, are not recovered without much Disquiet. If good Kings were immortal as well as Kingdoms, to strive for Privileges were Vanity, perhaps, as well as Folly: But seeing the same God who, in his Mercy, hath given us a *Wise* King and *Religious*, doth also sometimes permit and suffer *Hypocrites* and *Tyrants*, in his Displeasure, and for Sins of People. From hence hath the Desire of Rights and Privileges and Liberties, both for Nobles and Commons, had its just Original; by which harmonical and stable State, each Member (the Head enjoying that Right) performing that Duty which, for the Honour of the Head, and Happiness of the Whole, is requisite.

Thus much touching Wrong done to your Majesty, by Informations touching our Privileges.

The last Kind of Informations, made to your Majesty, hath been touching the Actions and Speeches of particular Persons used in the House, with Imputation, notwithstanding, seeing it toucheth the whole in general, who neither ought, neither have at any Time suffered any Speech touching your Majesty, other than as requisite, and as becomes Loyal Subjects of a King so Gracious.

And

And for as much as it is very clear unto us, by the Effect, that divers Things, spoken in the House, have been perverted and untimely reported unto your Majesty, if it might seem so fit, in your Majesty's Wisdom, and were seemly for us to crave, we should be most glad, if, for our better Justification, and for your farther Satisfaction (which we principally desire) the Accusers and the Accused might be confronted.

And now (most Gracious *SOVEREIGN*) the necessary Grants and Cause of our Defense being timely laid, and sincerely presented to your Majesty's Grace and Wisdom, the Justification of such Particulars, wherein your Highness seemed doubtful of our dutiful Carriage (tho' not so much for the Matter as for the Manner of our Proceedings) we trust will be plain and expedite.

Which Particulars we find to have been of three different Matters.

The *first* Sort concerned the Dignity and Privilege of our House.

The *second*, the good Estate of the Realm and Church.

The *third* was for the Ease of some Grievances and Oppressions.

In the *first* Rank, there were five Particulars. The Matter of the Gentleman-Usher: The Yeoman of the Guard: Of the Election of the Knight for *Bucks*: Of Sir *Thomas Shirley's* Deliverance; and of the Bishop of *Bristol's* Pamphlet.

The *second* Rank had two Particulars: The Union, and Matters of Religion.

The *third* Head three; The Bill of Assents: Matters of Purveyors: The Partition of Wardships.

Of each of those we must say somewhat, to give your Majesty Satisfaction, and that with all Brevity, to shun Tedioufness and Trouble.

The Gentleman-Usher's Fault, in depriving (by an unaccustomed Neglect) a great deal of our House from hearing your Majesty's Speech the first Day of the Parliament.

We could not, in the Grief of being frustrated of our so loving and just Desire to hear your Majesty's Voice and renowned Wisdom, but complain of an indecent Sort amongst ourselves, and farther we proceeded not; your Majesty's great Grace and Favour in the rehearsing (the Day ensuing) your former admirable Speech, did give us Content, with abundant Joy.

The Yeoman of the Guard's Words were opprobrious; and howsoever they might have been not unfitly applied to the Peasants of *France*, Boors of *Germany*, yet could not have been other than very reproachful and injurious to the great Dignity and Honour of the Commons of this Realm, who contain, not only the Citizens, Burgesies and Yeomanry, but also the whole Inferior Nobility of the Kingdom, in Knights, Esquires and Gentlemen; many of which are come immediately out of the most Noble Families, and some others in their Worth advanced to the high Honour of your Majesty's Privy Council, and otherwise have been employed in very honourable Service.

In some (the sole Persons of the Higher Nobility excepted) they contain the whole Flower and Power of your Kingdom: With their Bodies the Wars, with their Purse your Treasures are upheld and supplied: Their Hearts are the Strength and Stability of your Royal State: All those (amounting to many Millions of People) are representatively represented in us, the House of Commons; the Wrong done to us, doth redound to the whole Land, and will be so construed.

We could, therefore, do no less, in our Duty to the Realm, than to advertise such a Delinquent of his unseemly Fault; neither could we do more, in Duty to your Majesty, than (upon his Acknowledgment thereof) so freely to remit it.

The Right of the Liberty of the Commons, consisteth chiefly in three Things.

First, That the Shires, Cities, and Burroughs of *ENGLAND*, by Representation to be present, have free Choice of such Persons, as they shall think fit to put in Trust to represent them.

Secondly, That the Persons chosen (during the Time of Parliament) have also their free Access and Recess, and be free from Restraints, Arrests, and Imprisonments.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, That in Parliament they may speak freely their Consciences, without Check or Comptrolment, doing the same with Reverence to the Sovereign Court of Parliament; that is to your Majesty and both Houses, who all, in this Case, make but one Body Politique, whereof your Highness is Head.

These several Branches of the ancient Inheritance of our Liberties were, in the three Matters ensuing, apparently injured.

1. The Freedom of Election, in the Case of Sir *Francis Goodwyn*
2. The Freedom of the Persons elected, in Sir *Thomas Shirley's* Imprisonment.
3. The Freedom of our Speech, as by divers other Reproofs, so also, in some sort, by the Bishop of *Bristol's* Invective.

For the Matter of Sir *Francis Goodwyn*, the Knight chosen for *Bucks*, we were, and still are of a clear Opinion, that the Freedom of Election was in that Action extremely injured.

That, by the same Right, it might be at all Times in a Lord Chancellor's Power to reverse, defeat, erect, or substitute, all the Elections and Persons elected, over all the Realm; neither thought we, that the Judges Opinions (which yet in due Place we greatly reverence) being delivered what the Common Law was (which extends only to Inferior and Standing Courts) ought to bring in a Prejudice to this High Court of Parliament, whose Power being above the Law, is not founded on the Common Law, but have therein Rights and Privileges peculiar to themselves.

For the Manner of our Proceeding (which your Majesty seemed to blame, in that the second Writ going out in your Majesty's Name, we seemed to censure it, without first craving Accels to acquaint your Highness with our Reasons therein) we trust our Defense shall appear just and reasonable.

It is the Form of the Court of Chancery (as of divers other Courts) that Writs going out in your Majesty's Name, are returned also, as to your Majesty, in that Court from whence they issue.

Howbeit, therefore no Man ever repairth to your Majesty's Person, but proceedeth according to Law, notwithstanding the Writ.

This being the universal Custom of this Kingdom, it was not, nor could be admitted into our Councils, that the Difference was between your Majesty and us; for God forbid, that, between so Gracious a Sovereign, and so Dutiful and Loving Subjects, any Difference should arise: But it was, and still is conceived, that the Controversy was between Courts about Preheminencies and Privileges; and that the Question was, Whether the Chancery, or our House of Commons, were Judge of the Members returned for it? Wherein, tho' we supposed the Wrong done to be most apparent, and extremely prejudicial to the Rights and Privileges of this Realm; yet such, and so great was our Willingness to please your Majesty, as to yield to a middle Course proposed by your Highness, preserving only our Privileges, by a voluntary Cession of the lawful Knight

And this Course (as if it were of deceiving of our selves, and yielding in our apparent Rights, wheresoever we could but invent such Ways of Escape, as that the Precedent might not be hurtful) we have held (Dread *SOVEREIGN*) more than once this Parliament, upon Desire to avoid that, which to your Majesty, by Misinformation (whereof we had Cause to stand always in Doubt) might be distastful, nor not approvable; so dear hath your Majesty been unto us.

In the Delivery of Sir *Thomas Shirley*, our Proceedings were long, our Defense of them shall be brief.

We had to do with a Man (the Warden of the *Fleet*) so untractable, and of so resolved Obstinacy, as that nothing we could do, no, nor your Majesty's Royal Word for Confirmation thereof, could satisfy him for his own Security.

This

This was the Cause of the length of that Business. Our Privileges were so shaken before, and so extremely vilified, as that we held it not fit in so unseasonable Time, and against so mean a Subject, to seek our Right by any other Strength than by our own.

The Bishop of *Bristol's* Book was injurious and grievous to us; being written expressly in Contempt of the Parliament, and of the Houses, in the highest Degree, undertaking to deface Reasons proposed by the Commons; approved by the Honourable Lords; confirmed by the Judges; and finally, by your Royal Majesty, not dissatisfied to.

And to increase the Wrong with strong Untruth, he had perverted those Reasons in their main Drift and Scope; pretending that they were devised to impugn the Union itself: Whereas both by their Title and Themselves, it was clear and evident, that they were only used against Alteration of Name, and not simply, but before the Union of both Realms, in Substance, was perfected.

This Book being written and published to the World, containing moreover sundry slanderous Passages, tending to Murmurs, Distraction and Sedition; we could not do less, against the Writer thereof, than to complain to the Lords of the Higher House, whereof he had now attained to be a Member, the Wrongs being to the Dignity of our House and Privileges.

Touching Cases appertaining to the State and Church, true it is, we were long in treating and debating the Matter of Union.

The Proposition great, the Consequence far reaching, and not to be discovered, but by long Dispute; our Number also is great, and each hath Liberty to speak: But the Doubts and Differences once cleared and removed, how far we are from opposing to the just Desires of your Majesty (as some evil-disposed Minds would perhaps insinuate, who live by Division, and prosper by the Disgrace of other Men) the great expressed Alacrity and Unanimity, which was voted and shewed, in passing of the Bill, may sufficiently testify.

For Matters of Religion it was sufficiently apparent by the Examination of Truth and Right, that your Majesty should be misinformed.

If any Man should deliver, that the King of *England* have any absolute Power of themselves, either to alter Religion (which God defend should be in the Power of any Mortal Man whatsoever) or to make any Laws concerning the same, otherwise than as in Temporal Cases, by Consent of Parliament, we have and shall at all Times, by our Oaths, acknowledge, that your Majesty is Sovereign Lord, and Supreme Governor in both.

Touching our Desires and Proceedings therein, they have not been a little misconceived and misreported, we are not come in any *Puritan* or *Brownist* Spirit, to introduce their Party, or to work the Subversion of the State Ecclesiastical, as now it standeth, Things so far and so clearly from our Meanings, as that with uniform Consent in the Beginning of this Parliament, we committed to the *Tower* a Man, who, out of that Humour, in a Petition exhibited to our House, had slandered the Bishops.

But according to the Tenour of your Majesty's Writ of Summons, directed to the Counties from whence we came, and according to the ancient and long-continued Use of Parliaments (as by many Records from Time to Time appeareth) we came with another Spirit of Peace: We disputed not of Faith and Doctrine; our Desire was Peace only, and our Device of Unity; how the lamentable and long-lasting Disension amongst the Ministers (from which Atheism, Sect and Ill-Life have received such Encouragement and so dangerous Encrease) might at length (before the Help came too late) be extinguished.

And for the Ways of this Peace, we are not at all addicted to our own Inventions, but ready to embrace any fit Way, that may be offered; neither do we too much de-

fire, that any Man, in regard of Weakness of Conscience, be exempted, after Parliament, from Obedience unto Laws established; as that, in this Parliament, such Laws may be enacted, as by the Relinquishments of some few Ceremonies of small Importance, or by any Way better, a perpetual Uniformity may be enjoined and observed.

Our Desire hath always been to reform certain Abuses, crept into the Ecclesiastical Estate; even as into the Temporal.

And Lastly, that the Land might be furnished with a Learned, Religious and Godly Ministry, for the Maintenance of whom we would have granted no small Contribution, if in their (as we trust) Just and Religious Desires, we had found that Correspondency from others, which was expected.

These Minds and Hearts were, in Secret, present to that Sovereign Lord who gave them, and in Publick professed to your Sacred Majesty, who (we trust) will so receive them.

There remains the Matter of Oppression and Grievance in the Bill of Assents.

Your Majesty's Council was heard; namely, your Solicitor and Sir *Francis Bacon*.

It was also desired by the House, that others of your Council would have been present. We know that our passing the Bill could not bind your Majesty; howbeit, for sundry equitable Considerations (as to us they seemed) we thought good to fit so much Passage to the Bill, in Hope your Majesty might either be pleased to remit in some Sort, unto this Equity, that Right, which the Rigour of the Law had given, or otherwise intreated by this Kind of Solicitation, to let them fall into your Majesty's Hands, full of Piety and Mercy, and not into the Hands of devouring Promoters.

And this do we understand to be your Gracious Intent (wherewith we rest joyful, content and satisfied.

This Grievance was not unjust in Rigour of Law, and was particular, but a general and extreme unjust and crying Oppression is in Care-takers and Purveyors, who have ravaged and ransacked, since your Majesty's coming in, far more than under any of your Royal Progenitors.

There hath been no Prince, since *Hen. III.* (except *Q. Elizabeth*) who hath not made some one Law or other, to repress or remit them. They have no Prescription, no Custom to plead: For there hath not been any Parliament, wherein Complaint hath not been, and Claim of our Rights, which doth interrupt Prescription.

We have not, in this Parliament, sought any thing against them, but Execution of these Laws, which are in Force already; we demand but that Justice, which our Princes are sworn neither to deny, delay, nor sell.

That we sought into the Accounts of your Majesty's Expence, was not our Presumption, but upon Motion from the Lords of your Majesty's Council, and Offer from your Majesty's Officers of your Highness's Household, and that upon a Demand of a perpetual yearly Revenue, in Lieu of taking away these Oppressions, unto which Composition neither knew we well how to yield (being only for Justice and due Right) neither yet durst impose it, by Law, upon the People, without first acquainting them, and having their Consents to it.

But if your Majesty might be pleased, in your Gracious Favour, to treat of Composition with us for some Grievance, which is but Law and Justice, how ready we should be to take that Occasion and Colour to supply your Majesty's Desire, concerning these also, which we hold for unjust, should appear, we nothing doubt of your Majesty's full Satisfaction.

And therefore we come lastly to the Matter of Wards, and such of the Burthens (for so we acknowledge them) as to the Tenures *in Capite*, and dutiful Service are incident; we cannot forget (for how were it impossible) how your Majesty in a former most Gracious Speech, in the Gallery at *Whitehall*, advised us for unjust Burthens, to proceed against them by Bill; but for such as were just (if we desired any

any Ease) that we should come to Your Self, by Way of Petition, which Tender of such countervailable Composition in Profit (as for the supporting of your Royal Estate was requisite) according to which your Majesty's most favourable Grant and Direction, we prepared a Petition, to your most Excellent Majesty, for Leave to treat with your Highness touching a perpetual Composition to be raised, by yearly Revenue, out of the Lands of your Subjects, for Wardships and other Burthens depending on them, or springing with them, wherein we first entered into this Consideration; that this Prerogative of your Crown (which we desire to compound for) was Matter of mere Profit, and not of any Honour at all, or Princely Dignity: For it could not then, neither yet, can by any Means, sink into our Understanding, that those Oeconomical Matters of Education and Marriage of Children (which are common also to Subjects) should bring any Renown or Reputation to a Potent Monarch, whose Honour is settled on a higher and stronger Foundation. Faithful and loving Subjects, valiant Soldiers, honourable Nobility, wise Councillors, a learned and religious Clergy, a contented and happy People, are the true Honour of the King: And contrariwise, that it would be an exceeding, and of memorable Renown to your Majesty with all Posterity, and in present an assured Bond of the Hearts of all your People, to remit this Burthen, under which our Children are born.

This Prerogative, then appearing to be a mere Matter of Profit, we entered into a second Degree of Consideration; with how great Greivance and Damage of the Subjects, with the Decay of many Houses, disabling them to serve Prince or Country; with how great Mischief also, by Occasion of many forced ill-suited Marriages; and lastly, with how great Contempt and Reproach of our Nation, in Foreign Parts, how small a Commodity is now raised to the Crown, in respect of that; with what great Love, Joy and Thankfulness, for Restitution of this original Right, in disposing of our Children, we would be content, and glad to assure unto your Majesty. We fell also, from hence, into a third Degree of Consideration; that it might be, that in regard the Original of those Wardships, were serving of the King in his Wars against *Scotland* (which Cause we hope now to be at an everlasting End) and in regard; moreover, of that general Hope, which, at your Majesty's first Entry, the whole Land embraced (a thing known unto all Men) that they should now be for ever eased of this Burthen; your Majesty, out of your most Noble and Gracious Disposition, with your Goodness, may be pleased to accept the Offer of a perpetual and certain Revenue; not only proportionable to the uttermost Benefit any of your Progenitors ever reaped thereby, but also with such an Overplus and large Addition, as in great Part might supply your Majesty's other Occasions, that our Ease might breed you Plenty. With these humble Minds, with these dutiful Respects, we intended to crave Access unto your Majesty: But that ever it was said, in our House, by any Man, that this was a Slavery under your Majesty, more than under our former Princes, hath come from an untrue Reporter.

Our Sayings have always been, that this Burthen was just; that the remitting thereof must come from your Majesty's Grace; and that denying our Suit was no Wrong.

Thus (most Gracious *SOVERAIGN*) with dutiful Minds, and sincere Hearts towards your Majesty, have we truly disclosed our secret Intents, and delivered our outward Actions, in all those so much traduced and blamed Matters; and, from hence forward, shall remain in great Affiance, that your Majesty resteth satisfied, both in your Grace and in your Judgment, which, above all worldly Things, we desire to effect before the dissolving of this Parliament; whereat in so long Time, with so much Pains, and the Endurance of so great Sorrow, scarce any Thing can be done for their Good and Content who sent us hither, and whom we left full of Hope and joyful Expectation.

Here remaineth (Dread *SOVERAIGN*) one Part of our Duty at this present (with Faithfulness of Heart, no Presumption) to press upon. We stand not in Place to speak or do Things pleasing: Our Care is, and must be, to confirm the Love, and tie the Hearts of your Subjects, the Commons, most firmly to your Majesty.

Herein lieth the Means of well-discerning of both. There was never Prince entered with greater Joy and Applause of all his People. This Love, this Joy, let it flourish in their Hearts for ever. Let no Suspicion have Access to their fearful Thoughts, that their Privileges (which they think, by your Majesty, should be perfected) should now, by sinister Information or Counsel, be violated or impaired; or that those (who, with dutiful Respect to your Majesty, speak freely for the Right and Good of their Country) shall be opposed or disgraced.

Let your Majesty not be pleased to refuse public Information from your Commons in Parliament (as in the Civil Estate and Government) for private Informations, passed often by Practise.

The Voice of the People, in the Things of their Knowledge, is said to be the Voice of God.

And if your Majesty shall vouchsafe (on your Gracious Consideration of our Petitions) for the Ease of those Burthens, under which your whole People have of so long Time mourned, hoping for Relief by your Majesty, then may you be assured to be possessed of their Hearts; and if their Hearts, then of all they can do or have.

And so we, your Majesty's most Humble and Loyal Subjects (whose Ancestors with great Loyalty, Readiness and Joyfulness, served your famous Progenitors, Kings and Queens of this Realm) shall with like Loyalty and Joy (both we and our Posterity) serve your Majesty, and your most Royal Issue for ever, with our Lives, Lands and Goods, and all other our Abilities, and by all Means endeavour to procure your Majesty's Honour, with all Plenty, Tranquillity, Joy and Felicity.

[Some obliging Gentlemen (who do not, with too many others, fancy a Curiosity is rendered less so by its being in other Hands than their own) having sent me in several good Pieces, which perhaps, the Public will be glad of, in order to leave Room for them, I postpone my own Things, which I intended for this Number.]

With regard to the following Curious and most Popular Tract (which is expressly intimated to be only a Sequel or Second Part, and may serve for our Biography for this Number) kindly communicated by a worthy Friend, I have inquired of some of the likeliest Persons in England to have accommodated me with the First Part of it (mentioned in the Preface of this) but none of them remember ever to have met with it. If, therefore, any Gentleman who has it, will favour the Public and me therewith, the utmost Care shall be taken to get it faithfully inserted, the Obligation thankfully acknowledged, and the Original punctually returned, according to Direction, if required; as likewise any other Pieces worthy Public Acceptance.]

A Se-

A Second

NARRATIVE

OF THE

Late PARLIAMENT, so called.

Wherein, after a brief reciting some remarkable Passages in the Former *Narrative*, is given an Account of their *Second Meeting*, and Things transacted by them; As also, how the *Protector* (so called) came *swearing*, by the *Living God*, and dissolved them, after two or three Weeks sitting.

With some *Queries* sadly proposed thereupon.

Together with an Account of *three* and *forty* of their *Names*, who were taken out of the *House*, and others who late in the *Other House*, intended for a *House of Lords*; but, being so unexpectedly disappointed, could not take Root; with a brief *Character* and *Description* of them.

All humbly presented to public View.

By a Friend to the good Old Cause of *Justice*, *Righteousness*, the *Freedom* and *Liberties* of the People, which have cost so much *Blood* and *Treasure*, to be carried on in the late *Wars*, and are not yet settled.

Josh. 6. 26. *Cursed be the Man before the Lord, that riseth up and buildeth the City of Jericho; he shall lay the Foundation thereof in his First-born, and in his youngest Son shall he set up the Gates of it.*

Job 5. 3, 4. *I have seen the Foolish taking Root, but suddenly I cursed his Habitation: His Children are far from Safety, and they are crushed in the Gate, neither is there any to deliver them.*

Job 5. 12. *He disappointeth the Devices of the Crafty, so that their Hands cannot find their Enterprize.*

Job 18. 14. *His Confidence shall be rooted out of his Tabernacle, and it shall bring him to the King of Terrors.*

Printed in the fifth Year of *ENGLAND's* Slavery, under its New
MONARCHY, 1658.

Courteous Reader.

THERE was formerly a Narrative published, giving thee an Account of the Chusing, Coming together, Secluding of some, and Sitting of the rest of the late Parliament (so called) and the Acts that were passed by them: The Goodness of which Acts, with their Tendency to enslave and oppress the Nation, is sadly experienced to the Cost and Sorrow of not a few. For Instance, First, That Wicked, Unjust, and Oppressive Act for new Buildings, under which many a Soul hath groaned; some though having, in the last 16 or 18 Years past, paid twice the Value of their Houses in Taxes, have thereby been forced, unless they will be plundered or cast into Prison, to pay a Years Rent more; in the cruel Prosecution of which Act many sad Cases have fallen out. Secondly, The Act for the Excise, imposing it for ever (with the Customs) as a Standing Revenue to the Crown, and letting it out to Farm, to the horrible Oppression of the People, setting up Patentees to rule them at Pleasure. Thirdly, An Act for a three Years Tax to pay the Soldiers, where the Great-ones get all, and the Inferiors very little, but are behind near a Year; many of them living on Tickets, while their great Leaders ruffle in their Gallantry: And as if that were not enough, did then order a three Months Tax to be paid twice over. And to name but one more (for Brevity sake) Fourthly, An Act for a High Court (so called) of Justice, for the Preservation of the Protector's Person, as if the Law and Soldiers were not as sufficient to protect him now, as when he was General, but an Arbitrary and Illegal Court must be erected, in a Time of Peace, to take away the Lives of Persons at their Pleasure.

There is likewise in that Narrative a Catalogue, or an Account given of one hundred eighty two of the Members of that unworthy Assembly, who were Sons, Kinsmen, Servants, and otherwise engaged unto, and had Places of Profit, Offices, Salaries, * and Advantages under the Protector (so called) whereby it doth appear, what fine Suckers they are of the Riches and Fatness of this Common-wealth, and how unlikely they were, being so pack'd for his Interest, and so well seasoned with the Salt of his Palace (Ezra 4. 14.) to bring forth the so much Prayed, Engaged, Fought, and Bled for Right and Liberty of the People. After some Queries proposed thereupon, follows a Catalogue of the Kinglings, or the Names of those Seventy Persons (most of them being the Protector's Kinsmen, and Salary-men) who voted for Kingship; with the Counties which they served; that so they may be remembered, and called to an Account hereafter. After this, there is mentioned, how that the New Government, of the Humble Petition and Ad-

* Which amounts unto, in the whole, one Million, sixteen Thousand, three Hundred and seventeen Pounds, sixteen Shillings and eight Pence *per Annum*, according to the favourablest Computation by the former Narrative, or Book of Rates. As it was said there, so here: If there be any Mistakes, they are desired, who best know, to rectify them; if not, then what is here mentioned may be taken for granted. *Nebemiah* did not eat the Bread of the Governor; why must so great Salaries be continued to them who have gotten so much already? The Taxes raised from the People, to pay this, do ruin Thousands.

vice,

vice, pretended by them to be then settled, was carried in the House but by three Voices, fifty three against fifty; as also, that it was contrary to the Desires of the good People of the Nation; but not being able, at that Time, to get the Names of those fifty three Persons, who also highly deserved to be taken Notice of, they were not therein mentioned.

You have also those Members of that Assembly, who, though they gave not their Vote either for Kingship, or the then Government, by the Humble Petition and Advice, but pretended to be against, and dissatisfied with both, sharply, and justly reprov'd, for betraying the Trust committed to them by the People. First, For being so sneaking and cowardly in their Spirits, as to suffer their Fellow-Members to be Secluded from them; and the Council, who had nothing to do with it, so to intrench upon their Privileges, as to let none sit but whom they approved of. Secondly, For being so ready to comply to Sit, or Adjourn at the Protector's Pleasure, as if they were his Servants, and not be theirs. Thirdly, That when they saw the Liberties of the People endeavour'd to be violated afresh by the Kinglings, and also really given away by the afore-mentioned fifty three Persons, who petitioned and advised the Protector (so called) to take the Government upon him, and to chuse his Successor; they did not Cry out, Protest, Declare against, and Withdraw from, which being their Duty, they ought to have done; in doing whereof, those unparalleled Wickednesses would of Necessity have fallen to the Ground; but instead thereof went on with them, stifling their own Consciences, and endeavouring to satisfy their oppress'd Brethren, by saying, He had not the Title of King; as if all the Evil, Oppression and Arbitrariness lay in that; when as at the same time, he hath the same, and no less Power, than if he had the Title, and were called King. Yea, a far greater Power than what cost so much Blood and Treasure to oppose in the late King; and that these slight Pretences would not be Plea sufficient to excuse them, in the Day of their Account for so doing. After which, some general Queries being soberly propos'd, as a Close to the Whole, is the Conclusion of that Narrative.

Now here thou wilt find related some of the most remarkable Passages which occurred in their second Session, with the End, and Dissolution of the Whole, after two or three Weeks sitting. As also something of Another House (though Nameless) yet covertly intended for a House of Lords, with a Description of forty three of them; by all which, thou mayst be able, in some Measure, to resolve thy Thoughts concerning the Change of the Cause and Principles which these great Masters formerly carried on, and profess to do so still. It is notoriously known, how even the Chief of them sometime said, It would never be well, neither should we ever see good Days, while there was one Lord left in England, nor untill you (speaking so to him) my Lord of Manchester, be called Mr. Montague: yet now Lords must be made by the Dozens. What Declaring, what Fighting hath there been, and how much Blood and Treasure spent against a Negative Voice in the King and Lords! Yet now, not only the Protector himself, forsooth, but all his new upstart Lords, such as were our Equals, or it may be below us, must Lord it over us, with their No, to our I. Is not the World grown mad? Were there ever such Wonders before? To fancy what after Ages will think of these Men, who pretend to be of the Saints of these Times, will never make a Person melancholy who shall be serious in it. Not to trouble thee farther, eye GOD more, and Men less, and that will stay and quiet the Spirit: and say to thy self, as the Psalmist did, (Psal. 62. 5, 9.) My Soul wait thou only upon God, for my Expectation is from him. Surely Men of low Degree are Vanity, and Men of high Degree are a Lye.

A

A Second Narrative of the late Parliament (so called) giving an Account of their Second Meeting, and the Things transacted by them; as also their Dissolution, after two or three Weeks sitting. With an Account of three and forty of their Names, who, in the Interval of their Adjournment, were taken out of the House, and others who sat in the Other House, so greatly designed for a House of Lords: With a brief Character and Description of them.

THE late Parliament (so called) having made their new Model of Government, called *The Humble Petition and Advice*, before they had well licked their *Golden Calf*, or given the *Brat* of their *Brain* a Name, were called upon to adjourn, and break up: And so making more Haste than good Speed, they left Things very raw and imperfect, which afterwards occasioned great Contests, and, in fine, their Dissolution.

According to the Time they Adjourned unto, they Assembled again, being Jan. 23. 1657. where after the usual Solemnities of Devotion performed, they repaired to the House, where they found some of their Number Commissioned, and Impowered by the Protector, to swear them. The Copy of which Oath here followeth.

The Oath.

I do, in the Presence and by the Name of God Almighty, Promise and Swear, That, to the utmost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true Reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the Power thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and the Professors of the same: And that I will be true and faithful to the Lord * Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, as chief Magistrate thereof: And shall not contrive, design, or attempt any Thing against the Person, or lawful Authority of the Lord Protector; and shall endeavour as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People.

§ To the Other House they were gone for greater Preference.

Which having taken, and coming into the House, they find not only some of their Fellow § Members, but their old Servants and Clerk, Mr. Scobell, gone, and a new one put in his Room, whose Name is Smith, whom, with biting a little the Lip, and something in way of Complement, as with a *Salvo* of their Rights and Privileges, they, for Quietness sake, Vote him (so put upon them) to be their Clerk, and then settled themselves in a Posture for their future Work. And the first Thing

* Can those be faithful to the Rights and Privileges of the People, who swear to be faithful to the Government in a Single Person, which (our too sad Experience tells us so) naturally tends to destroy them? Do not those, who so swear, undertake to uphold that in the Protector which cost so much Blood and Treasure to oppose, as Antichristian and Tyrannical, in the King? Or is that a Lawful Authority, which, contrary to all Precedents and Privileges of Parliament, was carried but by three Voices of them who were permitted to sit; there being, at the same Time, at least 80 of the Members purposely kept out till that Act was past? Ought not Things to be searched into, and set right upon this Account? For that (Mat. 6. 24.) No Man can serve two Masters.

they

they undertake, is to keep a Day of Prayer in their *House*, which accordingly they did; and with great Prudence, plowing with an Ox and an Ass together, the *Presbyters* and *Independents* being both called to officiate.

The *Other House*, who would fain have the Honour to be called *Lords*, or rather a *House of Lords*, did likewise, in their *House*, pray at the same Time with much Devotion, and did afterwards agree to send to the Parliament (or as they would have them again called, the *House of Commons*) by Baron *Hill* and Serjeant *Windham*, (after the Manner of the *House of Peers* formerly) to declare their Message, viz.

*That the House of Lords, or the Lords of the Other House had sent unto them, to desire their joining with them in a Petition, or Message to the Protector, That a Day of Prayer * and Humiliation might be appointed through the whole Common-wealth.*

* In Nomine Domini incipe omne Malum.

Which Message begat very high Debates, and sharp Speeches from many who were not at the making this lame and imperfect Model, so as the aforesaid Messengers were fain to wait a long Time; but at length got this Answer, viz. *That they would return an Answer by Messengers of their own.*

The *House* filling daily, and many of those who had been secluded in the former Session coming in, the Face of Things in the *House* were in great Measure changed, another Spirit appearing in them than before; insomuch, that many made Question of the Things that were formerly done; some speaking at a high Rate in Behalf of the *Rights* of the *English* Free People, and against the *Wrongs* and *Injuries* done unto them. This being done, Day by Day, and the *House* not agreeing what to call that *Other House*, which was, as it were, a nameless Infant, and fain would be named the *House of Lords*, was the greatest Part of their Work, save that, now and then, some little Matters came under Debate; as the reviving and perfecting their Committees, and reading some former Bills. The Lord *Craven's* Case also was taken in, and the Counsel on both Parts heard at the Bar of the *House*; with some other little Matters that passed; but the greatest Part of Time that was spent in the *House* (whilst sitting) was in considering and debating what they should call the *Other House*.

Towards the End of their Sitting, there came another Message from the *Other House*, after the same Manner as before, *Desiring their joining with them, in moving the Protector to Order, that the Papists, and such as had been in Arms under the late King, might be exiled the City, and put out of the Lines of Communication, &c.* This Message being also designed as a Shooing-horn, to draw on their Owning of them, received a like Answer as did the former.

As for the *Other House* (who called themselves the *House of Lords*) they spent their Time in little Matters, such as chusing *Committees*; and, among other Things, to consider of the *Privileges* and *Jurisdiction* of their *House* (good wise Souls) before they knew what their *House* was, or should be called.

About which Time also, a Petition was preparing, by some faithful Friends to the good *Old Cause*, in and about the City of *London*, which was afterward Printed, and signed by many thousand Hands: which Petition makes mention of the several Particulars that were the Grounds of Contest between the *King* and *Parliament*, and the good People of the Nation. And prayeth, *The settling those good Things sought for, as the Reward and Fruit of the Blood and Treasure so greatly expended in the late Wars, &c.* This Petition was ready to be presented to the *Parliament* (in a peaceable Way) by the Hands of about twenty, in the Name of the rest, desiring to submit the Issue thereof to God and the Wisdom of that Assembly. The Court hearing of it, were so affrighted, as they began to consider how they might quell, and put a Stop to that honest Spirit, which so appeared against them; the *Protector* (in the mean while) calling them *Traytors* and *Seditious Persons*, &c. Threatning to cut their *Sculls*, and

to tread them down as Mire in the Streets, &c. And turned out * Major Packer, and most of the honestest Officers of his Regiment of Horse, for refusing to serve his Lust therein. And apprehending that nothing could do it, but a speedy dissolving the Parliament, they put on Resolutions accordingly, only waited for a convenient Opportunity. But something happening that Morning, that put the *Protector* into a Rage and Passion, near unto Madness (as those at *White-Hall* can witness) he gets into a Coach, and to the *Other House* he comes, and sends for his Son *Fleetwood*, Mr. *Nathaniel Fiennes*, and some others, acquainting them what his Purpose and Resolution was, and what he came to do, who (as is said) earnestly endeavoured to dissuade him from it; but he refused to hearken, and in great Passion swore, *By the Living God, he would Dissolve them*. And so going into the *House*, and sending the *Black Rod* with a Message to call the *Parliament* to come unto him, he, with laying great Blame upon them, and charging them with great Crimes, and magnifying of himself (as his Manner is) dissolved them. And this was the fourth Parliament broken by him in five Years.

Thus the *two Houses* fell, and perished together; their Father, their good Father, knocking his Children on the Head, and killing them, because they were not towardsly, but did wrangle one with another. But what hath he gained thereby? *Solomon* the wise saith, *Prov. 14. 1. Every wise Woman buildeth her House, but the Foolish plucketh it down with her own Hands.*

Upon the whole, it is humbly Queried as followeth, viz.

First, Whether there may not very plainly be read and perceived, a Hand of Displeasure from the *Almighty*, blinding the Eyes, and infatuating the Understandings of those unworthy Persons, who, *Hiel* like, (1 Kings 16. 34.) would have built *Jericho* again, to wit, fallen Monarchy, in a *Single Person* and a *House of Lords*, with their *Negative Voices* over the good People of these Lands, so as to cause, or suffer them to do their Work by halves? And to rise and leave, so *Lame*, *Nameless* and *Insignificant*, their *new Model* of the *Humble Petition* and *Advice*, alias Instrument of *Bondage* to the *English Nation*. Let the *Curse* of *Confusion* that attended the *Builders* of *Babel*, be considered of.

Secondly, Whether those so very wise *Gentlemen*, who saw it so necessary, and ventured so high, and took so much Pains, to bring in again, and a-new restore fallen *Monarchy* and *Kingship* in these Lands, could, according to the Rules of common Reason and Understanding of Men, imagine and conclude, That the *Gentlemen* who had formerly been so wronged, abused and exasperated by them, in being kept out of the *House*, would be so easy and tame, as presently, without any more ado, address themselves to lick their new *Golden Calf*, and nurse up that *Babylonish*, *Antichristian* Brat they had no Hand in, but were against the begetting of? And whether it doth not speak out a very great Weakness in their Councils, and a Shallowness in the *Protector*, his *Council*, and whole Numbers concerned in that Design, in making no better Provision before-Hand, and seeing no farther into the ensuing Danger, so likely to attend their whole Device, and that nameless Infant, the *Other House*, which they would have to be Christened, and called by the Name of *Lords*.

* As Major Packer, Mr. Rossin, and others, by endeavouring to promote the Apostacy at its first Rise, have occasioned many Baptized Persons, and others, simply to wander after the Beast. They now seeing their Error, ought they not to declare it to the People, as also to stir them up to keep close with more Refinement in their Spirits to the good Old Cause, and to be for no Single Person whatsoever, till he comes, whose Right it is? *Ezek. 21. 26.*

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Whether the good People of this Nation have not Cause, for ever to abhor the Memory of the afore-mentioned back-sliding Persons? So that Parliament (so called) in the first Session of it, before their Adjourning, that of their own Heads, and contrary to their Engagement to the * Instrument of Government, by Vertue whereof they sate at first, and without consulting the respective Counties for whom they served, or so much as one Petition delivered to them for that Purpose, changed the Government, and made one worse, harder, and more grievous to be borne, than that they put away; so fastening their new Iron Yoke upon the Necks of the good People of this Land, settling great *Taxes*, with the *Customs* and *Excise* for ever, to keep this Yoke upon them?

* *The first Instrument is not hereby owned, but abhorred as much as the latter, though I thus speak.*

Fourthly, Whether those Gentlemen kept out in the first Sitting, when those hard Things were transacted, and afterwards coming in, and being present in the second Meeting, notwithstanding the so great Reproach and Dirt cast on them by the Court, are not highly to be honoured and esteemed, for appearing and standing so far as they did, for *Right* and *Freedom*, and against the Bondages which, contrary to *Engagements*, *Covenants* and *Promises*, were put upon the good People of this Land? As well as to be blamed, not only for not declaring, at their first Seclusion, to inform the People of the Wrong and Injury done unto them; but also, when afterward they where so Arbitrarily and Tyrannically dissolved, with the rest of their unworthy Brethren, they took it so patiently, and went so tamely Home, and did not, in the very Time of the Action, Protest and Declare against the Tyrant, and then retire into their Places (from whence they ought not to have stirred at first) and call him to the Bar, or otherwise proceeded against him for so doing? Had it not been suitable to, and well becoming that noble Common-wealth Spirit (so much pretended to) thus to have assayed, though they had fallen in it? And whether the Army, in Honesty, Conscience and Duty, their former Declarations and Engagements considered, ought not to have assisted them therein, as well as they did the long Parliament against the *King* and his *Courtiers*, upon the like Account? Do not the loud Cries of the Souls of the Saints (*Rev. 6. 9, 10.*) under the Altar, slain for the Testimony which they held in their Days, as also the Blood of the Saints and Others slain in the late Wars, and the Sufferings of our dear Brethren in Prisons and Banishment, call for this their Testimony also? If so, ought not this honest Word of Reproof for what is past, and of Excitation for the future, to take Place?

Fifthly, But since Things were as they were, and as it seems could be no better, whether all good People in these Nations, have not great Cause exceedingly to bless and praise the Lord (though they owe little to the *Instrument*) who (*Assur*-like) had other Ends, that the late Parliament (so called) was dissolved; who were many of them such Mercenary, Salary and Self-interested Men, as in all Probability, had they continued much longer, would have over-voted the Lovers of Freedom, and so have perfected their Instrument of Bondage, and rivetted it on the Necks of the good People for ever by a Law, and thereby made them Vassals and Slaves perpetually? But hitherto the Lord hath, in a great Measure, frustrated their wicked Devices; blessed be his Holy Name.

Sixthly, Whether the Protector (so called) be not a great Destroyer of the Rights and Liberties of the *English* Nation? For hath he not engrossed the whole Power of the *Militia* into his own Hand? The Right also of Property? Power of judging all Matters of the highest and greatest Concernment? And doth he not take on him to be sole Judge of *Peace* and *War*, of Calling and Dissolving Parliaments? Raising Money without Consent in Parliament? Imprisoning Persons without due Form of Law, and keeping them in Durance at Pleasure? Using the *Militia* in his own Hand

against the good People, in these fore-named Things, and against their Representatives in Parliament?

Seventhly, Whether the Protector, and the Great Men his Confederates, be not rather to be termed *Fanatick*, *Whimsical* and *Sick-brain'd*, than those (who remaining firm to, and being more refined in their former good and honest Principles, and will upon no Account be drawn to desert the good Old Cause) they account and call so? And whether this Unsettledness in their Government, and changing both it and their Principles in so short a Time, and going so diametrically contrary to their former honest Protestations, Declarations, Sermons and Actings, doth not, in the View of all the World, declare them so to be?

Eighthly, Whether the Protector (so called) be not that himself which he untruly charged upon the Members turned out of the Little Parliament (so called) *viz.* A *Destroyer of Magistracy and Ministry*? Of Magistracy, in breaking four Parliaments in five Years, and pulling up by the Roots, what in him lieth, the very Basis and Foundation of all just Power, to wit, the Interest of the good People of this Commonwealth, making himself, and his own Will and Lust, the Basis and Foundation thereof? And doth he not, at his Pleasure, suppress and destroy all Military and Civil Power, and Governors who submit not thereunto? Is he not likewise a great Destroyer of Ministry, in taking from them their Religious, or Divine Capacities, putting them into that of *Lay* or *Common*? And accordingly, in a professed Way, preferring them to Places of Advantage by the Tryers?

Ninthly, Whether the Protector be so Wise and Understanding, so Tender and Careful of the Common Interest (as is pretended to) above all others whatsoever? Yea, above and beyond the four Parliaments he hath dissolved? And may it not be inquired, how he came to this Height of Knowledge and absolute Understanding, seeing there are very many worthy Patriots, sometimes his Equals, at least of as high a Descent, of as Good-breeding, of as great Parts, of as fair an Interest, as also as well versed in Government as himself? Whether it may not be wondered at, that he should be so exceeding Wise and Tender above all, even above Parliaments themselves?

Tenthly, Whether Sir *Henry Vane*, Major General *Harrison*, the late President *Bradshaw*, Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, Lieutenant-General *Ludlow*, with Hundreds more of worthy Patriots, who have ventured far in their Country's Cause, for Justice and Freedom, may not rationally be thought to be as Careful and Tender of the Good of their Country as the Protector?

Eleventhly, Whether it doth not rankly favour of high Pride and Arrogancy in the Protector (so called) to set up his Sense and Judgment as the Standard for the whole Nation, even Parliaments themselves? And whether thus to do, be not the sad Fruit of Enthusiasm, one of the great Errors of this Day and Time?

Twelfthly, Whether the Protector, being so highly conceited of his own Understanding, so changeable and uncertain in his Principles and Resolutions, so given up to his Passion and Anger, as, against all Advice and Counsel, in a Condition near unto Madness, to swear, *by the Living God*, he would Dissolve the late Parliament, and accordingly did so, though the doing of it tended to the Hazard of the Commonwealth? Whether he, according to Reason, can be thought a Person capable, and fit to Rule and Govern this so *Great*, so *Wise*, and *Noble* a People?

Thirteenthly, Whether, since the Protector assumed the Government, the State and Condition of this Nation be not very greatly impaired? Their Land Forces wasted and consumed at *Hispaniola*, *Jamaica*, *Mardike*, and elsewhere? Their Shipping lessened and diminished; their Stores and Provisions for Sea and Land expended and consumed, without Profit; their Magazines emptied; their Treasures wasted; their Trade, in a great Measure, lost and decayed; and very great New Debts contracted,

contracted, little of Old being satisfied? And whether all this be not the bitter Fruit of Apostacy and Treachery, and setting up a Single Person, as Chief Magistrate, contrary to Engagements, and the casting away of that Righteous Cause of Freedom, Justice and Righteousness, this Land was so engaged in?

Lastly, Whether the Protector (so called) will not, in all Likelihood, dissolve the next Parliament also, if they begin to Question and make Debates of former Transactions, and do not presently, without any Disputing, proceed to perfect the Model of the *Humble Petition and Advice*? What Assurance shall be given to the Countries and Cities that shall chuse, or to the Gentlemen chosen, that they shall not be served as those were? And whether, if the honest Citizens shall begin to make ready their former sober and very worthy *Petition*, or one of the like Nature, it will not be looked at again as a Crime little less than Treason at the Court, and become a Means of sudden Dissolution to the next Parliament also? Alas for poor *England*! What will become of thee in the End? How hast thou lost thy self and thy good Old Cause? And whither will these Masters of Bondage carry thee?

*A LIST of their Names who were taken out of the House, and Others, (being * Forty-three in Number) who sate in the Other House, so greatly designed for a House of Lords; with a brief Description of their Merits and Deserts: Whereby it may easily appear how fit they are to be called (as they call themselves) LORDS; as also being so very deserving, what Pity it is they should not have a Negative Voice over the Free People of this Common-wealth.*

1. *R*ichard Cromwel, Eldest Son of the Protector (so called) a Person of great Worth and Merit, and well skilled in Hawking, Hunting, Horse-racing, with other Sports and Pastimes; one whose Undertakings, Hazards and Services, for the Cause, cannot well be numbered, or set forth, unless the Drinking of King *Charles's*, or (as is commonly spoken) his *Father's Landlord's Health*; whose Abilities in Praying and Preaching, and Love to the Sectaries, being much like his Cousin *Dick Ingoldsby's*, and he so very likely to be his Father's Successor, and to inherit his noble Virtues, in being the *Light of the Eyes*, and *Breath of the Nostrils* of the Old Heathenish, Popish Laws and Customs of the Nation (especially among the Learned) the University of *Oxford* have therefore thought fit (he being also no very good Scholar) to chuse him their Chancellor. And though he was not judged meet (not having a Spirit of Government for it) to have a Command in the Army, when there was Fighting, or Honest and Wise enough to be one of the Little Parliament, yet is he become a Colonel of Horse, now Fighting is over; as also taken in one of the Protector's Council, and one of the Other House, and to have the first Negative Voice over the good People of this Common-wealth, being in so hopeful a Way to have the great Negative Voice over the Whole, after his Father's Death.

2. Commissioner *Fiennes*, Son of the Lord *Say*, a Member sometime of the Long Parliament, and then a Colonel under the Earl of *Essex*; had the Command and Keeping of *Bristol*, but gave it up Cowardly, (as is said) for which he had like to have lost his Head; he being a Lover of Kingship and Monarchy (as well as his

* All of them, but four, are Salary-Men, Sons, Kinsmen, and otherwise engaged to the Protector, and allied to his Confederates.

Father)

Father) was taken in by the Protector, at his first setting out, to be one of his Council, and made Commissioner of the Great-Seal, as also Keeper of the Privy-Seal; whereby his Interest and Revenue is raised from two or three Hundred * *As saith the* *per Annum*, to two or * three Thousand, and more: And for his Book of Rates, Merits and Greatness (being after the Old Mode) he was taken out of the late Parliament, to be the Mouth of the Protector in that Other House, and so is fit, no Question, to have the second Negative Voice over the good People of these Lands.

3. *Henry Lawrence*, a Gentleman of a Courtly Breed, and a good Trencher Man; who when the Bishops ruffled in their Pride and Tyranny, went over to *Holland*, afterwards came back, and became a Member of the Long Parliament; fell off at the beheading the late King and Change of the Government, for which the Protector (then Lieutenant-General) with great Zeal declared, *That a Neutral Spirit was more to be abhorred than a Cavalier Spirit; and that such Men as he were not fit to be used in such a Day as that, when God was cutting down Kingship Root and Branch*; yet came in Play again (upon Design) in the Little Parliament, and contributed much to the Dissolving of them, as also setting up the Protector, and settling the Instrument of Government and a Single Person; affirming, *That other Foundation could no Man lay*. For which worthy Services, and as a Snare or Bait to win over, or at least quiet the Baptized People (himself being under that Ordinance) he was made and continued President of the Protector's Council, where he hath signed many an Arbitrary and Illegal Warrant for the carrying of honest faithful Men to Prisons and Exile, without Cause, unless their not Apostatizing with them from just and honest Principles. His Merits are great and many, being every way thorough paced, and a great Adorer of Kingship; so as he deserveth, no Doubt, and is every way fit, to be taken out of the Parliament, to have the third Place of Honour, and Negative Voice in the Other House over the People of these Lands.

4. Lieutenant-General *Fleetwood*, a Gentleman formerly of the Long Parliament, and a Colonel of their Army; then Lieutenant-General, afterwards married honest *Ireton's* Widow, the Protector's Eldest Daughter. Major-General *Lambert* being put by, by the Parliament, from going over to *Ireland*, as Lord-Lieutenant, it favouring too much of Monarchy, and being not willing to accept of a lower Title, he was sent over thither, under the Title of Lord-Deputy, in his Room, where he continued about three Years: And to put a Check upon those Godly Men there, who are no Friends to Monarchy, he was sent over again, and cajoled in to be one of the Protector's Council, as also Major-General of divers Counties in *England*, his Salary supposed worth † 6600 *l. per Annum*; by all which he is become advanced to a Princely Interest and Revenue. He is one of good Principles, had he kept them, and of good Words, like his Father-in-Law, whereby he hath deceived many an honest Man, and drawn them from the good Old Cause, and by that Way hath greatly served the Protector's Designs. His Merits therefore are such as he, no Question, also deserves to be taken out of the House, and made a Peer, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, when it shall be named *Lords*; notwithstanding he so helped in the Army and Long Parliament to throw down the House of Lords, and to destroy their Negative Voice, and did Fight against it in the King.

5. Colonel *Desbrow*, a Gentleman, or Yeoman of about sixty or seventy Pounds *per Annum*, at the Beginning of the Wars; who being allied to the Protector, by Marriage to his Sister, he cast away his Spade and took a Sword, and rose with him in

in the Wars, and in like Manner, upon the Principles of Justice and Freedom, advanced his Interest very much. If he were not of the Long Parliament, he was of the Little One, which he helped to break. Being grown considerable, he cast away the Principles by which he rose, and took on Principles of Violence and Tyranny, and helped to set up the Protector, for which he was made one of his Council, and one of the * Generals at Sea, and hath a Princely Command at Land, being Major-General of divers Counties in the West, as also one of the Lords of the *Cinque-Ports*. His Interest and Greatness being so far advanced, his Merits must needs be Great, and he every way fit to be taken out of the House, and put into the Other House, with a Negative Voice over the good People, for that, with his Sword, he can set up that again in the Protector and Himself, which before he cut down in the King and Lords.

* *His Salary*
3236l. per Annum. *See the former Narrative, or Book of Rates.*

6. Lord-Viscount *Lisle*, Eldest Son of the Earl of *Leicester*. He was of the Long Parliament to the Last, and at the Change of Government, and making Laws Treason against a Single Person's Rule, and, no Question, concurred with the rest therein. He was also of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; was all along of the Protector's † Council, and was never to seek; who having learned so much by changing with every Change, and keeping still (like his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Salisbury*, and *Peter Sterry*) on that Side which hath proved Trump, nothing need farther be said of his Fitness (being such a Man of ‖ Principles) to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a settled Negative Voice in the Other House over all the good People of these Lands, he being a Lord of the Old Stamp already, and in Time so likely to become a Peer.

† *His Salary*
1000l. per Annum.

‖ *Ask his late Wife's Sister, the Lady Sands.*

7. Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Knight of the Old Stamp, and of a considerable Revenue in *Northampton-shire*; one of the Long Parliament, and a great Stickler in the Change of the Government, from Kingly to that of a Common-wealth; helped to make those Laws of Treason against Kingship, hath also changed with all Changes that have been since. He was one of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, as also of all the Parliaments since; is one of the Protector's § Council; and, as if he had been pinned to his Sleeve, was never to seek: is become High-Steward of *Westminster*; and being so finical, spruce, and like an old Courtier, is made Lord-Chamberlain of the Protector's Household, or Court. So that he may well be counted fit and worthy to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, though he helped to destroy it in the King and Lords. There are more besides him, who make themselves *Transgressors*, by building again the Things which they once destroyed.

§ *His Salary*
1000l. per Annum, besides his other Places.

8. *Walter Strickland*, sometime Agent, or Ambassador to the *Dutch*, in the *Low-Countries*, from the *Long Parliament*, and a good Friend of theirs; at length became a Member of that *Parliament*; was also of the *Little Parliament*, which he helped to break; was of the Parliament since, and is now of the Protector's ** Council. He is one who can serve a Common-wealth and also a Prince, so he may serve himself and his own Ends by it; who having so greatly profited by attending the *Hogan Mogans*, and become so expert in the Ceremony Postures, and thereby so apt, like an Ape (with his Brother Sir *Gilbert*, and the President) to imitate,

** *His Salary*
1000l. per Annum, besides other Places.

or

or act the Part of an Old Courtier in the New Court, was made Captain-General of the Protector's Mag-pie or Gray-coated Foot-Guard, in *White-Hall* (as the Earl of *Holland* formerly to the King) who being every way of such Worth and Merits, no Question can be made, or Exceptions had against his Fitness to be taken out of the Parliament to exercise a Negative Voice in the Other House, over the People of this Common-wealth.

9. Sir *Charles Onseley*, a Gentleman who came something late into Play on this Side, being converted from a Cavalier in a good Hour. He became one of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set the *Protector* on the Throne; for which worthy Service, he was (as he well deserved) taken in to be one of his Council; was also of the Parliament since. A Man of Constancy and Certainty in his Principles, much like the Wind; and although he hath done nothing for the Cause, whereby to merit, yet is he counted of that Worth, as to be every Way fit to be taken out of the Parliament, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over such as has done most, and merited highest in the Cause, (the Protector and his Fellow Negative-Men excepted) and over all the Common-wealth beside.

10. Mr. *Rouse*, one of the Long Parliament, and by them made Provost, or Master of *Eaton* College. He abode in that Parliament, and helped to change the Government into a Common-wealth, and to destroy the Negative Voice in the King and Lords; was also of the Little Parliament, and their Speaker: who when the good Things came to be done, which were formerly declared for (and for not doing of which, the Old Parliament was pretendedly dissolved) being an *old Bottle*, and not so fit to bear that *new Wine*, without putting it to the Question, left the Chair, and went with his Fellow *Old-Bottles* to *White-hall*, to surrender their Power to the General, which he, as Speaker, and they by signing a Parchment or Paper, pretended to do. The colourable Foundation for this Apostacy, upon the Monarchical Foundation, being thus laid, and the General himself (as Protector) seated thereon, he became one of his

* *His Salary,*
for both Places,
1500 l. per Annum.

* Council (good old Man) and well he deserved it; for he ventured hard. He was also of the Parliament since; and being an aged, venerable Man (all Exceptions set aside) may be counted worthy to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, over all who shall question him for what he hath done, and over all the People of these Lands besides, though he would not suffer it in the King and Lords.

11. Major-General *Skippon*, sometime called *The honest English Captain in the Netherlands*, was afterward Captain of those of the *Artillery-Ground* in *London*; who refusing to attend the King at *York*, when he sent unto him, and adhering to the Parliament, was by them made Major-General under the Earl of *Essex*, under whom many an honest Man lost his Life, in fighting for the Cause of *Freedom* and *Justice*, and against the Negative Voice of the King and Lords, whose Blood will lie at some Bodies Door, and cry. He was of the Long Parliament, and helped to change the Government, and make the Laws of Treason against a Single Person's Rule, and was outed with them. After the Little Parliament (for endeavouring to bring forth what the Old Parliament was turned out for not doing) was dissolved, he was brought in

§ *His Salary,*
for both Places,
1666 l. 13 s. 4 d.

Play again by Means of *Philip Nye* (Metropolitan Tryer of *White-hall*) and made one of the Protector's § Council, and Major General of the City, in the Decimating Business; hath been of all the Parliaments since: who being so grave and venerable a Man, his Error, in leading Men to fight against the King's Negative Voice, may be for.

forgiven him, and he admitted as fit to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House himself, not only over those who have fought along with him, but all the People of these Lands besides; the rather, for that he is very aged, and not likely to exercise that Power long.

12. Colonel *Sydenham*, a Gentleman of not very much *per Annum* at the Beginning of the Wars; was made Governor of *Melcomb Regis* in the *West*; became one of the *Long Parliament*, and hath augmented his Revenue to some Purpose: he helped, no Question, to change the Government, and made those Laws of Treason against Kingship; was also of the Little Parliament, and of those that were since; one also of the Protector's * Council; hath a Princely Command in the Isle of *Wights*; is one of the Commissioners of the *Treasury*: By all which he is grown very great and considerable: And although he hath not been thorough-paced for Tyranny in the Time of Parliaments, yet, it being forgiven him, is judged of that Worth and Merit, as to be every way fit to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over all his Dependants, and all the People of these Lands besides, hoping thereby he may so be redeemed, as never to halt or stand off, for the future, in the Protector's Interest.

* His Salary for both Places
2000 l. per Annum.

13. Colonel *Montague*, a Gentleman of *Huntingdonshire*, of a fair Estate, a Colonel formerly in the Association Army, under the Earl of *Manchester*, where he for some Time appeared (while Colonel *Pickering* lived) to be a *Secretary*; and for Laymen's Preaching, as also a Lover of the Rights and Freedoms of the People, rather than of the Principle he now acts by; but that honest Colonel dying, some other Things also coming between, he became of another Mind. He gave off being a Soldier about the Time of the New Model, it is likely, upon the same Account with Colonel *Ruffel*; did not greatly approve of Beheading the King, or Change of the Government, or the Armies last March into *Scotland*, as the Protector (then General) may Witness; yet after the War was ended at *Worcester*, and the Old Parliament Dissolved, he was taken in (though no Change appearing from what he was before) to be of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to set up Monarchy a-new in the Protector, which he designedly was called to do; for which worthy Service, he was made one of the Council, † a Commissioner of the *Treasury*, and one of the Generals at Sea; he was of the Parliaments since: all which considered, none need question his Fitness to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, not only over the *Treasury* and Seamen, but all the good People of these Lands besides.

† His Salary
3095 l. per Annum.

14. Colonel *Philip Jones*. His Original is from *Wales*. At the first of the Wars he had about 17 or 20 l. *per Annum*, and improved his Interest upon the Account of the Cause; first was an Agent for some Parliamenters to *London*; where gaining Acquaintance, and making good Use of them, he became Governor of a Garrison, then a Colonel, as also Steward of some of the Protector's Lands in *Wales*, and one of the *Long Parliament*; after of the Little Parliament, which he helped to break, and to advance the General, his Master, to be Protector; for which goodly Service, himself was advanced to be one of his Council, afterwards Comptroller of his Household, or Court. He made Hay while the Sun shined, and hath improved his Interest and Revenue in Land (well gotten, no Question) to 3000 l. *per Annum*, if

¶ If Part of the Purchase Money was not paid with the great Bribe of about 3000 l. for which (as it is credibly reported) he hath been privately questioned, he would do well to clear himself, being very much suspected, having gotten so great an Estate, in so short a Time.

not more. He is also very well qualified with Self-denying Principles to the Protector's Will and Pleasure: so as he is fit, no Doubt, to rise yet higher, and to be taken out of the House, to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, over all the good People in *Wales* (if they please) and over all the Commonwealth beside, whether they please or not. All have not lost by the Cause, though some have.

15. Commissioner *Lisle*; sometime a Counsellor in the Temple; one of the Long Parliament, where he improved his Interest to Purpose, and bought State-Lands Good and Cheap; afterwards became a Commissioner of the Great Seal, and helped in Parliament to change the Government from Kingly to Parliamentary, or of a Commonwealth; changed it again to Kingly, or a Single Person, and did swear the Protector at his first Installing Chief Magistrate, to the Hazard of his Neck, contrary to four * Acts of Parliament, which he helped to make, with others, that make it Treason so to do. He hath lately retired, for Sanctuary, into Mr. *Rowe's* Church, and is still Commissioner † of the Seal; and being so very considerable in Worth and Merit, is also fit to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the good People, and all such who shall any way question him. He is since made President of the High Court (so called) of Justice.

* See these Acts in a Book called The Looking-Glass, pag. 43, 44.
† Salary 1000l. per Annum.

*Treason does never prosper: What's the Reason?
For when it prospers, none dare call it Treason.*

16. Chief-Justice *Glyn*; sometime a Counsellor at Law, and Steward of the Court at *Westminster*, formerly one of the Long Parliament, and who helped to bait the Earl of *Srafford*, and bring him to the Block; was Recorder of *London*, and one of the Eleven Members impeached by the Army of ¶ Treason, and by that Parliament committed to the Tower. The Protector (through Apostacy) assuming the Government, took him up, and made him a Judge; and finding him so fit for his Turn, did also make him Chief-Justice of *England*: so that, of a Little Man, he is grown up into a Great Bulk and Interest, and of complying Principles to the Life, who being so very useful to advance and uphold the Protector's great Negative Voice, is thereby, questionless, in his Sense, fit to be taken out of the ** House, and to have a Negative Voice himself, in the Other House, not only over the People, but over the Law he is to be Chief-Judge of, and in a Capacity to hinder that no good Law, for the future, may be made for the Ease of the People, or Hurt of the Lawyers Trade.

** His Salary 1000l. per Annum.

17. *Bulstrode Whitlock*; formerly a Counsellor at Law; one of the Long Parliament; profited there, and advanced his Interest very greatly; became one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal; one who helped to change the Government, and make Laws against a Single Person's Rule. In the time of the Little Parliament, he went Embassador to *Sweden* in great State: That Parliament being Dissolved, he agitated there for the Protector, then came over; and when some Alteration, and pretended Reformation was made in the Chancery, he stood off from being any longer a Commissioner of the Seal, and became one of the Supervisors of the Trea-

¶ He helped to raise the City against the Army, and made the Speaker flee to the Army for Shelter, and chose another Speaker in his Room in the King's Behalf; and a great deal more.

surey,

fury, at 1000*l.* *per Annum* * Salary. He is one who is guided more by † Policy than by Conscience; and being, on that Account, the more fit for the Protector's Service, there is no Question to be made of his Worth and Merit to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the People there, though he helped to put it down in the King and Lords.

* See Book of Rates.

† Ask George Cockain.

18. *William Lentbal*; a Counsellor at Law, made Speaker of the Long Parliament by the late King; fate it out in all its Changes, weather'd many a Storm and high Complaint made against him, and was too hard and weildly for all his Opposers: his Policy and good Hap carried him on so, as he ended his being Speaker, with the ending of that Parliament. For the Time of his Sitting, he advanced his Interest and Revenue very much; became Master of the *Rolls*; purchased Lands in others Names as well as in his own, for fear of the worst; he was (to be sure) at the Change of the Government from Kingly, or of a Single Person, and a House of Lords, as being *useless*, || *chargeable* and *dangerous*: || See two Declarations of Parliament; As likewise at the making those Laws of Treason against a Single Person, for the future, not yet repealed. The Little Parliament (where some of his Law-Judicature was questioned) being Dissolved, one against the Lords, the other against Kingship. and the Protector taking the Government upon him, he adventured to comply with the rest, notwithstanding the Danger, that so he might keep his Place and Interest, and avoid a new Storm or Frown from the present Power. Men need not seek far, or study much to read him, and what Principles he acts by. All Things considered, he may, doubtless, be very fit to be Lord of the *Rolls*, being Master already, and to be taken out of the Parliament, to be made a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the People, as well as over the Causes in the *Rolls*, being so thoroughly exercised in Negatives at his own Will and Pleasure, as too many have sadly felt.

19. Mr. *Cleypole*, Son of Mr. *Cleypole* in *Northamptonshire*, now Lord *Cleypole*. He long since married the Protector's Daughter; a Person, whose Qualifications not answering those honest Principles formerly so pretended to, of putting none but Godly Men into Places of Trust, was a long Time kept out; but since the Apostacy from those Principles, as also the Practice brake in, and his Father-in-Law (the Head thereof) came to be Protector, he was then judged good enough for that Dispensation, and so taken in to be ** Master of his Horse; ** His Salary (as Duke *Hamilton* to the King.) Much need not be said of him, is not well known. his Relation, as Son-in-Law to the Protector, is sufficient to bespeak him every way fit to be taken out of the House, and made a Lord; and having so long Time had a Negative Voice over his Wife, Spring-Garden, the Ducks, Deer, Horses and Asses in St. *James's* Park, is the better skilled how to exercise it again, in the Other House, over the good People of these Nations, without any Gain-saying or Dispute.

20. Lord *Faulconbridge*; a Gentleman whose Relations are most Cavaliers (his Uncle formerly Governor of *Newark* for the King against the Parliament was absent, over the Water, in the Time of the late Wars; a Neuter at least, if not disaffected to the Cause; came back, the Wars being over, and hath lately married one of the Protector's Daughters, and was in a fair Way (had Things hit right) to have been one of his Council, as well as his Son-in-Law; however (suitable to the Times) he is lately made a Colonel of Horse. His Relation both to the Old and New Monarchy,

may sufficiently plead his Worth and Merits, not only to have his Daughter, but also a Negative Voice, in the Other House, over all who adventured their Lives in the Cause formerly, and over all the People of these Lands besides.

21. Colonel *Howard*. His Interest (which is considerable) is in the North. His Relations there are most Papists and Cavaliers, whom he hath courted and feasted kindly, and served their Interest to Purpose; no Matter who lost by it: in Favour to Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*, was made Captain of the General's Life-Guard, when he was in *Scotland*, wherein he continued for some Time in *England*, after he was Protector; but not being a Kinsman, or a Person farther to be confided in, in that Place, was shuffled out from thence; and to stop his Mouth, made a Colonel, and, as the Book says, a Major-General, and had Power of Decimation, as also made Governor of *Berwick*, *Tinmouth* and *Carlisle*; hath also tasted, with the first, of that sweet Fountain of new Honour, being made a Viscount. He was of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since; is a Member of Mr. *Cockain's* Church, and of very complying Principles (no Question) to the Service of the new Court, from whence he received his new Honour; and having, with his Fellow-Lord *Gleypole*, so excellent a Spirit of Government over his Wife, Family and Tenants in the Country, to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, might seem of Right to belong unto him, being also Lorded before-hand.

22. Lord *Broghil*. His Rise and Relation, for Means, is *Ireland*. A Gentleman of good Parts and Wit, able to make a Romance, but was not looked on formerly, by those of the good Old Cause, as a Person fit to be trusted with the Command of one Town or Castle in *Ireland*; yet is he now, by this happy Change, become a goodly Convert to be confided in, and is made * President of the Protector's Council in *Scotland*. He was of the Latter Parliaments; a great Kingling, and one who, in the Last Parliament (so called) put on hard that Way: wherefore it were great Pity, he being also a Lord of the Old Stamp, and so well gifted, if he should not be one to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the People of *England* and *Scotland*, as well as of *Ireland*; it being a good while since, and almost forgotten, that the Protector said, *It would never be well, and we should never see good Days, while there was one Lord left in England, and until the Earl of Manchester was called Mr. Montague.*

23. Colonel *Pride*, then Sir *Thomas*, now Lord *Pride*; sometime an honest Brewer in *London*; went out a Captain upon the Account of the Cause, fought on, and in Time became a Colonel, did good Service in *England* and *Scotland*, for which he was well rewarded by the Parliament: with cheap Debenters, of his Soldiers and others, he bought good Lands at easy Rates; gave the Long Parliament a Purge, fought against the King and his Negative Voice, and was against the Negative Voice of his Brethren, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, being unwilling to have any in the Land; but hath now changed his Mind and Principles with the Times, and will fight for a Negative Voice in the Protector, and also have one himself, and be a Lord; for he is a Knight of the New Order already, and grown very bulky and considerable: it is hard to say how the People like it. However, his Worth and Merits rightly measured, will, no Question, render him fit to be taken out of the House, to be one of the Other House, and to have a Negative Voice, not only over the Bears, but all the People of these Lands, though he did formerly

so oppose and fight against it: and the noble Lawyers will be glad of his Company and Friendship, for that there is now no Fear of his *banzing up their Gowns by the Scotch Colours* in Westminster-Hall, as he formerly so greatly boasted and threatened to do.

24. Colonel *Hewson*, then Sir *John*, now Lord *Hewson*; sometime an honest Shoemaker or Cocker, in *London*, went out a Captain upon the Account of the Cause, was very zealous, fought on stoutly, and in Time became a Colonel; did good Service both in *England* and *Ireland*, was made Governour of *Dublin*, became one of the Little Parliament, and of all the Parliaments since, a Knight also of the new Stamp. The World being so well mended with him, and the Sole so well stitched to the Upper Leather, having gotten so considerable an Interest and Means, he may well be counted fit to be taken out of the House, to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over all of the Gentle-Craft, and *Cordwainer's* Company in *London* (if they please:) but though he be so considerable, and of such Merit in the Protector's, as also in his own Esteem, not only to be a Knight, but also a Lord; yet it will hardly pass for current with the good People of these Lands, it being so far beyond the Last; neither will they think him fit (saving the Protector's Pleasure) to have a Negative Voice over them, though he formerly fought so stiffly against it in the King and Lords, in order to set them free.

25. Colonel *Barkstead*, then Sir *John*, now Lord *Barkstead*; sometime a Goldsmith in the *Strand*, of no great Rank; went out a Captain to *Windsor* Castle, was some Time Governor of *Reading*, got at length to be a Colonel, then made Lieutenant of the *Tower*, by the Old Parliament. The Protector (so called) finding him fit for his Turn, continued him there, and also made him Major-General of *Middlesex*, in the Decimating Business, and Assistant to Major-General *Skippon* in *London*: he is one, to the Life, to fulfil the Protector's Desires, whether Right or Wrong, for he will dispute no Commands, or make the least Demur, but (in an officious Way) will rather do more than his Share. His Principles for all Arbitrary Things whatsoever, being so very thorough, let Friends or Foes come to his Den, they come not amiss, so he gets by it; yea, rather than fail, he will send out his armed Men to break open honest Mens Houses, and seize their Persons, and bring them to his Goal, and then at his Pleasure turn them out. He hath erected a Principality in the *Tower*, and made Laws of his own, and executes them in a Martial Way over all Corners; so that he hath great Command, and makes Men know his Power. He was of the Latter Parliaments; is one of the Commissioners (like the Bishops Panders in the King's Days) for suppressing Truth in the Printing-Presses, an Oppression the Army once so greatly complained of; is, for Sanctuary, gotten to be a Member of Mr. *Griffith's* Church; is also Knighted after the New Order: and, the better to carry on the Protector's Interest among the Ear-boar'd, Slavish Citizens, is lately become an * Alderman: so that he hath advanced his Interest and Revenue to Purpose. His Titles and Capacities, emblazoned, will sufficiently argue his Worth and Merits, and speak him out fully to be a Man of the Times, and every Way deserving to be yet greater, and (*Haman-like*) to be set higher. All which considered, it would seem a Wrong not to have taken him out of the House, and made him a Lord of the Other House, with a Negative Voice there, as well as where he is; the rather, for that he knows so well how to exercise the same, having used it so long a Season, as likewise that he may obstruct and hinder whoever shall question or desire Justice against him for his wicked Doings.

* His Salary
2000 L. per An-
num.

26. Colonel

26. Colonel *Ingoldsby*; a Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, allied to the Protector. He betook himself to the Wars on the Right Side as it happened, and in Time became a Colonel: a Gentleman of Courage and Valour, but not very famous for any great Exploits, unless for beating the honest Inn-Keeper of *Aylisbury* in *Whitehall*; for which the Protector committed him to the Tower, but was soon released: No great Friend of the *Sectaries* (so called) or the Cause of Freedom then fought for, as several of his then, and now Officers and Soldiers can witness; and although it be well known, and commonly reported, "That he can neither Pray nor Preach;" yet complying so kindly with the new Court, and being in his Principles for Kingship, as also a Colonel of Horse, and the Protector's Kinsman, he may well be reckoned fit to be taken out of the House and made a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, over the good People of this Land; the rather, for that he, as a Gentleman, engaged and fought only for Money and Honour, and nothing else.

27. Colonel *Wbaly*; formerly a Woollen-Draper or petty Merchant in *London*, whose Shop being out of Sorts, and his Cash empty, not having wherewithal to satisfy his Creditors, he fled into *Scotland*, for Refuge, till the Wars began, then took on him to be a Soldier, whereby he hath profited greatly; was no great Zealot for the Cause, but happening on the Right Side, he kept there, and at Length was made Commissary-General of the Horse: he was of these latter Parliaments, and being

so very useful and complying to promote the Protector's Designs, was
 * *His Salary*, made * Major-General of two or three Counties: he is for a King,
 1141 l. 3 s. 3 d. or Protector, or what you will, so it be liked at Court; is, with his
 little Brother *Glyn*, grown a Great Man, and very considerable, and
 wiser (as the Protector saith) then Major-General *Lambert*; who having, with his
 Fellow-Lords *Cleypole* and *Howard*, so excellent a Spirit of Go-

† *Note, that* government over his Wife and Family, being also a Member of †
Man for what *Thomas Goodwin's* Church, no Question need be made of his Merit
you may read of being every way fit to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the
in the Post- House, to have a Negative Voice in the other House, over the Peo-
script. ple, for that he never (as he saith) fought against any such Thing as
 a Negative Voice.

28. Colonel *Goff*, (now Lord *Goff* that would be) sometime Colonel *Vaughan's* Brother's Prentice (a Salter in *London*) whose Time being near or newly out, betook himself to be a Soldier, instead of setting up his Trade; went out a Quarter-Master of Foot, and continued in the Wars till he forgot what he fought for; in Time became a Colonel, and (in the outward Appearance) very zealous, and frequent in praying, preaching, and pressing for Righteousness and Freedom, and highly esteemed in the Army, on that Account, when Honesty was in Fashion; yet having at the same Time (like his General) an evil Tincture of that Spirit which loved and fought after the Favour and Praise of Man more then that of God, as by woful Experience in both of them hath since appeared, he could not farther believe or persevere upon that Account, but by Degrees fell off: and this was he who, with Colonel *White*, brought Musqueteers and turned the honest Members, left behind in the little Parliament, out of the House. Complying thus kindly with the Protector's Designs and

§ *His Salary*, Interest, was made § Major-General of *Hampshire* and *Sussex*; was
 1141 l. 3 s. 3 d. of the late Parliament; hath advanced his Interest greatly, and is in
 besides the Ma- so great Esteem and Favour at Court, as he is judged the only fit
 jor-Generalship. Man to have Major-General *Lambert's* Place and Command, as Ma-
 jor-General of the Army; and having so far advanced, is in a fair

Way to the Protectorship hereafter, if he be not served as *Lambert* was. He being
 so

so very considerable a Person, and of such great Worth, there is no Question of his Deserts and Fitness to be taken out of the House, to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the other House; the rather, for that he *never in all his Life* (as he saith) *fought against any such Thing as a Single Person, or a Negative Voice, but only to put down Charles, and set up Oliver; and hath his End.*

29. Colonel *Berry*: His Original was from the Iron-Works, as a Clerk or Overseer; betook himself to the Wars, on the Parliaments Side, profited greatly in his Undertaking, and advanced his Interest very far; who though he wore not a Jester's Coat, yet being so ready to act his Part, and please his General, in Time he became a Colonel of Horse in the Army, afterward a Major-General of divers Counties, a Command fit for a Prince, wherein he might learn to Lord it in an Arbitrary Way beforehand at his Pleasure. That he is of complying Principles with the Court, his Preferment sufficiently speaks out (neither ought any other be believed of him, or any of his Brethren, without a real Demonstration to the contrary) so that he may well pass for one to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice over the People, being so far advanced and gotten out of the Pit above them; and if he did formerly fight against a Negative Voice, and Lording it over the People, it may be forgiven him.

30. Colonel *Cooper*; sometime a Shop-keeper, or Salter in *Southwark*, a Member of *Thomas Goodwin's* * Church, one formerly of very high Principles for common Justice and Freedom, like his Brother *Tichborn*. The Army then in *Scotland*, sending into *England* for faithful, praying Men to make Officers of, the honest People in the Burrough recommended him to the General, in order to have a Command; who accordingly went down, but left his Principles behind him, and espoused others; was made a Colonel at the first Dash; and though he began late, yet hath so well improved his Interest, as he hath already gotten as many Hundreds *per Annum*, as he had Hundred Pounds when he left his Trade: he hath a Regiment of Foot in *Scotland*, and another in *Ireland*, where he is a Major-General of the *North*, in *Venables* Room, and Governor of *Carrickfergus*; so as he is in a very hopeful Way to be a Great Man indeed: he was of the latter Parliaments, and there is full Proof that he is every Way thorough-paced, and true to the new Court-interest: so that upon the whole, he also may be counted fit to be a Lord of the Other House, and to have a Negative Voice over the good People in *Southwark*, if they please, and all the People of these Lands beside; it being the Protector's Pleasure; the rather, he being the Mirrour of the Times for thorough Change of Principle, Alderman *Tichborn* and *O. P.* excepted.

* Note him for the goodly Speech he made to his new Protector.

31. Alderman *Pack*, then Sir *Christopher*, now Lord *Pack*. His rise formerly was by Dealing in Cloth: near the Beginning of the Long Parliament, was made an Alderman; was then very discreet, and meddled little, more like a Neuter or close Malignant, then a Zealot for the Cause; was a Commissioner of the Customs, also Sheriff, and Lord Mayor of *London* next after Alderman *Viver*: the Protector taking on him the Government, the Sunshine of the new Court pleased him, and brought him in full Compliance: he was one of the Last Parliament, and zealous to re-establish Kingship in the Person of the † Protector, and judged the only meet Man to bring the Petition into the House, *praying him to accept of, and take it upon him*;

† For which good Service, upon his Petition to the Protector, he discharged him from an Account of 16000 l. which he and others were liable to make good to the Treasury of the Customs.

which

which though he then refused, yet (as is reported) hath since repented his then Refusal. However, the now Lord *Pack* deserves well at his Hands for that good Service, who being a true Kingling, and of right Principles to the Court-interest, having also been a Lord (to wit, Mayor) once before, may upon the whole be counted very worthy to be again so called, and to have a Negative Voice in the other House over *London*, and all the People of these Lands beside.

32. Alderman *Tichborn*, then Sir *Robert* (Knight of the new Stamp) now Lord *Tichborn*. At the Beginning of the Long Parliament, when a great Spirit was stirring for Liberty and Justice, many worthy Petitions and Complaints were made against Patentees, the Bishops, and the Earl of *Strafford*: he being the Son of a Citizen, and Young, fell in and espoused the good Cause and Principles then on Foot, and thereby became very Popular, and was greatly cried up by the good People of the City, &c. His Rise was first in the Military Way, where he soon became a Colonel, and by the Parliament made Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*; and though he was a Colonel, yet never went out to fight, but became an Alderman very timely, and then soon began to cool and lose his former Zeal and Principles, and left off Preaching (as his Pastor Mr. *Lockyer* did the Church) to his Brother *George Cockain*. He was afterward Sheriff, and Lord Mayor in his Turn; was also of the Committees for the Sale of State-Lands, whereby he advanced his Interest and Revenue considerably: out of Zeal to the Public, he offered the Parliament to serve them freely, as a Commissioner of the Customs, whereby he supplanted another, and planted himself in his Room, and then, with the rest of his Brethren, petitioned the Committee of the Navy for a Salary, and had it. Notwithstanding he was so well rewarded for his Pains (after he had pretended to serve them for nothing) yet, with his Brother Colonel *Harvy* and Captain *Langham*, he came off bluely in the End. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to Dissolve it; one of the late Parliament also: he hath by Degrees sadly lost his Principles, and forgotten the good Old Cause, and espoused and taken up another, being so very officious for new Court-interest, and such a Stickler for them, he is become a great Favourite: it is not hard to read his Change, it being in so great Letters. All Things considered, he is (no Question) fit to be called Lord *Tichborn*; being also so willing to receive, and resolve to own that Title whoever maligns it, as also of the Judgment, *that whatever passes from him in any other Name, will be void in Law*: wherefore to have a Negative Voice, in the Other House, over *London*, and all the good People of these Lands, is very suitable to him. And what, though he was so great an Opponent to those Things formerly? That is no Matter; then was then, and now is now.

33. Sir *William Roberts*: a Gentleman, who in the Time of the Bishops Ruffling, went into *Holland*, and lived there for a Season: the Parliament Ruling, and in War with the King, came over again, and, after the then Mode, found Favour, having upon the forementioned Account been out of the Land, and was made a great Committee-Man, and in much Employment, whereby he well advanced his Interest, and is grown a Great Man. He was of the Little Parliament, and helped to break it, and then (according to *Rev. 11. 10.*) rejoiced and made merry with the rest of his Brethren, in Colonel *Sydenham's* Chamber, &c. as the Lawyers and other vile Persons made Bonfires, and drank Sack at the Temple and elsewhere. But if ever a Spirit of Life from God (which is not far off) comes in to raise up that Honest Spirit, by which some of them were acted, will not he, his Brethren, and the rest of that Earthly Rout (the false Spirit of Magistracy and Ministry) be tormented and afraid? He was of the Parliaments since, and no Doubt of right Principles to the Court.

Court-interest, wherein his own is bound up: Is one who helps on the Bondage in divers great * Committees where he sits; and is therefore, no Question, the more fit to be called Lord *Roberts*, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the People, being so greatly experienced in that Way already, having continued in the aforesaid Committee so long.

34. Colonel *John Jones*; a Gentleman of *Wales*, one of the Long Parliament, was a Commissioner in *Ireland*, for governing that Nation under the Parliament. One of good Principles, for common Justice and Freedom, had he kept them, and not fallen into Temptation: He helped to change the Government, and make those Laws of Treason against a Single Person's Rule; hath a considerable Revenue, and it is likely did not lose by his Employment: He is Governor of the Isle of *Anglesey*, and lately married the Protector's Sister, a Widow, by which Means he might have become a Great Man indeed, did not something stick, which he cannot well get down: He is not thorough-paced for the Court-proceedings, nor is his Conscience fully hardened against the Good Old Cause; but there is great Hope (no Question) that in Time he may be towardly; however, (for Relation sake) he may be counted fit (with his Name-sake and Countryman *Philip*) to be called Lord *Jones*, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over the People; and all his being against such Things, formerly, may be forgiven, and not once remembered against him.

35. Mr. *Edmond Thomas*; a Gentleman of *Wales*, of considerable Means, a Friend of *Philip Jones's*, and allied to *Walter Strickland*, both of the Council, and brought in upon their Account; and of complying Principles, no Question, to say no more of him (not having been long in Play) being none of the great Zealots or high *Sectaries* (so called) in *Wales*, may doubtless be counted Wise and Good enough to make a simple Lord of the Other House, and to be called Lord *Thomas*, and to have a Negative Voice over all the good People in *Wales*, with his Countrymen *John* and *Philip*, and over all the People of these Lands besides.

36 Sir *Francis Ruffel*; Knight-Baronet of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Cambridgehire*, of a considerable Revenue: In the beginning of the Wars was first for the King, then for the Parliament, and a Colonel of Foot under the Earl of *Manchester*; a Man (like *William Sedgwick*) high-flown, but not serious or substantial in his Principles; he continued in his Command till the new Model, then took Offence, and fell off, or laid aside by them; no great Zealot for the Cause, therefore not judged Honest, Serious or Wise enough to be of the Little Parliament, yet was of these latter Parliaments; is also Chamberlain of *Chester*, at about 500 *l. per Annum*: He married his Eldest Daughter to *Harry Cromwel*, second Son of the Protector, then Colonel of Horse, now Lord-Deputy (so called) of *Ireland*, another to Colonel *Reynolds*, a new Knight, and General of the *English* Army in *France*, under Cardinal *Mazarine*, since (with † Colonel *White* and others) cast away coming from *Mardyke*. There is no Question but his Principles are for Kingship and the New Court, being so greatly concerned therein: wherefore it were great Pity if he should not also be taken out of the House, to be a Lord of the Other House, his Son-in-Law being so great a Lord, and have a Negative Voice over *Cambridgehire*, and all the People of these Lands besides.

† *White*, who assisted Colonel *Goff*, to turn the honest Members left behind in the Little Parliament, out of the House. Let *Goff* look to it.

37. Sir *William Strickland*; Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Yorkshire*, and Brother to *Walter Strickland*; was of the Parliament a long Time, but hath now it seems, forgotten the Cause of fighting with, and cutting off the late King's Head, and suppressing the Lords, their House and Negative Voice: He was of these latter Parliaments, and of good Compliance, no Question, with the New Court, and settling the Protector anew in all those Things, for which the King was cut off: wherefore he is fit, no Doubt, to be taken out of the House, and made a Lord; the rather, for that his Younger Brother (*Walter*) is so great a Lord, and by whom, in all Likelihood, he will be steered to use his Negative Voice, in the Other House, over *Yorkshire*, and the People of these Lands, to the Interest of the Court.

38. Sir *Richard Onslow*; Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Surrey*, of good Parts, and a considerable Revenue: He was of the Long Parliament, and with much Ado (thorough his Policy) steered his Course between two Rocks, of King and Parliament, weathered some fore Storms: Was not his Man taken in his Company by the Guard in *Southwark*, with Commissions of Array in his Pocket from the King, and scurrilous Songs against the *Roundheads*? Yet by his Interest rode it out, till Colonel *Pride* came with his Purge, then suffered Loss, and came no more in Play till about *Worcester* Fight; when, by the Help of some Friends in Parliament, he was impowered to raise and lead, as Colonel, a Regiment of *Surrey*-Men against the *Scots* and their King, but came too late to fight, it being over: Being popular in *Surrey*, he was of the latter Parliaments; is fully for Kingship, and was never otherwise, and stickled much among the 70 Kinglings to that End; and seeing he cannot have Young *Charles*, Old *Oliver* will serve his Turn, so he have one; so that he is very fit to be Lord *Onslow*, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over *Surrey*, if they please, and all the People of these Lands besides, whether they please or not.

39. Mr. *John Fiennes*; Son of the Lord *Say*, and Brother to Commissioner *Fiennes*, brought in, it is likely for one upon his Score: Is in a kind such a one as they call a *Secretary*, but no great Stickler; therefore not being redeemed from the Fear and Favour of Man, will, it is probable, follow his Brother, who is (as it is thought) much steered by Old Subtilty, his Father who lies in his Den, (as *Thurloe* by his Master St. *Johns*) and will say *No* with the rest, when any Thing opposes the Interest of the New Court, their Power and Greatness; and may therefore pass for one to be a Lord, and to have a Negative Voice in the Other House over all in *Oxfordshire*, (the University Men only excepted) and over all the People of these Lands besides.

40. Sir *John Hubbard*; Knight-Baronet of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Norfolk*, of a considerable Estate, Part whereof came lately to him by the Death of a Kinsman: He was of these latter Parliaments, but not of the former; had meddled very little, if at all, in throwing down Kingship, but hath stickled very much in helping to re-establish and build it up again, and a great Stickler among the late Kinglings, who petitioned the Protector to be King; his Principles being so Right for Kingship and Tyranny, he is in great Favour at Court, as well as *Dick Ingoldsby*, and, no Question, deserves to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House, to exercise a Negative Voice, in the Other House, over all the good Men in *Norfolk*, and all the People of these Lands besides, being become so very Tame and Gentle.

41. Sir *Thomas Honywood*; Knight of the old Stamp, a Gentleman of *Essex*, of a considerable Revenue: He was a Committee-Man in the Long Parliament, and also

also a Military Man, and led, as Colonel, a Regiment of *Essex*-Men to the Fight at *Worcester*; came in good Time, and fought well against Kingship and Tyranny in the House of the *Stewarts*; was of the Last Parliament: He is not so wise as *Solomon*, or so substantial and thorough in his Principles for Righteousness and Freedom as *Job* (*chap.* 29.) but rather soft in his Spirit, and too easy (like a Nose of Wax) to be turned on that Side where the greatest Strength is: being therefore of so hopeful Principles for the New Court Interest, and so likely to comply with their Will and Pleasure, no Doubt need be made of his Fitness to be a Lord, and to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, over all the good Men in *Essex* (the now Lord of *Warwick*, the Protector's Brother-in-Law excepted) and all the People of these Lands besides.

42. Lord *Ewre*; a Gentleman of *Yorkshire*; not very bulky or imperious for a Lord. He was once well esteemed of for Honesty, and therefore chosen to be one of the Little Parliament; hath also been of all the Parliaments since. The *Yorkshire* Men haply may like his being new Lorded, and that he should have a Negative Voice over them; the rather, because they never chose him to any such Thing. The Protector being so well satisfied with his Principles, and Easiness (like his Fellow-Lord *Honywood*) to be wrought upon to do whatever their Will and Pleasure is, and to say, *No*, when they would have him; it is very meet he also pass for one to be taken out of the House, to have a Negative Voice in the Other House, not only over *Yorkshire*, but all the good People of the Common-wealth beside, being a Lord of the Old Stamp already.

43. Mr. *Hambden*; now Lord *Hambden*; a young Gentleman of *Buckinghamshire*, Son of the late Colonel *Hambden*, that Noble Patriot and Defender of the Rights and Liberties of the *English* Nation, of famous Memory, never to be forgotten, for withstanding the King in the Case of Ship-Money, being also one of the five impeached Members, whom the said King endeavoured to have pulled out of the Parliament, whereupon followed such Feud, War and Shedding of Blood. This young Gentleman, Mr. *Hambden*, was the last of Sixty-two who were added, singly by the Protector after the Choice of Sixty together: It is very likely that Colonel *Ingoldsby*, or some other Friend at Court, got a Cardinal's Hat for him, thereby to settle and secure him to the Interest of the New Court, and wholly take him off from the Thoughts of ever following his Father's Steps, or inheriting his Noble Virtues, as likewise that the honest Men in *Buckinghamshire*, and all others who are Lovers of Freedom and Justice, who cleaved so cordially to, and went so cheerfully along with his Father, in the Beginning of the late War, might be out of all Hopes of him, and give him over for lost to the good Old Cause, and inheriting his Father's Noble Spirit and Principles, though he doth his Lands. He was of the Latter Parliament, and found Right, saving in the Design upon which he was made a Lord after all the rest, and the Protector's Pleasure. It is very hard to say how fit he is to be a Lord, and how well a Negative Voice, over the good People of this Land, and his Father's Friends in particular, will become the Son of such a Father; and how well the aforesaid good People (now called *SecTaries*) will like of it: But being it is as it is, let him pass for one as fit to be taken out of the House, with the rest, to have a Negative Voice, and let him exercise it in the Other House, over the good People, for a Season.

Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*. * Lord? No; stop there! not Lord *Haslerigg*! A Knight
T 2 of

* [This Gentleman makes up the Number 44, tho' not figured like the r. s; nor indeed were more than 43 promised us, and they Members of his Highness the Protector's Other House, of which Honour, it seems, Sir Arthur was not deemed Worthy.]

of the Old Stamp, a Gentleman of a very large Estate and Revenue ; was one of the Long Parliament, and one of the five impeached Members, whom the King endeavoured to have pulled out of the House, with the others, but was hindered from doing it : Was a Colonel in the Army, and adventured far in the Wars, continued of that Parliament till the Dissolution thereof ; was also chosen of these latter Parliaments, but not permitted to Sit at the first. He was by the Protector (as may be seen in the printed *List*) cut out for a Lord of the Other House, and to have a Wooden Dagger (to wit, a Negative Voice) with the rest ; but he missed his Way, and instead of going into the Other House, among the Simple Negative-Men, the * Off-spring of the Bastard of *William* the sixth Duke of *Normandy*, he went into the Parliament-House among his Fellow *Englishmen*, and there spake freely, bearing a good Witness in Behalf of the good Old Cause, the Rights and Liberties of the People of *England* ; at which the Court were vexed and sore displeased. However, for all this Losing of his Way, and the Loss sustained by it, his Fame and Name among all true *English* Spirits, will be higher and more valuable than the simple Title of a *New Lord* could make him ; and instead of a Negative Voice in the Other House, he will be honoured by after-Ages as a rare *Phoenix*, that, of Forty-four, was found standing alone to his Principles, and the good Old Cause so bled for. O sad and wonderful ! but one of Forty-four to be found standing firm to so Noble a Cause as ever was on Foot since the World began ? Let all true *English* Spirits love and honour him, and that will be better than a *Feather in his Cap*, or a *Wooden Dagger*. His Name, for ever in the Chronicles, will live, as one who was a true Patriot of his Country's Liberties ; which Noble Action (if he persevere and be more refined in that honest Spirit) may deservedly obliterate all human Frailties and Miscarriages of his, during the Sitting of the Long Parliament, and the Free People of *England* may (doubtless) for ever bury them in Oblivion. No Question the Protector found he was mistaken in him, and that he was not fit to be a Lord, or to have a Negative Voice, being of no more complying Principles to his Interest and Designs, and the then New Model of Government, and will scarcely adventure to give him a second Invitation to that great Honour and Dignity, he so ungratefully and disdainfully slighted.

There was one or two more of the New Champions, who, with their Wooden Daggers, went into the Other House, to Fight against the Rights and Liberties of the good People of these Lands : But their Names being wanting, and not worthy the inquiring after, nothing can be said of their Noble Virtues, save that, in all Likelihood, they were of such Worthy Principles as their Fellows were of, and such as would concur to carry on any Design or Interest they should be put upon, and would say *No* with the rest, when any Thing came in Question that seemed to be against the Protector's Height and Absoluteness, or Interest of the New Court ; which he who hath but half an Eye may see was the only Design of calling them thither, as a *Balance of Government* to the Parliament, so greatly (though falsely) pretended for the Good of the People.

There

* See, *The Army's Declaration in Looking-Glass*, p. 5. (say they) *The first Ground and Rise of Tyranny over the Free People of this Nation, did proceed from the Bastard of William, the Sixth Duke of Normandy, who, to prevent the English of all Relief by their Parliaments, created Lords by his Patent and Prerogative, to Sit by Succession in the Parliament, as Representatives of his Conquest and Tyranny over us, and not by Election of the People, as the Representatives and Patrons of the Common-wealth ; and to make his Usurpation firm and inviolable, he subdued the Law-giving Power of the Free People in Parliament to the Negative Voice of himself and Posterity ; and under the Yoke of this Norman Captivity and Villainage, we have been held, by that Succession, to this very Day, &c. See, Large Petition, p. 11, 12. of that Book.*

There were also of this chosen Number of *Sixty-two*, some of the Old Earls and Lords, called Peers, who stood off (*viz.* three Earls, *Warwick, Musgrave* and *Manchester*, and two Lords, *Say* and *Wharton*) and sate not at all, disdaining, as some thought, to Sit with these new Up-start Lords; though others again apprehend, that this their Forbearance was only out of their old State-Policy, till they saw whether a House of Lords, formerly so abominated and thrown down (by the Consent and Desire of the good People) would again be reſented and eſtabliſhed, and then intended to come in; but I ſhall leave it. Some were in *Scotland*, *viz.* General *Monk*, Earl of *Caffis*, Lord *Warriston*, and Sir *William Lockhart*; which Perſons may alſo diſcover to him who hath but half an Eye, what a pitiful, carnal, low Deſign they are carrying on. Some in *Ireland*, *viz.* *Harry Cromwel*, Lord-Deputy (ſo called) Recorder *Steel*, and Colonel *Tomlinſon*. Some, it may be, had no great Mind to it, to wit, Colonel *Popham*, Mr. *Peirpoint*. Others, it is probable, were letted by Political or State-Illneſs, or other Occaſions, *viz.* Chief-Justice St. *Johns*, Mr. *John Crew*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*; ſo as they alſo appeared not, there being not above Forty-four or Forty-five, of that worthy Choice of *Sixty-two*, who Appeared and ſate there; and it is very likely ſome think there were too many of them.

Thus far the Deſcription and Narrative. Three or four General QUERIES are further propoſed, for a Cloſe to the Whole; and it is humbly offered to all ingenious People, and queried,

Fiſt; Whether if it ſhould come to paſs (as how ſoon we know not) that that Noble Spirit ſhould (like a Lyon raiſed from Sleep) riſe again in the *Engliſh* People, ſuch as it was in Forty-one or Forty-two, or about that Time, whether theſe Champions, with their *Feathers in their Caps*, and their *Wooden Daggers*, and thoſe Fifty-three Perſons who pretended to ſettle the Government by the *Humble Petition* and *Advice*, would be able to fight with, ſtand againſt, and overcome the ſame any otherwiſe than their Predeceſſors, the Lords Temporal, and the Biſhops, the Lords Spiritual, did then? And whether it would not, in all Likelihood, fare with them, and their Dependents, the Patentees of the Excife, and all others employed by them, who ſo oppreſs and impoveriſh the Nation, as formerly it did with them, if not far worſe? They may pleaſe to think of it at their Leiſure.

Secondly; Whether in theſe five Years now paſt of the Protectoral Government, that bleſſed Reformation which the Protector (then General) and other Grandees of the Army ſo often promiſed, and for not bringing forth of which they pretended they Diſſolved the Old Parliament, hath ſo been ſet upon, as to make any the leaſt Proceed therein? Or rather, hath there not been a gradual and an apparent Re-lapſing into thoſe very Evils and Enormities formerly ſo greatly ſhaken, and in ſome Degree broken, but now healed again of their Wound, and flouriſhing aſreſh with open Face; the Spirit of Wickedneſs and Profaneſs being riſen very high, even among Profeſſors, like the Unclean Spirit caſt out, and entering again? And in particular, that abominable Corruption and Abufe in the Law, and Adminiſtration of Juſtice, touching which the Protector (ſo called) ſometime ſaid, *It was not to be endured in a Chriſtian Common-wealth, that ſome ſhould ſo Enrich and Greaten themſelves in the Ruin of others*. So likewiſe that often complained-of Grievance of Tythes, touching which he alſo ſaid (as was lately atteſted in an open Court of Judicature, ſeveral ſtanding by to witneſs the Truth thereof, to whom the Words were ſpoken) *That if he did not take away Tythes, by the Third of September next, (to wit, 1654) or ſuch a Time, they ſhould call him the greateſt Juggler that ever was, and would juggle in all Things elſe*. Yet is there any Thing done in either of theſe? Or any Thing gone-about tending thereunto, now in theſe five Years? As

if it were so, that no Fruit would ever grow upon such a Tree, (*viz.* the Monarchical Foundation) which the Lord hath *pulled up* and *curfed*, as the *barren Fig-tree* was: only there is one goodly Amendment, to wit, a Confirmation of the Act for *Treble Damages*, to the Undoing of many an honest Man, who upon conscientious Grounds, do scruple the Payment of them. And as for the Law and the Lawyers, they are as before, if not much worse; and is there any Ground of Hope that the next five Years (should he continue so long) will produce any better Fruit than the five that are already past?

Thirdly; Whether this Calculation of these Ignoble Lords of the New Stamp, being of several Complexions, and standing in the afore-mentioned Capacities and Relations, having also such Dependence upon, and lying under so great Engagements unto the Protector (so called) as his Sons and Kindred, flattering Courtiers, corrupt Lawyers, degenerated Sword-Men, and a Sort of luke-warm, indifferent Country-Knights, Gentlemen and Citizens, most of them Self-interested Salary-Men, be not likely (according to the very specious Pretence) to prove a brave Balance of Government? And whether the good People of this Land are likely to have their just Rights and Freedoms, or Religious Men the Liberty of their Consciences by this Constitution, any otherwise, than according to the Pleasure of the Protector and the Court, or than they had in the Time of the late King? And whether this Calculation were made to any other End than so?

Lastly; Whether all Things soberly weighed and considered, the Times be now so Happy and Blessed as some do loudly bespeak them to be? And whether, for the future, we are likely to have such Prosperity, Success and Good Days, as some so largely promise themselves, and others, it may be, expected? Or whether such Smiling upon old Wickedness, and Frowning and Turning the Back upon Righteousness, suppressing its Growth, be any comfortable Ground for such Hope and Expectation? Or whether, upon the whole Series of Things, as they now appear, there be not rather to be expected some sadder Matter, if the LORD in Mercy prevent not? Let the Wise in Heart consider.

Reader, if thy Patience be not quite worn out, read the following *Postscript*, which makes Mention of the late flattering *Ad-dresses*, &c. it may concern Thee. As also a Vindication of that faithful Friend to the Cause of God and his People, Mr. *John Portmans*, (late Secretary to the Fleet under General *Blake*) now Prisoner, for Truth, in the *Tower*, whom that lying Court-Pamphleteer *Nedham* hath falsely aspersed and reproached in the late *Diurnals*.

A POSTSCRIPT to the READER.

THE foregoing Narrative was composing and preparing to have come forth (like Apples of Gold, in Pictures of Silver) in the fittest Season, during the Lifetime of Oliver, the late Protector (so called) and calculated for that End, among others, that,

that, as in a Glass, he might clearly see his Mutability and Changeableness in his Principles, as also his Judas-like Treachery and Deceit, and how wickedly he had dealt with the Lord, his People, and the Nation, and the Righteous Cause on Foot therein. But the Lord having, in Answer to the earnest Desires and Prayers of some of his faithful Remnant, and in great Mercy to the Nation and the good People therein, and the Righteous Cause, removed and taken him out of the Way, it was thought fit however to publish it, for the Sake of his Associates and Confederates he hath left behind him, who may happily make some Use of it; as also that the Standers-by, yea the whole Nation, might likewise see and judge of what hath lately fallen out in this our Day.

It is said of Jeroboam, the Son of Nebat, That he not only sinned himself, but made Israel to sin; and there were those of his Confederates who then sinned with him, and after he was dead and gone, of whom it is recorded, That they walked in the Ways, and departed not from the Sins of Jeroboam the Son of Nebat, who made Israel to sin. 1 Kings 15. 34. compared with 2 Kings 17. 21, 22.

The Parallel hereof we have in England in this our Day: Oliver, the late Protector (so called) who (Jeroboam-like) so greatly appeared with the People for Justice and Freedom against Oppression, highly professing and declaring for the same, hath sinned in the Breach of those Protestations and Declarations, in building again those Things he had been so greatly instrumental to destroy; therein surpassing not only the Deeds of the Wicked who were cut off upon the like Account, but also of Jeroboam, who never made such Professions and Declarations as he had done.

There also are of his Confederates (as the Confederates of Jeroboam) who sinned with him in his Apostacy and Revolt, and do yet continue in those Sins, and walking in his Steps now he is dead and gone, as if they took no Notice of the Displeasure and Wrath of God revealed from Heaven against him, in cutting him off for his Unrighteousness. Israel smarted sorely for their Evil, and at last were carried away Captive: England hath likewise suffered, and is brought very low, as Tradesmen of all Sorts, Shop-keepers and others, both in City and Country, find by such sad and woful Experience, as they never did before, nor in the Memory of Man was the like ever known or heard of; and what they may further suffer, the Lord (who will not be mocked) only knows.

For how unworthy are the People of this Generation, not only the more dark and sordid, but too many who profess to be Saints, and are Pastors and Members of Churches, nay, some who are Mercurial and more high-flown, who once spake the Language of Zion, and highly appeared for the Good Old Cause, who notwithstanding they have seen the mighty Arm and Power of God displayed, in bringing down the unrighteous, oppressive, high and lofty Ones (with their Foundation) for their Unrighteousness and Oppression, yet have so far forgotten the Good Old Cause so signally owned from Heaven, and are so besotted and degenerated into a self-seeking, slavish and enslaving Spirit, as they not only justify, but strengthen their Hands, who (instead of pressing forward with more Refinement in that Work and Cause, leading to what it shall be when the Promises and Prophecies, relating to the Kingdom of Christ and Zion, shall be fulfilled) have made a Captain or Protector, and are gone back to Egypt, (so wit, the old wicked Foundation and Things of Monarchy that have been destroyed) and thereby, under a new Name, upholding and keeping the People under the old Oppressions: And do say of * Oliver, their late Egyptian Captain, who * In their Ad-
hatched this Cockatrice Egg, and brought forth all this Wickedness, dresses to his Son
and thereby did more Hurt to the Nation than ever he did it Good, Richard his so
and for which his Memory will deservedly for ever stink in the No- worthy Succes-
strils of the Lords Faithful People, That he was a Moses, the Great for.

Father and Protector of his People, our late Most Worthy Prince, who used all Means to deliver us from Bondage, by whom we enjoy Freedom in
Spiritual

Spiritual and Civil Concernments, &c. Most Excellent Prince of Happy Memory, the Famous Champion of our Liberties, &c. the Father, Protector and Buckler of these Nations, and the People of God, who rescued, procured and maintained our just Liberties to us, &c. the Great Asserter of the Liberties of God's People, and a Lover of their Civil Rights, &c. who well deserves to be a Pattern to all succeeding Princes, &c. our Gracious Benefactor, a Nurling Father to his People, by whose Hand the Yoke of Bondage hath been broken, both from the Necks and Consciences of good People, &c. an Instrument of unspeakable Blessings, all whose great Enterprises the Lord constantly prospered with high Success, &c. the

† Have you forgotten Hispaniola and the War with Spain?

great Protector of our Peace and Joy, who admirably got and † never lost, but left three Nations in Peace, &c. We cannot but deeply resent that sad Stroke of Providence that took away the Breath of our Nostrils, and smote our Head from off our Shoulders, your Highnesses Most Graciously Renowned Father. Our *Elijah*, &c. your most Illustrious, Accomplished, most Glorious, Heroical, most Renowned, Blessed, most Holy, Serene, Princely Father, that Sacred Person, the Delight of our Eyes, our Glorious Sun is set, that unspeakable Loss, the Light of our Eyes, and Breath of our Nostrils, &c. But alas! this our *Moses* the Servant of the Lord is dead; and shall we not Weep? If we Weep not for him, yet we cannot but Weep for ourselves; we cannot but look after him, crying, Our Father, Our Father, the Chariots of *Israel* and the Horsemen thereof, &c. *Falsely and wickedly alluding to Moses and Elijah, those two for-ever-to-be-honoured, faithful Servants of the Lord: with many other the like sawning, blasphemous, lying Expressions, have they, in those wicked Addresses, wherein they lie and flatter: for the Lord and his faithful Remnant know he was not so, especially in his latter Days, but was rather acted by the back sliding Spirit of Corah, Dathan and Abiram, as also the famous renowned Princes of the Congregation; yea, the Congregation itself, who rebelled against the Spirit of the Lord in Moses, Caleb and Joshua, &c. and would not press on to Canaan (the Work of that Day) but said, Let us make a Captain, and return into Egypt, Num. 14. and would have stoned Caleb and Joshua because they would have had them go forward: As also by the Spirit of Ahab, Jehu, and the rest of the back-sliding wicked Kings of Israel and Judah: The Spirit of the Beast and False Prophet in the former and present Monarchs of this and other Nations, whom the Lord hath, and will Disown and Curse; but not the Spirit of Elijah, Moses, Caleb and Joshua, the Lords faithful persevering ones of Old, as by what is before and afterwards mentioned doth too plainly and sadly appear: For he not only endeavoured to establish himself in this Tyranny, but, before his Departure, when he scarce has his Senses, or could hardly speak, appointed (as some report, though some think otherwise) his forementioned Eldest Son Richard, to succeed him in the Government to support and maintain that Apostacy and Wickedness which himself and Thurloe, &c. had been the first Contrivers, and then Actors of, thereby to hold us perpetually under the old Monarchical Egyptian Bondage; which was no sooner effected, and be proclaimed, but the aforementioned Addressors, as they blasphemously and flatteringly speak in way of honouring his Father, so in the same Addresses do they speak of him, falsely and wickedly alluding to good Joshua, Solomon and Elisha, who succeeded Moses, David and Elijah, after their Death, saying to this Purpose: We humbly beg, That though your Renowned Father, who as a designed Instrument, helped us out of Egypt (having Canaan in his Eye) was even then called to Mount Nebo, to die there; yet you, as another Joshua with his Spirit re-doubled upon you, may, by the efficacious Conduct of the Captain of the Lord's Host, lead us into a more full Possession of Truth and Righteousness, &c. In Times of Old, when God took away Moses from his People, in tender Mercy he gave them a Joshua to succeed him: Such are our Hopes of your Highness. God's Aim and End in taking away Moses,*

was

was to Usher you in, his *Joshua*, &c. But since it was the Will of God our Glorious Sun should Set, and that even while he was ascending, we ought to submit unto it: it is no little Alleviation to our Sorrow, that though our Sun be set, no Night hath followed, but our Evening hath been Light, by raising your Highness into your Royal Fathers Seat, &c. You are our Great Master, the Person designed by God and Man to reign over us, &c. It begets no little Joy in our Spirits, when we behold the Son of that Father, by a Divine Providence, succeed him in the Throne, by his own Appointment, given us as a most choice Legacy and his last Blessing, &c. A Pledge of Divine Love and Goodness to these Nations, &c. *Some saying*: If his Father had not appointed him to succeed him, the common Interest and Peace of the Nation, without God's Assistance, had perished together with him, &c. Happy Successor, in whom we shall be able to say, Mercy and Truth are met together, under whose Government Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other, of whose exceeding Vertues and Endowments we have had Experience, &c. God have been pleased, in the midst of Judgment, to remember Mercy, in appointing your Highness to succeed your Father; your most Excellent Serene Highness, a Branch of that Princely Stock, on you our Hopes rest, *Richard*, by the Grace of God, Lord Protector; your most Serene Highness, our Sovereign and General, the noblest Branch of that renowned Stock: *and desire*: That he might build up unto Perfection upon that (*wicked*) Foundation which his Fathers Blessed Hand had laid. And pray that the Spirit of their departed *Elijah*, even the Chariots and Horsemen of *Israel* might rest upon him, &c. *And a great deal more of this blasphemous, flattering Stuff, which would be too tedious to relate: which Addresses, The Humble Petition and Advice, being so often mentioned, and their desiring him to keep the Sword Military in his Hand, the Design in them, and Strain of Expressions so like to other, begets a shrewd Suspicion, they were rather hatched at the Courts, by Secretary Thurloe, and the old malignant Pamphleteer, lying, railing Rabskah, and Defamer of the Lord's People, Nedham, alias Mercurius Pragmaticus, who formerly wrote for the King against the Parliament; and by the Mercenary Emissaries and Agents suggested to, and forced upon the simple People (as the Addresses to his Father were formerly upon the Army and elsewhere, rather than their first Motion naturally flowing from the Addressers: which the Lord in due Time will discover: And not only these, but also that great Independent Doctor (so called) Thomas Goodwin; he (Aaron-like) comes in as a Leader, or one of the first among them, to encourage the rejoicing and dancing about this new Golden-Calf; and in the Speech that he made (pretendedly in the Name, and by the Appointment of the Pastors and Messengers of above 100 Congregational Churches, from several Parts of the Nation (as says the Pamphlet) says he, We come with hearty Acknowledgement of the best Liberties enjoyed under your Highness's, now Blessed Father, &c. all which have been continued to us through the Protection of the great Mordecai who sought the Weal of his People, and spake * Peace to all his Seed: blessed be God for his unspeakable Gift, &c. which we are here come jointly to acknowledge to your Highness, &c. We also come full of rejoicing, blessing God for so happy and quiet a Settlement of the Nation and Government, in your Person, and Succession: Solomon, though he had his Name from Peace, yet was not his first Entrance so Peaceable as this of yours, &c. And after mentioning about what they met at the Savoy, and that his Father knew of the meeting beforehand, and approved of it, and of a Declaration they had drawn up, to clear themselves from the Aspersions laid upon them, and laying down therein what the Principles of the Independents were, &c. And now (says he) we present to your Highness what we have done, and commit*

* Was imprisoning the Lord's People, for their Faithfulness to the Good Old Cause, and leaving them there when he died, a Mordecai's Spirit, and speaking Peace? Well said Doctor!

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to

to your Trust the common Faith once delivered to the Saints, the Gospel, and the saving Truths of it, being a national Endowment, bequeathed by *Christ* him self at his Ascension, and committed to some in the Nation's Behalf, committed to my

Trust, saith *Paul*, in the Name of the Ministers; and we look at the Magistrate as * *Custos utriusque tabule*, and so † commit it to your Trust as our Chief Magistrate, &c. and we bless you out of Zion, &c. *Which Practice and Speaking, especially considered as the*

Case now stands, and as to the Person to whom it is spoken, having also (according to the Doctor's Sense) no Footing in Scripture, is the Practice and Language of Babylon, and not of Zion, and greatly discovers that the poor Doctor never had a true Tincture within him, or Taste of Sweetness in Communion with God, in the Discovery of that Glory of Zion, and Kingdom of Christ, he so largely hath spoken and writ of, but had it from Books and Hear-say; for it is impossible that one who hath truly tasted of that Glory, except he be desperately insatuated, or holds Falling-away, should bring forth such cursed untimely Fruit, so contrary to the true Light and Spirit of Zion, as this is. Were not the Bishops, and the Simple Clergy, who were acted by their Fear or Favour, formerly condemned by him and others, for styling the late former Kings, Defenders of the Faith, and Supreme Heads of the Church, under Christ; so generally acknowledged in its Original to proceed from Harry the 8th, who for Self-Ends, not the Glory of God, de throne'd the Papal Power in England, and took the Pope's (usurped) Supremacy and Title of Defender of the Faith, as well as the Tythes and First Fruits, upon and to himself? Is it not the general received Principle of Independents and other Sectaries (so called) who are clear-sighted (and not without Ground) to plead against such a Tenet? But these Things declare, that Mr. Goodwin sucks such Sweetness from the great Sovereignty, Honour and Profit of Magdalen-College in Oxford, and hath therewith drawn in such a Tincture of that Spirit which naturally and usually breaths in Persons inhabiting those Places, as he is loth to be weaned from it; and therefore will, right or wrong, turn in and comply with any Thing, so he may keep his Interest there: It will be well for him if I am mistaken. But I leave what may farther be spoken on this Subject, to a better Pen, who may take it in Hand when his Book comes forth in Print. And together with him, that cringing Court-Chaplain Peter Sterry, who also bows to what-ever is uppermost, speaking higher then all this, as is credibly reported by several godly Men who heard him to their Astonishment: holding forth his Bible, in the Chappel of White-hall, he spake to this Purpose: That if that were the Word of God, then as certainly that Blessed Holy Spirit, (meaning the late Protector) was with Christ at the Right Hand of the Father; and if he be there, what may his Family and the People of God now expect from him? For if he were so useful and helpful, and so much Good influenced from him to them when he was here, in a Mortal State, how much more Influence will they have from him, now he is in Heaven? the Father, Son and Spirit, thorough him, bestowing Gifts and Graces, &c. upon them. And a great deal more to this Purpose: and as he spake thus blasphemously of his Father, so the same Spirit running in the aforementioned flattering Addresses, breathed from him to his Son (the now Protector so called) which also greatly discovers within what Walls he breaths. But I shall let the Father pass, and speak a little of the Son, his Successor, and in short, a little answer to those flattering, blasphemous, ungodly Expressions, couched in the late Addresses to him, as if he were a second Solomon, Joshua or Elisha. Oh you blasphemous, lying, flattering Sycophant Addressers in City, Country, Army, &c. or Off-spring of Thurloe and Ned-

† Do not these several Churches, by their Silence, hold forth, that they consent to what their Pastors and Messengers have done therein? and so are sa len in with, and Abettors of the Apostacy of this Day? And if it be not so, ought they not to declare against it?

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ham the Pamphleteer, who are so ready to cry up Adonijah the False, and to cry and keep down Solomon the true Spirit of Magistracy! give me Leave a little to reason with you: What eminent appearing Work of Grace, or of the Image of God, did you ever experience in and upon him, or heard of from others not acted by a self seeking, fawning, servile Spirit, but truly fearing the Lord? What eminent Action for God, his Cause or People, did you ever see or hear he did either in his Father's Life-time or since his Death, that you so highly speak, and allude as if he had a Joshua's, Solomon's, or an Elisha's Spirit? Is Hawking, Hunting, keeping Race-Horses, and riding Horse-Matches, to the endangering the Lives both of Horses and Men, wherein, for the most Part, the most carnal of Professors and the worst of Men are ofteneft exercised, and must therefore of necessity be his Companions, such a Demonstration of those noble Vertues and high Endowments you so speak of to be in him? Pray bear with me, that I thus reason with you; for my Spirit is grieved when-ever I read or think of these your late Addresses; and it is fully settled in my Heart, and I can believe no other, but that it is a carnal, unbelieving, selfish, filthy Spirit by which you are acted, and which the Lord, by his Spirit in his People hath already, and will farther discover, blow upon and consume. Do the following Words and Action declare him to be what you so speak of him? I will tell you what is commonly reported among honest Men, which I had from a good Hand, and am fully satisfied is very true, yea, and more than I shall here relate: One Cornet Sumpner, in Colonel Ingoldsby's Regiment, knowing the Wickedness and Naughtiness of Major Babington (Major thereof) to be such as to disown and brow-beat the honest Men in the Regiment, and to countenance Drunkards, Liars, Swearers and Haters of Goodness and good Men, being for a long Time grieved thereat in his Spirit, at length (by the Advice of some eminent in the Army) drew up several Articles to present to a Court-Martial, or elsewhere against him; which your most Illustrious, Serene and Renowned Protector, the Inheritor of his Father's Noble Vertues, hearing of, sends for the Cornet to come unto him: who when he was come, the Major, and Colonel Ingoldsby, &c. being also present, your Joshua, Solomon and Elisha spake after this Manner to him: Josh. What? have you Articles against your Major? Corn. Yes. Josh. What are they? Corn. A pretty Number of them. Then the Major began to answer to one, but nothing to the Purpose; but before the Major had done, your most Serene Protector, or Joshua, unjustly takes Part with the Major to help him out, saying to the Cornet, You Article against your Major because he is for me? you are a * Company of Mutineers, you deserve a Hundred of you to be hanged; and I will hang you, and strip you as a Man would strip an Eel; you talk of Preaching and Praying Men, they are the Men who go about to undermine me. And clapping his Hand upon Colonel Ingoldsby's Shoulder, said, Go thy way, Dick Ingoldsby, thou canst neither Preach nor Pray, but I will believe thee before I will believe twenty of them: And, says he to the Cornet, You never owned my Father; you have lost your Commission, and shall never ride more in this Army, &c. and a great deal more to this Purpose, which I leave to Pragmaticus (formerly the old, now the new Court-Pamphleteer) more perfectly to relate. Is this Speaking or Action, the Righteousness and Peace killing each other, that you so speak hath been since he took the Government upon him? Or would Joshua, Solomon or Elisha thus take Part with Wickedness and wicked Men, and do such unrighteous and wicked Actions, and speak thus profanely and wickedly? Surely no: Wherefore acknowledge your Iniquity, and lie low before the Lord for these your blasphemous, lying, flattering Expressions in your wicked Addresses, whereby you have so reproached and wronged good Joshua, Solomon and Elisha, in making such undue Comparisons: Wherefore repent, you flattering Courtiers, Peter Sterry, and ye other Court-Chaplains: Repent,

* Meaning the Officers who often met to seek the Lord, and bewail their Apostacy from the Good Old Cause.

repent, Thomas Goodwin, and ye Pastors and Messengers of (as it is said) above a Hundred Congregational Churches in England: Repent you Apostate Army; Repent you Mayor, Aldermen, Common-Council, and Militia of London, whose Principles are so base and mercenary, and like a Beast looking downward, as to side with (whether right or wrong) whatever is uppermost, like your Sword-Bearer and Officers, who cry Grace, Grace, and bow to one Lord Mayor to Day, and do the same to the next the Morrow. Repent also you Presbyterian Classical Ministers of the City, &c. who by the Persuasion of three or four eminent Self-interested Sycophants among you, were drawn in, against your Light and Consciences, to carry your Bodies to White-hall (leaving your hearty Good Will at Home) to address yourselves to this new Golden-Calf, as an Owning of him, and this from Unbelief and slavish Fear of being frowned upon, or losing your Parish-Places. Will such a Practice as this stand good before the Lord in the Day of your Account? Repent also all of you for your spending 50 or 60000*l.* about a Heathenish, Popish Funeral Pomp, not only wicked in itself, but at a Time when so many Tradesmen and others break and are ready to starve; and when you had done, then following an Image of Wax, to Westminster, as if it had been a dead Man's Body; wherein you lied unto, and mocked both God and Man. Repent also you Country Professors and Others of these flattering, blasphemous, lying Addressers, and speak nor do no more so wickedly, lest the Judgments of the Lord break in upon you, as upon back-sliding Israel of old, and your Carcasses fall in the Wilderness, &c. as theirs did, for making, and then dancing about the Molten-Calf, and their desiring to make a Captain to return into Egypt, and opposing the Spirit of the Lord in Moses, Caleb and Joshua, and his Work in that Day. And take Heed, Oh you Parliament, that you do not say or do as these have done: whom I so call, if you keep close to, and endeavour the Promotion of the Good Old Cause, and cast out the false Spirits of the Egyptian Bond-Woman, the Protector (so called) and his Lords, and make Way for, and bring the Spirit of Zion, the Free-Woman, the true Spirit of Magistracy, by Judges and Counsellors as at the Beginning, Men fearing God, and hating Covetousness, and faithful with all the Saints. If you thus proceed, my self, and the Lord's faithful People will Love, Own, Live, and Die with you; if not, we shall Abhor and Disown you as we did the former and now Protector and his Lords; and shall trust God with our Liberties, and not fear your Frowns.

And now a Word for your Encouragement, my Friends, who remain faithful to the Lord in this evil Day; and are, as it were, in the Clefts of the Rocks, (*Cant.* 2. 14.) and secret Places of the Stairs, in Pain, crying and praying Night and Day, giving the Lord no Rest (*Isa.* 62. 6, 7.) till he revive the Good Old Cause, and cause the Righteousness of Zion to go forth as Brightness, and the Salvation thereof as a Lamp that burneth, and until he make Jerusalem a Praise in the Earth: whose Voice, in his Account (going forth in the Power of his Spirit from the Sweetness you have tasted in Communion with himself in the Discovery of this Glory) is sweet, and Countenance is comely, and unto whom he will in the best Time say, Rise up my Love, my fair One, and come away; for lo, the Winter is past, the Rain is over and gone. *Isa.* 26. 20. The Flowers appear on the Earth, *Isa.* 35. 2. *chap.* 51. 3. The Time of the Singing of Birds is come, *Isa.* 35. 6. And the Voice of the Turtle is heard in our Land, *Zech.* 12. 10. And will rejoice over you as the Bridegroom over the Bride, with Joy and Singing, and will rest in his Love, *Zeph.* 3. 17. compared with *Isa.* 62. 5. Wherefore be not damped or discouraged in your Spirits at the Hearing and Sight of the late Addressers, nor at the great Cloud of Witnesses therein seeming to own the present and former Governor. What though many of them are Men of such raised Gifts and Parts, and appearing Grace, which to such as have not their Eyes in their Heads, and look not within the Veil, may have an Appearance the Lord doth own them, and approveth of what hath been formerly and lately done?

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For though they are so great a Cloud of Witnesses, yet they are but Witnesses in the Clouds, whose Testimony, Carnal Wisdom, Policy and Arm of Flesh, will pass away like the Morning Cloud, or early Dew: for the Spirit of the Lord in his People, like the Waters, Isa. 28. 17. hath over-flown, and looked into their hiding Place, abhorred and blown upon them; therefore follow not a Multitude to do Evil. What though there be so many Prophets, great Scholars, learned Astrologers, and Wise Men among them? Yet know, that among almost 400 Prophets, in the Days of Ahab and Jehosaphat, but one Micaiah, a True Prophet, who had the Mind of God, among all the Congregation that were going from Egypt to Canaan; among whom were many renowned Princes, Priests and Famous Men, yet only Moses, Caleb, Joshua, &c. who truly followed God, Numb. 14. Among all the Wise Men in Babylon, but one Daniel a True Prophet, Dan. 2. 19. But one Noah, a Preacher of Righteousness, and faithful in his Generation, before the Flood, Gen. 7. 1. One Lot in Sodom. Among the seven Churches, Rev. 2. 3. but two, to wit, Philadelphia and Smyrna, whom the Lord approves of; but the other so carried is (except a few among them) as he said it should be manifested they belonged rather to the Synagogue of Satan, than to the Churches of Christ. When the great Destruction comes upon wicked Men, a little before, or upon the Call of the Jews, but a Handful, or as the gleaning Grapes when the Vintage is done, shall lift up their Heads, and rejoyce and glorify God in the Fires, Isa. 24. They only who speak often one to another when Wickedness is set up, and they who tempt God are delivered; alluding to Israel, who would have made a Captain to return again to Egypt, or rather that the Apostacy of this our Day, that the Lord owns to those who fear him, and have the Promise of the Sun of Righteousness to arise upon them, Mal. 3. The false Spirit of Magistracy in Adonijah aspiring to the Government, had the Assistance of the King's Son, Abiathar the Priest, Joab the General, and all the Captains of the Host, &c. who with Slaying of Oxen, &c. Eating and Drinking, said, God save Adonijah, and carried it for a Time against Solomon: but the Spirit of Solomon, Nathan the Prophet, &c. who had the true Spirit of Government and Prophecy, approved not of, nor consented to it, but were for the true Spirit to rule, 1 Kings 1. and so it is at this Day; and blessed be the Lord that our Eyes do see a People crying, longing, and will not be at Rest till the earthy selfish Spirit of Magistracy be brought down, and the self-denying Spirit of Magistracy or Horn of David, now budding in Zion come in its Room, Psal. 132. Wonder not, neither be turned aside because of that great Multitude on the one Hand, or Smallness of the Number on the other, who truly and indeed appear for and own the Cause of God; but stand close, and be more refined in the Light and Spirit of Zion, and keep your Ground; for the Lord hath so appointed, That the Foot shall tread it down, to wit, the meanest of the Saints; for it is very probable that many of the great and wise Saints, according to Rev. 18. 4. shall be found in the Borders, and supporting the Things of Babylon, and casting out their Brethren (Isa. 66. 5.) saying, Let the Lord be Glorified; and having the Mist of Babylon before their Eyes, shall say, The Lord delays his Coming, and will be beating their Fellow-Servants, only the Feet (to wit, the upright Conversation) of these Poor Ones who desire to keep close to God, and not touch with Babylon; and Steps, to wit, the Faith, Prayers and honest Endeavours of these Needy Ones, who long for, and cannot be at Rest, till Judgment, so visibly, return unto Righteousness, that all the Upright in Heart may follow it: These shall tread down the lofty City, Isa. 26. The least of the Flock shall draw them out: the People that shall bring down the Enemies of God in the latter Days, are a very small and feeble Remnant: when the Lord comes to destroy Babylon, and to build up Zion, he will find but a few Upright Ones, and those very destitute, helpless, and some of them Prisoners too, for their Witness to the true Magistracy and Ministry of Zion, whose Prayers he will hear, and

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not despise, and bring forth to declare his Glory in Zion, who shall, in a Holy Triumph and Rejoycing, say, O Lord, thou art our God: we will exalt thee, we will praise thy Name, for thou hast done wonderful Things, thy Counsels of old are Faithfulness and Truth, &c. Lo, this is our God, we have waited for him, he will save us, we will be glad and rejoyce in his Salvation. Thou wilt keep him in perfect Peace whose Mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee. Trust in the Lord for ever, &c. Isa. 25. 1, 9. Chap. 26. 2, 3. Which good and comfortable Words shall certainly be made good; for Heaven and Earth shall pass away, but not one Title of the Word shall pass till all be fulfilled. I the Lord will hasten it in its Time, Isa. 60. 33. with Jer. 33. 25, 26. Hab. 2. 3. Read these Scriptures. Wherefore strengthen ye the weak Hands, and confirm the feeble Knees, &c. Isa. 55. 3, 4.

And you, my dear Friends, Common-wealth's-Men (so called) who so greatly seem to press for Righteousness and Freedom, labour to bring forth this Righteousness, not by a common Moral Spirit and Principle, but by the Spirit of Zion, a lively, spiritual, active Frame of Spirit, to wit, that Frame mentioned 2 Sam. 23. (not to be pulled and baled to do the Good that lies before you, that is more suitable to the unjust Judge) but be as ready to help and refresh, and therein be as suitable to delight the Oppressed who come unto you, as the Light of the Morning when the Sun riseth without Clouds, is to those who have lost their Way in a dark Night, and as the tender Grass springeth out of the Earth by clear shining after Rain: this is the Spirit of the Horn of David that shall bud in Zion, Psal. 132. The Consideration whereof in the first Manifestation and Declaration of it by the Spirit unto and by David, having thereby a Taste of that Glory upon his Spirit, made him break forth into a Holy Triumph and Rejoycing, saying, And this is all my Salvation and all my Desire, although he make it not to grow (to wit, in his Day.) Leave no Stone unturned, no Means unused to let the People, who come unto you, speedily know, one way or other, what they shall trust to; say not, Go, and come again To-morrow, if you can do it to Day; Delays are Burdensome and Chargeable. Job, from the Secret of God being upon his Tabernacle, and the precious Dew of the Spirit compassing his Root, and lying all Night upon his Branch, had much of this blessed Frame upon his Spirit, He put on and clothed himself with Righteousness; and had more Love to Judgment than to the Robe and Diadem; and upon that Account, He was Eyes to the Blind, Feet to the Lame, a Father to the Poor, and the Cause which he knew not, he searched out, Chap. 29. It concerns you, and is worth your Reading. This will be the Frame of the Handful of Corn in the Earth, Psal. 72. (or Mountain established upon the Top of the Mountains, Mich. 4. 1, 2.) the Fruit whereof shall shake like Lebanon, they shall not be shaken by others, but themselves will shake off their Fruit: then will you be and do according to the Heart of God, and having this excellent Spirit so freely, to make it your Meat and Drink to execute Judgment, and therein to make your Shadow as the Night in the Midst of the Noon-day to the Oppressed, you will abhor to bewray (to wit) give up their Right and Freedom into the Hands of Tyrants and Spoilers. To be to the Oppressed as a Hiding Place from the Wind, a Covert from the Tempest, as the Shadow of a great Rock in a weary Land, and as Rivers of Water in a dry Place, standing open, ready to refresh those who are thirsty, will be the Frame of Christ, and the Saints (the Horn of David) that shall Reign in Righteousness, &c. Isa. 31. 1, 2. Then those who dwell under your Shadow shall return (from their Oppression) revive as the Corn, and grow as the Vine, and your Savour among both Good and Bad, concerned in you, will be as the Wine of Lebanon, Hos. 13. and shall say, The Lord blest Thee, thou Habitation of Justice, &c. and wait for (to wit, desire after you) as (the dry Ground) for the Rain, and open their Mouths wide as (the mowed parched Ground) for the latter Rain, Job 29. 23. The Foundation of the eternal Welfare of your Souls being first laid, thorough Faith in Christ, and
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a holy unblameable Conversation (without which you cannot attain unto the other) it will then be your Crown and Rejoycing to forget the Things behind, and to come up hither; for herein doth the Lord delight, as also will be the great Glory of the latter Days; and as you are in the Tower, Glory and Sweetness of his Spirit herein exercised, will be delight in, and rejoyce over you, and you will live as it were in Heaven while you are upon the Earth, and he will be for your Protection, as a Place of broad Rivers and Streams, wherein shall go no Galley with Oars, or gallant Ship pass thereby, &c. Isa. 33. Yea, your Bow (as Job's) renewed in your Hand, to shoot at your Enemies upon all Occasions. The Presence of God being thus with you, your Terror will be upon All, both at Home and Abroad, who have a Mind to hurt you, according to Psal. 48. God is known in her Palaces for a Refuge: for lo, the Kings were assembled, they passed by together, they saw it, and so they marvelled, they were troubled, and hasted away: Fear took hold upon them there, and Pain as of a Woman in Travel; thou breakest the Ships of Tarshish, &c. This Salvation and fore-mentioned Righteousness, is the Righteousness and Salvation of Zion, spoken of; Isa. 62. 1. which those who understand and taste the Glory and Sweetness of, cannot, will not bould their Peace, or be at Rest, till it go forth as Brightness, or as a Lamp that burneth. This is the true Spirit of the (Dan. 2. 44.) Stone that disturbs and will destroy the Beast and false Prophet. Be growing up in your Light, and in the Frame of your Spirit to these Things: in order to which, pray for the Dawnings of that Measure of the Spirit which the Lord hath promised to pour forth in the latter Days. The ordinary Measures of the Spirit relating only to the Work within, will not do it; therefore is it that so many Saints at this Day turn in with the Spirit and Things of Babylon. Do not (like Alderman Tichborn) pretend to serve your Country freely, and afterwards take great Salaries; the People are poor, and it is your Duty, who have Estates, to take nothing from them except they freely give it: so ought also the Ministers of Christ to do. With other Scriptures, read Micha. 3.

A Word on the Behalf of that faithful Servant of the Lord, Mr. John Portmans, now Close Prisoner, under Lock, Night and Day, in the Tower of London, so that none may come with Freedom to visit him. Prov. 31. 8. Open thy Mouth for the Dumb, in the Cause of all such as are appointed to Destruction.

THE Reader may take Notice, that Mr. Portmans (formerly Secretary to the Navy) could not in Conscience continue his Employment under this Apostacy, though it were worth more than 300*l. per Annum*; and for his Faithfulness to the Cause of God, his People and the Nation, hath (among others) been a Sufferer unto Bonds in the Tower, this 17th of the 11th Month, 1658, a Year wanting three Weeks, never hearing what was laid to his Charge, or that there was any to accuse him of Evil: having demanded of Colonel Barkstead, his Jaylor (when first brought in by his Soldiers) What his Crime was? Could get no Answer, neither was there any expressed in the Warrant, by which he was apprehended; the Substance whereof was, *That he should be brought into the Tower, to be kept until the farther Pleasure of the late Tyrant, whom the Warrant blasphemously stiled his Highness the Lord Protector: who being lately dead, Mr. Portmans took Notice of it, in a Letter to Colonel Barkstead, delivered to his Hand by two faithful Brethren, meekly demanding, If he*

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had any farther Warrant to continue him a Prisoner: if he had, that then he might have a Copy, or at least the Sight of it; which if he had not, in some short Time, he must conclude there was none; and therefore his Occasions to go forth, for the well-being of his Family, urging him to it, he should assay to attend upon them; but if, upon Tryal, he found the Force continued, he must consider what might be his farther Duty. This for Substance, but with more Plainness, was intimated in the Letter, and accordingly, a Week after, not hearing from him, about Three in an Afternoon, not disguised, but in his constant Habit, he went to the Gate, expecting to be stopped, rather than otherwise; but finding the Passage free, went forth to his Brother-in-Law's House, not with an Intent to conceal himself; from whence he was again taken within an Hour. This is briefly and truly the Matter of Fact, and may, it is hoped, justify him in his Attempt not to be left to any Thing unbecoming a Sober *Christian*; yet was he the rather induced thus to do, upon Words not long before spoken by Colonel *Barkstead*, viz. *That he might go out if he would*, asking some Friends, *If there were no Way to persuade him to it, &c.* There needs nothing be said to such as know that foul-mouthed Malignant *Nedham*, to wipe off the Reproach he hath raised in his *Pamphlet*, that Mr. *Portmans* should say, *He would not go out if the Gates were open, until he was satisfied for his Imprisonment.* To go about to do it, were to imply that the Pamphleteer did sometimes speak Truth; which should he do, he would be utterly disabled to serve his Masters; who make Lies their Refuge, and hire him at no small Charge (as a Means to uphold their own Reputation) to asperse the Faithful in the Land; yet considering the Report may come to those who know him not, such may be assured; That Mr. *Portmans* never spake any such Thing, but hath ever declared, *That he should not continue there, were the Force he is under removed.* But by all the Noise hath been made of this Matter, in the News-Books, they only declare, how grateful it would be to have any Thing to colour over their unrighteous Proceedings, and justify themselves in their hard and more than Heathenish Usage of such as dare not say, a Confederacy with them in their Apostacy; for unto this Hour, after now almost a Year's Imprisonment, and at this Time so close, as that he is locked up Night and Day, can he not hear of Accusation or Accuser, or so much as a Warrant for his Detention, other than is before-mentioned; viz. *That he should be taken and kept during the Pleasure of the deceased Tyrant: which may become every true Englishman to be sensible of; for who knows whose Lot it may be next, to feel the like Oppression, when it shall please our Task-Masters to impose it?*



The

[*The Following, which may serve as a farther Illustration to the Foregoing, I find in a Book (in Octavo, of 175 Pages, besides Preliminaries, &c.) intitled, A New CATALOGUE of the Dukes, Marquisses, Viscounts, Barons, of England, Scotland and Ireland, with the Times of their Creation: Also the Baronets, with the Dates of their Patents: The Knights of the Bath, Knights Bachelors, with the Dates and Places where they were Knighted. Whereunto is added [A List of] all the Honours that his Highness, the Lord Protector hath bestowed, since he began his Government, to this present. London: Printed by T. C. for Tho. Walkley. 1658. All which, very probably, many will be glad to see assembled together.*]

A New CATALOGUE of the Lords, Baronets and Knights, made by His Highness, the Lord Protector, since the Second of November, 1657. With the Knights made by the Lord-Deputy of Ireland.

His Highness OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, began his Government, December the 16th 1653. and confirmed by Parliament the 16th of June, 1657.

COPY of the Writ by which the Lords are called to the Parliament.

OLIVER Lord Protector of the Common-wealth of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging: To our Trusty and Beloved Son, Lord *Richard Cromwell*, Greeting. Whereas by the Advice and Assent our Council, for certain great and weighty Affairs concerning us, the State and Defense of the said Common-wealth, we ordained our present Parliament to be

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held at our City of *Westminster*, the 17th Day of *September*, in the Year of our Lord 1656. and there to Consult and Advise with the Knights, Citizens and Burgesſes of our ſaid Common-wealth; which Parliament was then and there held and continued until the 26th Day of *June* laſt paſt, and then adjourned until the 20th Day of *January* now next coming. Therefore we Command and firmly Injoin you, that, conſidering the Difficulty of the ſaid Affairs, and imminent Dangers, all Excuses being ſet aſide, you be perſonally preſent at *Westminster* aforeſaid, the ſaid 20th Day of *January* next coming, there to treat, confer, and give your Advice with us, and with the Great Men and Nobles, in and concerning the Affairs aforeſaid: And this as you love our Honour and Safety, and the Deſenſe of the Common-wealth aforeſaid, you ſhall in no wiſe omit. Witneſs Ourſelf at *Westminster*, the 10th Day of *December*, 1657.

Theſe take Place as LORDS, and have that Dignity in all Commiſſions.

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| 1 Lord Richard Cromwell. | 53 John Jones, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 2 Lord Henry Cromwell, Deputy of Ireland. | 40 Sir William Strickland, <i>Knight and Baronet.</i> |
| 3 Nathaniel Fiennes, } <i>Lords-Commiſſioners of the</i> | 35 John Fiennes, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 4 John Liſle, } <i>Great-Seal.</i> | 39 Sir Francis Ruſſel, <i>Baronet.</i> |
| 5 Henry Laurence, <i>Preſident of the Privy-Council.</i> | 47 Sir Thomas Honywood, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 6 Charles Fleetwood, <i>Lieutenant-General of the Army.</i> | 38 Sir Arthur Haſlerigg, <i>Baronet.</i> |
| 7 Robert, <i>Earl of Warwick.</i> | 36 Sir John Hobart, <i>Baronet.</i> |
| 9 Edmund, <i>Earl of Mulgrave.</i> | 41 Sir Richard Onſlowe, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 8 Edward, <i>Earl of Manchester.</i> | 37 Sir Gilbert Gerrard, <i>Baronet.</i> |
| 11 William, <i>Lord-Viſcount Say and Seal.</i> | 48 Sir William Roberts, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 14 Philip, <i>Lord-Viſcount Liſle.</i> | 25 John Glyn, <i>Chief-Juſtice of the Upper-Bench.</i> |
| 13 Charles, <i>Lord-Viſcount Howard.</i> | 27 Oliver St. John, <i>Chief-Juſtice of the Common-Pleas.</i> |
| 17 Philip, <i>Lord Wharton.</i> | 19 William Pierrepont, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 12 Thomas, <i>Lord Falconbridge.</i> | 44 John Crew, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 16 George, <i>Lord Evers.</i> | 43 Alexander Popham, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 20 John Cleypole, <i>Eſq;</i> | 34 Philip Jones, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 22 John Deſbrow, <i>one of the Generals of the Fleet.</i> | 51 Sir Chriſtopher Pack, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 23 Edward Montague, <i>one of the Generals of the Fleet, and one of the Lords-Commiſſioners of the Treasury.</i> | 52 Sir Robert Tichborn, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 21 Sir Bulſtrode Whitlock, <i>one of the Lords-Commiſſioners of the Treasury.</i> | 42 Edward Whalley, <i>Commiſſary General of the Horſe.</i> |
| 30 William Sydenham, <i>one of the Lords-Commiſſioners of the Treasury.</i> | 55 Sir John Barkſtead, <i>Knight, Lieutenant of the Tower of London.</i> |
| 29 Sir Charles Wolſeley, * <i>Baronet.</i> | 54 Sir Thomas Pride, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 15 Sir Gilbert Pickering, <i>Baronet.</i> | 56 Sir George Fleetwood, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 32 Walter Strickland, <i>Eſq;</i> | 50 Richard Ingoldsby, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| 31 Philip Skippon, <i>Eſq;</i> | 58 Sir John Hewſon, <i>Knight.</i> |
| 33 Francis Rous, <i>Eſq;</i> | 60 James Berry, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| | 61 William Goffe, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| | 63 Thomas Cooper, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| | 59 Edmund Thomas, <i>Eſq;</i> |
| | 24 George Monk, <i>Commander in Chief in Scotland.</i> |

10 David,

[* In the preceding Narrative (p. 136.) it is wrongly put Oufeley.]

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10 David, <i>Earl of Cassils.</i> | 18 Roger, <i>Lord Broghill.</i> |
| 45 Sir William Lockhart, <i>Knight.</i> | 57 Sir Matthew Tomlinson. |
| 42 Archibald Johnson, <i>of Wareston.</i> | 26 William Lenthal, <i>Master of the Rolls.</i> |
| 23 William Steel, <i>Chancellor of Ireland.</i> | 46 Richard Hampden, <i>Esq;</i> |

The Right Honourable *Edmund Dunch*, of *East Wittenham*, in the County of *Berks*, created Baron *Burnell*, of *East Wittenham*, *teste*, 26 of *April*, 1658.

BARONETS.

A Patent of Creation of Baronet to *Thomas Beaumont*, of *Stanghton-Grange*, in the County of *Leicester*, *Esq;* Intailing the same upon his Heirs Male of his Body for ever, *teste*, March 5, 1657.

A Patent of Creation granted to *John Twisleton* of *Horsman's-Place*, in *Datford*, in the County of *Kent*, *Esq;* of the Dignity of a Baronet, of *Horsman's-Place*, in *Datford*, in the County of *Kent* aforesaid, Intailing the same upon the Heirs Male of his Body; and for Default of such Issue to Sir *Philip Twisleton*, Knight, second Brother of the said *John Twisleton*, and his Heirs Male, and for Default of such Issue to come to *George Twisleton*, the third Brother of the said *John Twisleton*, and his Heirs Male for ever, *teste*, March 24, 1657.

A Patent of Creation of the Dignity of a Baronet granted to *Henry Ingoldsby*, *Esq;* to his Heirs Male for ever, *March* 31, 1658.

A Patent of Creation of the Dignity of a Baronet granted to *Henry Wright*, of *Dagenhams*, in the County of *Essex*, *Esq;* to his Heirs Male for ever, *teste*, March 31, 1658.

A Patent of Creation granted to *Edmund Dunch*, of *East Wittenham*, in the County of *Berks*, *Esq;* of the Honour of Baron *Burnell*, of *East Wittenham*, in the County of *Berks*, to his Heirs Males for ever, *teste*, April 26, 1658.

A Patent of Creation of the Dignity of a Baronet granted to *Griffith Williams*, of ———, in the County of *Carnarvon*, *Esq;* to his Heirs Male of his Body for ever, *teste*, May 28, 1658.

KNIGHTS.

Whitehall, November 2.

Sir *Edward Ward*, High-Sheriff of the County of *Norfolk*.

Whitehall, November 14.

Sir *Thomas Andrews*, Alderman of *London*; Knighted by the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*.

The Lord *Henry Cromwell*.

Sir *Matthew Tomlinson*, Colonel.

December 5.

Sir *Thomas Foot*, Alderman.

Sir *Thomas Atkins*, Alderman.

Sir *John Hewson*, Colonel.

January 6. Whitehall.

Sir *James Drax*.

February 1. Whitehall.

Sir *Henry Pickering*, *Esq;* *Cambridge*.

Sir *Philip Twisleton*, Colonel.

X 2

White-

White-Hall, March 9.

Sir *John Lenthal*, Son of the Master of the Rolls.

White-Hall.

Sir *John Ireton*, Alderman of *London*.

Dublin, May 3. by the Lord-Deputy of *Ireland*.

Sir *Robert Goodwin*.

The Right Honourable, his Highness Oliver, Lord Protector, his Privy-Council.

HENRY LAURENCE, Lord President of the Council.
CHARLES FLEETWOOD, Lord Deputy of Ireland.

PHILIP, Lord-Viscount *Lisle*.

NATHANAEL FIENNES, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Great-Seal.

JOHN DESBROW, Major-General of the *West*.

Sir GILBERT PICKERING, Baronet of *Scotland*.

Sir CHARLES WOLFELEY, Baronet.

Colonel WILLIAM SYDENHAM.

EDMUND EARL of *Mulgrave*.

Colonel EDWARD MONTAGUE.

WALTER STRICKLAND, Esquire.

Major-General PHILIP SKIPPON.

Colonel PHILIP JONES.

RICHARD MAJOR, Esquire.

FRANCIS ROUS, Esquire.

JOHN THURLOE, Esquire, Secretary of State.

The Right Honourable the LORDS COMMISSIONERS of the Great-Seal of ENGLAND.

The Right Honourable *Nathaniel Fiennes*.

The Right Honourable *John Lisle*.

William Lenthal, Master of the Rolls.

OFFICERS attending the GREAT-SEAL.

Henry Middleton, Serjeant at Arms.

Mr. Brown, Seal-Bearer.

Mr. Dove, Secretary.

The Names of the JUDGES of England.

The Right Honourable *John Glyn*, Lord Chief-Justice of the Upper-Bench.

Peter Warburton, *Richard Newdigate*, Justices of the Upper-Bench.

Oliver St. John, Lord Chief-Justice of the Common-Bench.

Edward Askins, *Matthew Hale*, *Hugh Windham*, Justices of the Common-Bench.

Robert

Robert Nicolas, John Parker, Roger Hill; Barons of the Exchequer.
Erasmus Earl, his Highnesses Serjeant at Law.
Edmund Prideaux Esquire, Attorney-General.
William Ellis, Esquire, Solicitor-General, made by his Highness.

VISCOUNT.

The Right Honourable *Charles Howard* of *Gilfland* in the County of *Cumberland* Esq; created Baron *Gilfland*, and Lord Viscount *Howard of Morpeth* the 20th of *July*, 1657. by his Highness the Lord Protector.

BARONETS.

A Creation of the Dignity of a *Baronet*, granted by his Highness, to *John Read*, of *Brocket-Hall*, in the County of *Hertsford*, Esq; intailing the same upon the Heirs Male of his Body; Dated the 25th Day of *June* 1656.

John Claypole, Esq; Clerk of the *Hamper*, created Baronet the 16th of *July*, 1657. intailing the same upon the Heirs Male of his Body, and Knighted the same Day.

Thomas Chamberlayne, of *Wickham*, Esq; created Baronet the 6th of *October*, 1657. intailing the same upon the Heirs Male of his Body.

KNIGHTS made by his Highness.

At *Grocers-Hall*, on *Wednesday*, Feb. 8. 1653.

Sir *Thomas Viner*, Lord-Mayor of the City of *London*.

At *White-Hall*, June 1. 1655.

Sir *John Copleston*, High-Sheriff of *Devon*.

At *White-Hall*, June 11.

Sir *John Reynolds*, Commissary-General in *Ireland*.

At *White-Hall*, September 20.

Sir *Christopher Pack*, Lord-Mayor of *London*.

At *White-Hall*, January 17.

Sir *Thomas Pride*, Colonel.

At *White-Hall*, January 19.

Sir *John Barkstead*, Lieutenant of the Tower of *London*, and Major-General of *Middlesex*.

At *White-Hall*, May 3. 1656.

Sir ——— *Ooyte*, Resident for *Sweden*.

At *White-Hall*, July 26.

Sir ——— one of the chief Gentlemen attending the *Swedish* Ambassador.

At *White-Hall*, August.

Sir *Richard Combe*, of *Combe*, in the County of *Hertsford*.

At *White-Hall*, September 15.

Sir *John Dethick*, Lord-Mayor of *London*.

Sir *George Fleetwood*, of the County of *Bucks*.

At *White-Hall*, December 10.

Sir *William Lockart*, Colonel, his Highness's Resident in *France*.

Sir *James Calthorpe*, High-Sheriff of *Suffolk*.

At

At *White-Hall*, December 15.

Sir *Robert Tichborn*, Lord-Mayor of *London*.

Sir *Lislebon Long*, Recorder of *London*.

At *White-Hall*, January 6.

Sir *James Whitelock*, Colonel.

At *White-Hall*, March 3. 1656.

Sir *Thomas Dickenson*, Alderman of *York*.

At *White-Hall*, June 11. 1657.

Sir *Richard Stainer*, Commander of the *Speaker* Frigate.

At *White-Hall*, July 16. 1657.

Sir *John Claypole*, Baronet.

At *Hampton-Court*, August 26. 1657.

Sir *William Wheeler*, of *Channel-Row*, *Westminster*.

SERJEANTS at Law, called to the Bar by his Highness the Lord
PROTECTOR.

A *Writ* directed to *Richard Pepes* Esq; to call him to the Degree of a *Serjeant at Law*, the 25. Day of *January*, dated the 19. Day of *January*, 1653.

A like *Writ* to *Thomas Fletcher* Esq; the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Matthew Hale* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A *Writ* directed to *William Steel* Esq; Recorder of the City of *London* (after Lord Chief-Baron of the *Exchequer*, and now Lord-Chancellor of *Ireland*) to call him to the Degree of a *Serjeant at Law*, the 9. Day of *February*, dated the 4. Day of *February*.

A like *Writ* to *John Maynard* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Richard Newdigate* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Thomas Twisden* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Hugh Windham* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Union Croke* Esq; to call him to the Degree of a *Serjeant at Law*, Return immediate, dated *June* 21. 1654.

A like *Writ* to *John Parker* Esq; of the same Return and Date.

A like *Writ* to *Roger Hill* Esq; dated *June* 28. 1655. Return immediate.

A like *Writ* to *William Shepherd* Esq; dated *October* 25. 1656. Return as above.

A like *Writ* to *John Fountain* Esq; dated *November* 17. 1656. Return as above.

A like *Writ* to *Evan Scisbe* Esq; dated *December* 17. Return as above.

[Nor can I, as a still farther Illustration to all these Matters, deprive my curious Reader of the Satisfaction he will have in perusing a most notable Speech thereon; and am only sorry I cannot gratify him with the Author's Name.]

A Sea-

*A Seasonable SPEECH, made by a worthy Member of PARLIAMENT in
the HOUSE of COMMONS, concerning the Other House.*

March 1659.

Mr. *Speaker*,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof that we *Englishmen* are right Islanders, Variable and Mutable like the Air we live in. For, Sir, if that were not our Temper, we should not be now disputing, whether all those Hazards we have run, that Blood we have spilled, that Treasure we have exhausted, we should not sit down, just where we did begin; and of our own Accords submit our selves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Estates and Lives, but I wish I could not say, our Souls and Consciences, to throw off. What others, Sir, think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean those who steer their Consciences by Occasions, and cannot lose the Honour they never had: But truly, Sir, for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs, that we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies, owning of ourselves Oppressors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that, which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government; but by recalling it, confess it now to be the best: Which, Sir, if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish, our Eyes had been sooner open; and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchased our Conviction at a cheaper Rate. We might, Sir, in *Forty-two*, have been what we thus contend to be in *Fifty-nine*; and our Consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. *Speaker*, I wish with all my Soul, I did state our Case to you amiss, and that it were the Question only, whether we would voluntarily relapse into the Disease we were formerly possessed with, and of our own Accords take up our old Yoke, that we with Wearing and Custom had made Habitual and Easy, and which (it may be) it was more our Wantonness than our Pressure, that made us throw it off. But this, Sir, is not now the Question: That which we deliberate, is not, whether we will say we do not care to be free; we like our old Masters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door Posts of their House, and so serve them for ever. But, Sir, as if we were contending for Shame as well as Servitude, we are carrying our *Ears to be bored* at the Doors of *an Other House*: A House, Sir, without Name, and therefore it is but congruous it should consist of Members without Family: A House that inverts the Order of Slavery, and subjects it to our Servants; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, it is a House of so incongruous and odious a Composition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his Design as well to shew to the World *the Contempt he had of us*, as to demonstrate *the Power he had over us*.

Sir; That it may appear, that I intend not to be so prudent (as far as my Part is concerned) as to make a voluntary Resignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highness's last Will and Testament, I shall crave, Sir, the Leave to declare in a few Particulars, my Opinion of this Other House; wherein I cannot but promise my self to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all: For those *Englishmen* who are against this House, will certainly, with Content,

lent, hear the Reasons why others are so too; those Courtiers who are for it give me Evidence enough to think, that in Nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

First, Sir, as to the Author and Framer of this House of Peers; let me put you in Mind, it was He, who with reiterated Oaths, had often *sworn to be true and faithful to the Government without it*: and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief Instrument both to draw and compel others to swear so too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this Noble Fabrick was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God, as of the Nation. He, Sir, who called Monarchy *Antichristian* in another, and indeed made it so in himself: He who Voted a House of Lords *dangerous and unnecessary*, and too truly made it so in his Partisans: He who, with Fraud and Force, deprived you of your Liberty when he was living, and intailed Slavery upon you at his Death: It is he, Sir, who hath left you these worthy Overseers of that his last Will and Testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other Trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this. In a Word, Sir, had this Other House no other Fault but its Institution and Author, I should think that original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion who think, that for the Good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged, and erased, that, if possible, their Memory might be no longer lived then their Carcases. And the Truth is, their good Laws are of the Number of their Snares, and but base Brokage for our Liberty.

But, Sir, to impute to this Other House no other Faults but its own, you may please, in the first Place, to consider of the Power which his Highness hath left it, according to that *humble Petition and Advice*, which he was pleased to give Order to the Parliament to present unto him. For, Sir, as the *Romans* had Kings, so had his Highness Parliaments among his Instruments of Slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no Offence for me to pray, that his Son may not have them so too. But, Sir, they have a *Negative Voice*, and other Circumstances of that Arbitrary Power, which made the former House intolerable; only the Dignity, and Quality of the Persons themselves is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now, Mr. *Speaker*, have we not gloriously vindicated the Nations Liberty? Have we not worthily imployed our Blood and Treasure to abolish that Power which was set over us by the Law, to have the same imposed upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noise we have made in the World, of the Peoples Legislative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Representatives; we now see there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Balance, and equalled by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are so far from being of the Peoples Choice, that the most Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villanies and Mischiefs they have committed in it.

In the next Place, Sir, you may please to consider, that the Persons invested with this Power, and all of them nominated and designed by the Lord Protector (for to say, *by him and his Council*, hath in effect no more Distinction, than if one should say, *by Oliver, and Cromwel.*) By this Means the Protector himself, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes in Effect two of the three Estate; and by Consequence, is possessed of two Parts of the Legislative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, who will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of those Noble Lords: For certainly no Man who reads their Names, can possibly fancy for what other Vertues or good Qualities such a Composition should be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance with whatsoever should be enjoined them by their *Creator*. (Pardon, Sir, that Name, for it is properly applicable, where Things are made of Nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former Government, Increase
of

of Nobility was a Grievance, because the New Nobility, having fresh Obligation to the Crown, were the easier led to Compliance with it: And if one of the main Reasons for Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords, was because that they being of the King's making were, in Effect, so many certain Votes for whatever the King had a Mind to carry in that House; how much more assured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, who wants nothing of the King, but, in every Sense, the Title, shall not only make and nominate a Part, but of himself constitute the Whole House? In a Word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it lost in the Other House; and it is in all Respects as Advantageous and Secure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to Redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highness's Officers, or Council, nay his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partisans in his Other House.

Now having considered, Sir, their Author, Power and Constitution; give me Leave to make some few Observations, though but in general, of the Persons themselves who are designed to be our Lords and Masters; and let us see what either the extraordinary Quality or Qualifications are of these egregious Legislators, which may justify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at least, into equal Authority with the whole Representative Body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their Quality, or any Thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with Distinction, and to intend only of the Major Part. For I acknowledge, Mr. *Speaker*, the Mixture of this Other House to be like the Compositions of Apothecaries, who are used to mix something of Relish, something grateful to the Taste, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the Want of Quality as Honesty in the rest, hath nominated some against whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any Respect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with Regard to the no Quality, to the no Virtues of the rest: which truly, Mr. *Speaker*, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express Name to his Other House, than he hath been pleased to do. For we know a House designed only for Beggars and Malefactors, is a *House of Correction*, and termed so by your Law. But, Mr. *Speaker*, setting those few Persons aside, who I hope think the Nomination a Disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there much a greater: Can we without Indignation think on the rest? He who is first in their Roll, a condemned Coward, one who out of Fear and Baseness did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the same for Gain. The second, a Person of as little Sense as Honesty, preferred for no other Reason but his no Worth, his no Conscience; except that his cheating his Father of all he had was thought a Virtue by him who, by sad Experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, his Country. The third, a *Cavalier*, a *Presbyterian*, an *Independent*; for a Republic, for a Protector, for every Thing, for Nothing, but only that one Thing, *Money*. It were endless to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their Lordships of seventeen Pound Land a Year of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordships, Dray-men Lordships, Cobler Lordships, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Englishmen* hath been the Price of: These, Sir, are to be our Rulers, these the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, while their Pageant Stage Lordships deign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. *Speaker*, we have already had too much Experience, how unsupportable Servants are when they become our Masters: All Kind of Slavery is miserable in the Account of all generous Minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and

Contempt stirs every Man's Indignation, and is indured by none whom Nature, as well as Fortune, does not intend for Slaves.

I say not this, Mr. *Speaker*, to revile any Man with his Meanness; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune, to be (with Wise or Just Men) the Grounds either of their ill or good Opinion. Mr. *Speaker*, I blame not in these Men the Faults of their Fortune, any otherwise but as they make them their own: I object to you their Poverty, because it is accompanied with Ambition; I mind you of their Quality, because they themselves forget it. So that it is not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordships; not with Mr. *Barkstead*, or Mr. *Goaler* (Titles I could well allow him) but with *The Right Honourable, our Singular Good Lord and Goaler*: It is this Incongruity, Mr. *Speaker*, I am displeased with.

So, Sir, that though we easily grant Poverty and Necessity to be no Faults, yet we must allow them to be great Impediments in the Way of Honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboam's* great Faults, that *he made Priests of the meanest of the People*; and sure it was none of the Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath set up his Calves too, and would have our Tribes come up and worship them) that he observed the same Method in making of Lords.

One of the few Requests the *Portugals* made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highness did this) by an Army, was, *That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such, to that Degree, whose Quality or Virtue could be no Way thought to deserve it.* Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such Inconveniences our selves: It was in the Time of *Rich. I.* one of the Bishop of *Ely's* Accusations, that Castles and Forts of Trust he did *Obscuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put into the Hands of obscure and unknown Men: But we, Mr. *Speaker*, to such a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and in that the Power of All.

In the 17 *Edw. IV.* there past an Act of Parliament, for the degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquis *Montague*, and Duke of *Bedford*; the Reason expressed in the Act, *Because he had not a Revenue sufficient for the maintaining of that Dignity*; to which is added, *That when Men of mean Birth are called to high Estate, and have no Livelihood to support it, it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all Kinds of Injustices that are followed by Gain.* And in the Parliament of 2. *Carol.* the Peers in a Petition against *Scottish* and *Irish* Titles, told the King, *That it is a Novelty, without Precedent, That Men should possess Honours, where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a Foot of Land.* But if it had been added, Sir, *or have no Land but what is the Purchase of their Villanies*, against how many of our New Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very just and reasonable Care, among all Nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the People, which is designed for their Reverence, and their Awe: Which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man any more than the Image in the Fable made the *Als* adored that carried it.

After their Quality, give me Leave, Sir, to speak a Word or two of their Qualifications; which certainly ought in Reason to carry some Proportion with the Employments they design themselves. The House of Lords, Sir, are our Kings Hereditary Great Councils; they are the Highest Court of Judicature; they have their Part in Judging and Determining of the Reasons of making New Laws, and of abrogating Old: from among them we take our Great Officers of State; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea. In Conclusion, Sir, they are both of the Essence and Constitution of our Old Government, and

and have besides, the greatest and noblest Share in the Administration. Now certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reason, one would imagine some small Faculties and Endowments to be necessary for the discharging of such a Calling, and those, such as are not usually acquired in Shops and Ware-Houses, nor found by following the Plough. Now what other Academies most of their Lordships have been bred in, but their Shops; what other Arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good Arms and good Shoulders than good Heads, I think, Mr. *Speaker*, we are yet to be informed. Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to Ignorant and Illiterate Masters; nay, we trust not our very Horses to unskilful Grooms. I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have some Care into whose Hands we commit the Management of the Common-wealth: And if we cannot have Persons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whose Quality we would willingly submit; I beseech you, Sir, for your Credits and Safety's-sake, let us seek Men (at least) of Parts and Education, to whose Abilities we may have some Reason to give way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Physician's Hand, the Law esteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune, in the Physician; but if one who is no Physician undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Party miscarries, the Law makes the Emperique a Felon, and sure, in all Men's Opinion, the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for Great Men to govern, it is Ordinary; for Able Men, it is Natural; Knaves many Times come to it by Force and Necessity, and Fools sometimes by Chance: But universal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves, for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

But methinks, Mr. *Speaker*, I see ready to rise after me, some Gentlemen who shall tell you the Great Services that their New Lordships have done the Common-wealth; who shall extol their Valour, their Godliness, their Fidelity to the Cause; the Scripture too (no Doubt) as it is to all Purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them; and we shall hear of the *Wisdom of the Poor Man who saved the City*, of the *not many Wise, not many Mighty*; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. *Speaker*, I shall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them; though I might tell you, that the same Honour is not purchased by the Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen; that for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Armies march through the City, I have not read that Conquerors have been so void of Shame as to triumph. *Cesar*, not much more Indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not so much as write Publique Letters of his Victory at *Pharsalia*, much less had Days of Thanksgiving to his Gods, and Anniversary Feasts for having been a prosperous Rebel, and given Justice and his Country the worst.

But, Sir, I leave this Argument, and, to be as good as my Word, come to put you in Mind of some of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords-Commissioners Valour at *Bristol*, nor of another Noble Lord's brave Adventure at the Bear-Garden; I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the Courage to do Things which, I may boldly say, few other *Christians* durst have so adventured their Souls to have attempted: They have not only subdued their Enemies, but their Masters, who raised and maintained them; they have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but Rebellious *England* too; and there suppressed a Malignant Party of Magistrates and Laws: And that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors (without the Help of Philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All Shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all Justice; the Oaths they have taken, they have as easily digested, as their Old General could himself; Publique Covenants and Engagements they have trampled under Foot. In Conclu-

sion, so intire a Victory they have over themselves, that their Consciences are as much their Servants, as, *Mr. Speaker*, we are. But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the Confidence they have of themselves and us: After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five Times Dissolved them, they hope, for those good Services to the House of Commons, by the House of Commons to be made a House of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon; therefore, in a Word, I conclude. I beseech you, let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things: *First*, That Villanies be not encouraged with the Rewards of Virtue: *Secondly*, That the Authority and Majesty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled, and exposed to Contempt, by committing so considerable a Part of it to Persons of as mean Quality as Parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffick ten Years: Sure it would have been long before Coblers and Dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the Wisdom of this House shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now, when our Necessities persuade us, *i. e.* that we are almost brought to herd it with Swine, now it is high Time to think of a Return: Let us without more ado, without this motley Mixture, even take our *Rulers as at the first*, so that we can be but reasonably secured to avoid our *Counsellors as at the Beginning*.

Give me Leave, Sir, to release your Patience with a short Story. *Livy* tells us, there was a State in *Italy*, an *Aristocracy*, where the Nobility stretched their Privilege too high, and presumed a little too much upon the Peoples Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a Dissolution of Government, and the turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confusion. At the same Time, besides these Distempers at Home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from Abroad, who had been an Over-match for them at their best Union; but now, in these Disorders, was like to find them very ready and very easy Prey: A wise Man, Sir, in the City, who did not at all approve of the Insolency of the Nobility, and as little liked Popular Tumults, bethought himself of this Stratagem, to couzen his Country into Safety. Upon a Pretence of Counsel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together; which when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them; goes away himself, and takes the Keys with him: Then immediately he summons the People; tells them, that, by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap; that now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Insolencies; that therefore they should immediately go along with him and dispatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army, after a Fast, could not be more ready for the Villany, than this People were; and accordingly they made as much Haste to the Slaughter as their Lord Protector could desire them. But, Sir, this Wise Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: As soon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was Sitting, and when they but expected the Word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads; *Gentlemen*, says he, *Though I would not care how soon this Work of Reformation were over; yet in this Ship of the Common-wealth we must not throw the Steers-Men over Board, till we have provided others for the Helm; let us consider before we take these Men away, in what other Hands we may more securely trust our Liberty, and the Management of the Common-wealth.* And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting an Other House: He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cried-up in Popular Faction, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Sense, and

and no Quality; you may suppose him, Sir, a zealous Cocker: The People, in Confusion, murmured at this, and were loth their Fellow-Mutineer, for no other Virtue but Mutining, should come to be advanced to be their Master, and, by their Looks and Murmur, sufficiently expressed the Dislike they took at such a Motion. Then he nominates another, as mean a Mechanique as the former; you may imagine him, Sir, a bustling rude Dray-Man, or the like: He was no sooner named, but some burst out a Laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this, a third was named for a Lordship, one of the same Batch, and every Way fit to Sit with the other two. The People then fell into a confused Laugh and Noise, and inquired if such were Lords, who (by all the Gods) would be content to be the Commons?

Sir, Let me be bold (by the good Leave of the Other House and Yours) to ask the same Question? But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and with it, I hope, the Other House. When this Wise Man, I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the Inconvenience and Mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their Rulers would prove, in the End, but the setting up of their Servants, he thought them then prepared to hear Reason; and told them, *You see, faith he, that as bad as this Government is, we cannot, for any Thing I see, agree upon a better: What then, if after this Fright we put the Nobility in, and the Demonstration we have given them of our Power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and for the future behave themselves with more Moderation?* That People, Mr. Speaker, were so Wise as to comply with that Wise Proposition, and to think it easier to mend their Old Rulers, than to make New. And I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so Wise to think so too.

[This a-propos Quotation, from Livy, brings to my Mind a few whimsical Lines, written by Some-Body (I know not who) not a great many Months since, wherewith, pertinent or otherwise, I shall stop up Part of this Chasm: viz.]

On the Grand QUESTION; Who's to be In and who Out.

1.
The Peace coming on,
The German and Don
Being come to themselves, as 'tis rumour'd;
Let's lay aside Piques,
All Frolicks and Freaks,
And be to each other good-humour'd.

2.
The Question's, no Doubt,
Who's In and Who's Out?
There's nothing besides it pretended,
Let the Out be the In,
And we soon shall begin
To see all our Matters well mended.

3.
The very same Things,
With which the Town rings,
And about which we make such a Pother,
In a Sessions or two,
For the next Sett will do,
And the one be the same as the other.

4.
Since this the plain Case is,
As Nose in Man's Face is,
Why should You and I vex at the Matter?
Let the World turn about
With the In and the Out;
Shall we be the leaner or fatter?

[One main Argument for my inserting the ensuing Piece (tho' in it-self it be neither much amiss nor very common) is the Inveteracy with which our Republican, splenetic Narrator, frequently and particularly, falls upon its Author: [Turn back to pag. 150, 153, 155, 160.] Besides, it may serve as somewhat of a Relaxation from so much Prose-Reading.]

M A R-

MARCHMONT NEDHAM'S

HISTORY of the REBELLION.

Reprinted (from his Weekly MERCURIUS PRAGMATICUS) in 1661.

WHen as we liv'd in Peace (GOD wot)
 A King would not content us;
 But we, forsooth, must hire the *Scot*,
 To all-be-Parliament us.

Then down went King and Bishops too;
 On goes the Holy Wirk,
 Betwixt them, and the Brethren blue,
 T' advance the Crown and Kirk.

But when that these had reign'd a Time,
 Robb'd Kirk, and sold the Crown;
 A more Religious Sort up climb,
 And crush the Jockie's down.

But now we must have Peace again;
 Let none with Fear be vex'd:
 For if, without the King, these reign,
 Then Hey down they go next.

A Peace, a Peace, the Country cries,
 Or else we shall be undone:
 For this brave War we thank the Wife,
 Confiding Men of *London*.

Sure now they may, as well as we,
 Know how to value Quiet,
 When th' Army comes their Guests to be,
 For Twelve-Months Cash and Diet.

Free-Quarter is a tedious Thing,
 And so is the Excise,
 None can deliv'r us, but the King,
 From this damn'd *Dutch* Device.

The Parliament hath serv'd sev'n Years;
 True Vengeance then we see
 Upon feign'd Jealousies and Fears;
 For yet they are not free.

Long Peace a Plenty did beget,
 And Plenty brought forth Pride;
 Thro' Pride to Faction Men were set,
 In Parties to divide.

The new-form'd Priests first led the way,
 And said it was no Sin
 By Force to drive the King away,
 And draw the City in.

The Lords and Commons they consent
 To what each *Rabbi* saith;
 And so the Catholic down went,
 T' advance the Public Faith.

This brought a War and Taxes on,
 T' inflave a Free-born People:
 And now the Work is thus far gone,
 Next have at Crown and Steeple.

Our wise Reformers, brave and gay,
 Have ta'en a goodly Course
 To fight, to feast, to fast, to pray,
 And milk each honest Purse.

The Crown's Revenue goes to Wrack,
 While they sing Hymns and Psalms;
 And, rather than themselves will lack,
 The King must live on Alms.

We are, the learned *Synod* says,
 The Church of *England's* Nurse,
 Who make them blest the Sabbath-Days,
 And all the Week to curse.

The Plough stands still, and Trade is small
 For Goods, Lands, Towns and Cities,
 Nay, I dare say, the Devil and all,
 Pays Tribute to Committees.

A *Scot*

A *Scot* and *Jesuit*, join'd in Hand,
First taught the World to say,
That Subjects ought to have Command,
And Princes to Obey.

These both agreed to have no King;
The *Scotchman* he cries further,
No Bishop: 'tis a Godly Thing
States to reform by Murther.

Then th' *Independent*, meek and fly,
Most lowly lies at Lurch,
And so to put poor *Jockey* by,
Resolves to have no Church.

The King dethron'd! the Subjects bleed!
The Church hath no Abode:
Let us conclude they're all agreed,
That sure there is no GOD.

Our States-men (tho' no Lunatics,
No Wizzards, nor Buffoons)
Have shewn a hundred Changeling-Tricks,
In less than three New-Moons.

The Devil's Foot is cleft (Men speak)
And so (GOD knows) are they:
The Factions rule by Fits, then take
Their Turns, and run away.

They vote, unvote, and vote, with Noise,
What they cry'd down before,
As ready as if *London-Boys*
Were knocking at the Door.

To-day an *Independ* Out-Side;
And then a *Scotch* to-morrow:
Thus shuffle, cut, they do divide
Our Wealth, while we know Sorrow.

O happy Treason! See how Wealth
Is made their Heaven! They swell
With Pride! and live by Blood and Stealth,
As if there were no Hell!

No Sadduces but must confess,
Those Monsters which are told
In Story, are risen now no less
Prodigious than of Old.

Both *Cain* and *Judas* back are come,
In Vizards most divine:
GOD blefs us from a Pulpit-Drum,
And Preaching *Cataline*.

They feed upon a Kingdom's Curse,
And prey upon a King!
The Devil provide a Second Course,
And then a Volder bring.

Now *Charles*, thy Conquest is compleat,
And all the World shall see,
That GOD, who guides the Royal *Scot*,
Will thy Avenger be.

O House of Commons, House of Lords,
Amend before *September*:
For 'tis decreed, your Soldiers Swords
Shall then you All-dismember.

But, like fair Chapmen, 'twas well done,
To give you Time and Day
To cast Accounts; for one by one
They will you soundly pay.

The Kingdom all in Pieces torn!
Your Time is fairly spent;
To make your-selves a very Scorn,
Your King but Jack-a-Lent.

Now, now we see 'twas for the Crown
The Houses both did fight:
For since the *Cavaliers* are down,
They put the King to Flight.

The *Adjutor*, stern and proud,
Said, He should have no Quarter,
Because he is a King; and vow'd
To make the Saint a Martyr.

Their Officers cry'd, Hail, O King;
The rest made Mocks and Scorns;
The Houses Vinegar did bring;
And all did plat the Thorns.

Thus crucify'd, Great *Charles* did live
As dead, is gone away:
For Resurrection, GOD will give
A new Cor'nation Day.

Rouze

Rouze up! King *Charles* hath mist the
Laid for his Royal Feet: (Snare
Let th' *Adjutors* now take Care
Each for his Winding-sheet.

The Army rendezouzed are,
And do they know not what;
The *Scots* and they, are like to jar:
Let us thank GOD for that.

The Houses know not what to think;
The Citts horn-madd'd be:
They must be whipp'd until they stink:
A joyful Sight to see!

Thus *Cavaliers* cast up your Caps,
And tell the Rebels plain,
That *Charles*, in Spite of all their Traps,
Shall shortly rule again.

For Liberty and Privilege,
Religion, and the King,
We fought; But, O! the Golden Wedge,
That is the only Thing.

There lies the Cream of all the Cause;
Religion is but *Whig*;
Pure Privilege eats up the Laws,
And cries, For Kings a Fig.

The Houses may a Christmas keep,
The Countrymen a Lent,
The Citizens (like silly Sheep)
Must fast, and be content.

Then where is Liberty, I pray,
With Justice, Truth and Right?
Sure they and Conscience fled away
With *Charles*, to th' *Isle of Wight*.

Gape, gape for Peace, poor Countrymen;
The Members mean to treat:
And we shall see fair Play agen,
When they no more can cheat.

The King shall come to *Westminster*,
It may be to his Grave,
Or of a Glorious Prince must there
Be made a Royal Slave.

But 'twere more wise to let him reign
Out of his Peoples Sight,
For fear he should bring Peace again,
And put them in a Fright.

Sure *Martin* lay-in of a Clap,
And *Say* himself did dote;
The Devil too, wore a Sick-Cap,
When th' Houses pass'd this Vote.

Come let us live, and laugh away
The Follies of this Age;
Treason breeds Care; we'll sing and play
Like Birds within a Cage.

Fetters are th' only Favors now
The Houses give, we see;
And since the King them wears, I vow,
'Twere Baseness to be free.

Then let us all our Sorrows drown
In Sack and merry *Glee*:
Ye Citizens of *London-Town*,
What jolly Slaves are we!

For Common-Prayer, ye have Excise,
Free-Quarter too is coming,
To pay you for your Mutinies,
Feasts, Covenants, and Drumming.

No *Puritan*, no *Popish* Priest,
Nor *Protestant* now shall be;
Nor Law, but to live as we list,
'Tis Heaven thus to be free.

Could *Babylon's* great King now fit
In Counsel with our Nation,
He were the only Man to fit
Us with a Reformation.

The glorious Golden-Idol then
Might shine in each Dominion;
Both Façtions and their Brethren
Would soon have one Opinion.

Away, thou *Pagan-Cavalier*,
This GOD must not be thine;
But for the Saints at *Westminster*,
Whose Souls are more divine.

Live,

Live, drink and laugh, our Worthies may,
And kindly take their Fills;
The Subjects must their Reckonings pay,
The King must pass their Bills.

No Princes now, but they ; the Crown
Is vanish'd with our Quiet ;
Nor will they let us use our own
Devotions and Diet.

All Plums the Prophets Sons defy,
And Spice-broths are too hot ;
Treason's in a *December-Pye*,
And Death within the Pot.

Christmas, farewell ; thy Day, I fear,
And Merry-Days are done :
So they may keep Feasts all the Year,
Our Saviour shall have none.

O happy Nation heretofore,
When Seas our Walls have been !
Unhappy, now we see no Shore,
But are all Sea within.

Factions, like Billows, rage and toss,
And Death mounts ev'ry Wave ;
Yet in this Storm we are so cross,
We will no Pilot have.

Just such a Tempest seiz'd upon
Blest *Paul*, the Scripture says,
When he had seen no Sun, nor Moon,
Nor Stars for many Days.

Our Sun and Moon no Beams create,
Our Stars dispers'd we see :
Such, as was his, will be our Fate,
We must all shipwreck'd be.

A Glorious Prince, this Parliament
The King should be, did swear ;
But now we understand they meant
In Heaven, but not here.

Let them invade the Throne, and part
His Crown, and vote his Fate ;
Yet know, in each true Noble Heart,
He keeps his Chair of State.

Princes may be, like other Men,
Imprisoned, and kept under
A while, as fire in Clouds, but then
At length appear in Thunder.

And, as in hidden Caves the Wind
Sad Tremblings doth create ;
So Monarchs, by their own confin'd,
Cause Earthquakes in the State.

Farewel the Glory of our Land ;
For, now the Free-born Blades
Our Lives and our Estates command,
And ride us all like Jades.

Faith and Religion bleeding lie,
And Liberty grows faint :
No Gospel, but pure Treachery
And Treason make the Saint.

Oh ! 'tis a Heavenly Cause (I trow)
Which first Baptiz'd the *Round-head*
In Noble *Strafford's* Blood ! but now
Must on the King's be founded

Yet know, that Kings are Gods on Earth ;
And those who pull them down,
Shall find it is no less than Death
To tamper with a Crown.

'Tis true, as *Harry Martin* said,
The *Scots* away must pack ;
The Cov'nant shall aside be laid,
Like an Old Almanack.

Come then, and buy my New, true New,
New Almanack most true,
Such Accidents of State to shew,
The like no Age e'er knew.

Since that we lost our King and Laws,
Since Jealousies and Fears,
Since Peace, pure Truth, and this foul
It is full seven Years. (Cause,

Poor *Charles* ! pursu'd in Forty-one,
Unking'd in Forty-seven ;
The Eighth will place him on his Throne,
In Earth, or else in Heaven.

Three Kingdoms brought to a fine Pass,
While that our Saviour's Rule,
The Country is become an Ass,
The City but a Mule.

Each University now pines,
The Church may hang and rot;
They banish all our true Divines,
The Lawyers too must trot.

Come, Sirs, more Sacks unto the Mill,
More Taxes, more Free-Quarter;
'Tis fit our Laws be your bare Will,
And the Excise our Charter.

(Crows,
GOD speed the Plough; plague Rooks and
And send us Years more cheap:
For, I am sure, whoever sows,
The Houses mean to reap.

Money, the Soul of Man and Wit!
But yet no Saint of mine;
While th' Houses vote, and Synods sit,
Thou ne'er shalt want a Shrine.

Reforming is a dull Device,
Dreads nought but Strife and Rage:
Thou putt'st us into Paradise,
And bring'st the Golden Age.

Thou art Religion, GOD, and all
That we may call Divine:
Thy Temple is *Westminster-Hall*,
And all our Priests are thine.

Tush, tell not us the way to Heav'n,
Thou juggling Clergy-Elf,
Who sett'st the World at Six and Sev'n;
Money is Heav'n it self.

Betwixt those *Atheists* feign'd of old,
And ours, there is no Odds;
For, both this one Opinion hold,
That Fear did first make Gods.

Hell now is thought an idle Dream,
To fright Men from their Crimes:
Religion but a crafty Theme,
Made to bug-bear the Times.

The Bible, and great *Babels* Whore,
May both together burn;
For the Religious Fit is o'er
Now they have serv'd their Turn.

Only, one Text may 'scape their Hands,
Since they have ta'en such Pains
To lay their Lords in Iron Bands,
And bind their Kings in Chains.

Copernicus, thy learned Skill
We praise, since we have found
The Truth; for now doth Heav'n stand still,
While that the Earth runs round.

See how the Wheel of Providence
Back old Confusion brings!
Cashiers us once more of a Prince,
To plague's with Petty Kings.

They say, the Saints all Rule must take,
And others must have none:
Their Privilege it is to make
A Foot-Stool of the Throne.

The Laws o' th' Land say, *Charles* must
And Conscience pleads his Cause: (reign,
But Conscience is a Thing most vain,
Their Gospel eats up Laws.

Never such Rebels have been seen,
As since we led this Dance:
So we may feast, let Prince and Queen
Beg, *a-la-mode-de-France*.

Let Conscience pine, and cry, 'tis strange,
We'll say, 'tis bravely done,
To make the King take, in Exchange,
A Dungeon for a Throne.

Away with Justice, Laws and Fear;
When Men resolve to rise,
Brave Souls must scorn all Scruples, where
A Kingdom is the Prize.

Then let us what our Labours gain
Enjoy, and bless our Chance:
Like Kings, let's domineer and reign
Thus, *a-la-mode-de-France*.

King

King and no King, was once a Play,
Or Fable on the Stage:
But see! it is become, this Day,
The Moral of our Age.

Newcastle was the first best Scene,
Then *Holmby*, *Hampton-Court*;
Next, from a Palace to a Den
Translated, to make Sport.

Each State-Bufferoon a Part did take;
Some play'd the Fool, some Knave;
But still the Plot was laid to make
Their King a Royal Slave.

Brave Actors! we admire your Skill;
Your Play none understands;
Yet make an *Exit* when you will,
We all shall clap our Hands.

At *Westminster* two wond'rous Beasts,
This Day, are to be seen,
Call'd Liberty and Privilege,
(GOD save the King and Queen.)

Say, Monsters strange, what Kin are ye
To *Tygers* or the *Lyon*?
For Shame, boast not your Pedigree
From the sweet Sons of *Sion*.

This Liberty first whelp'd the Cause;
The Cause then lay at Lurch,
To gull the City, damn the Laws,
And quite cashier the Church.

But Privilege (O monstrous Thing!)
Eats up poor *Cavaliers*,
Feeds on the Gentry and the King;
But next have at the *Peers*.

Once more the Kingdom lies at Stake,
No Matter then who wins;
Two *Schismatics* the Wagers make,
And now the Game begins.

The *Scots* and *Sells*, two godly Cheats,
Debar both Ace and Sice:
To rook each other with fine Feats,
They both bring in false Dice.

The first throws for the Covenant,
Next who shall rule and sway:
For *Jockey* now doth swear and rant,
He'll have no more foul Play.

The *Sectaries* cry'd, Have at all,
When first the Dice were thrown;
But rather then the *Scots* shall brawl,
They'll part Stakes in the Crown.

The Devil's Reign is short, though fierce;
Then let our Music sound;
The Drawers all the Hogheads pierce,
And make the Healths go round.

Here's a Health to the King in *Sack*,
To the Houses in Small-Beer;
In Vinegar to th' crabbed Pack
Of Priests at *Westminster*.

Next, to revive our fainting States,
Fill out some *Aqua Vita*:
'Twere Pity, on the Bridge, such Pates
Should meet in a Committee.

Let's water th' Royal Plants with Tears
Of rich, divine *Canary*:
Drink on, *Cav'liers*, t' all Loyal Peers,
Then end with *Charles* and *Mary*.

Full forty thousand *Scots*, by Vote,
Must visit us e'er long:
Brave Army sure! when ev'ry *Scot*
Is forty thousand strong!

Tho' th' Houses have deserv'd these Plagues,
GOD keep our Nation free:
Like *Egypt*, let not us, by Rags
And Vermin conquer'd be.

For Shame, for Shame, call home your
With Honour let him treat: (King;
His Nature is without a Sting;
His *Motto*,—to forget.

Return, return, Disloyal Crew
Of Men forsworn: if not,
Rather then thus we'll stoop to you,
We'll Idolize the *Scot*.

Come, *Mahomet*, thy Turn is next;
Now Gospel's out of Date:
The *Alcoran* may prove Good Text,
In our new *Turkish*-State.

Thou dost unto thy Priests allow
The Sin of full four Wives:
Ours scarce will be content with now
Five Livings, and nine Lives.

Thy Saints and ours are all alike;
Their Vertues flow from Vice:
No blifs they do believe, and seek
But Earthly Paradise.

A Heav'n on Earth they hope to gain;
But we do know full well,
Could they their glorious Ends attain,
This Kingdom must be Hell.

From Prison now return the King,
The Queen and Prince from *France*,
For Cousin *Charles* the *Welshmen* sing,
And stoutly lead the Dance.

The *Scotch* Bag-Pipes, the Pulpit-Drums,
And Priests found high and big:
Once more the Cause and Cov'nant comes
To shew us a *Scotch* Jig.

The *Irish* will a Voyage take,
To join their Force in one;
And, while they frisk a *Galliard*, make
The Houses sing, *O Hone*.

Three Kingdoms thus must dance the *Hay*;
But e'er the Members run,
We'll see they shall the Music pay,
And then the Dance is done.

Seven Years, by frantic Votes and Fits,
Our Worthies bore Command;
Then did they run out of their Wits,
But now out of the Land.

No more shall they the City ride,
Like a fine Golden As;
The Navy's rigg'd with Wind and Tide,
They stay but for a Pass.

But if they linger long behind,
And keep their King in Bands,
I'll undertake it shall be sign'd
By a hundred thousand Hands:

For prosp'rous Gales then on the Deep,
Let their Priests prate and pray
By Order, and, at *Marg'ret's*, keep
A Humiliation-Day.

The *Factions* now each other rout
With Jealousies and Fear:
The *Independents* face about,
The rest cry, *As you were*.

The *Presbyters* put forth their Horns
To guard their Goods and Homes;
The *Sce-Militia* likewise scorns
Their Cocks should lose their Combs.

Then toll (I pray) the Passing-Bell,
For our new State-Committee:
These monstrous Votes, which made them
Are cow'd down by the City. (swell,

Sweet *John-a-Nokes* and *John-a-Styles*,
And worshipful *Jack-Straws*,
Of both the *Junto's*, leave your Wiles,
Restore our King and Laws.

Betwixt two Thieves our Saviour once
Suffer'd for us, and dy'd:
So 'twixt two thievish Factions
Our King is crucify'd.

Cesar, not CHRIST, the ancient *Jews*
Paid Tribute of their Treasure;
Our *Jews* no King but CHRIST will chuse,
And rob, and cry-down *Cesar*.

Now, for the King the zealous *Kirk*
'Gainst th' *Independent* bleats
When as (alas!) their only Wark
Is to renew old Cheats.

If they can fit, vote what they list,
And crush the new States down,
Then up go They; but neither CHRIST,
Nor King, shall have his own.

The

The Pox, the Plague, and each Disease,
Are cur'd, tho' they invade us:
But never look for Health and Peace,
If once *Presby'try* jade us.

When ev'ry Priest becomes a Pope,
Then Tinkers and Sow-gelders
May, if they but escape the Rope,
Be Princes and Lay-Elders.

If once the Kirk-men pitch their Tents
With our Assembly-Asses,
Synods will eat up Parliaments,
Courts be devour'd by Classes.

Look to 't, ye Gentry, else, be Slaves
To Slaves who can't abide ye:
Tho' ye have been cow'd down by Knaves,
Oh! let not Fools now ride ye.

But sev'n Years, of a thousand, 'tis,
Our Saints must Rulers be:
So they shall lose, in Years of Bliss,
Nine hundred ninety three.

No more then let those Rabbies trust
Unto the Revelation;
For their Interpreter is Lust,
And Pride makes Application.

Religion but a Pack-Horse is,
To carry on Designs;
The Bible, like a Jugglers Box,
Us'd by our State-Divines.

Texts are tormented, one by one,
Like Votes, now here, now there
Thus *Hocus-Pocus* is out-done
By those at *Westminster*.

The Banes are ask'd, the Marriage next
Goes forward in the City:
For now the Match is made betwixt
Them and the State-Committee.

Thou Strumpet, *London*, tell not us
Of *Babel* any more;
If from thy King thou partest us,
Thou are the greater Whore.

Thy Bags their Portion now are meant,
As well as Crown and Church;
But when that all is gone and spent,
They'll leave thee in the Lurch.

Thou Bawd of Treason, then for all
Thy cursed Fornication,
Thou, and thy Priestly Panders, shall
Be Carted thro' the Nation.

The Market's made; the King shall treat,
(They say) and buy his own:
But is not this a very Cheat,
To set the Price a Crown?

Alas! the Members run by Rote,
And shew us many a Feat:
Thus all the Year they'll vote, unvote,
For Money, Cloaths and Meat.

'Tis fit that they uphold their Trades,
What e'er Malignants speak:
So they can thrive, the City-Jades
Their Backs and Necks may break.

Poor, What d' ye lack? Small Gains can
With many an empty Shelf: (show,
The House spoils Shops; 'tis Ay and No
That brings in all the Pelf.

Rebellion makes our Nation bleed
With fresh Alarms, we see:
But yet it is not well agreed
Who must the Rebel be.

The *Round-head* first the Rebel was,
(If Truth be in the Laws)
Till Treason did for Gospel pass,
To bolster up the Cause.

The thriving Cause, with high Disdain,
In Fortunes full Career,
Throws Rebel in the Face again
Of King and Cavalier.

Thus prosp'rous Mischief makes it good
Against all Law and Reason:
Not to spill Royal, Loyal Blood,
But, to be conquer'd 's Treason.

Five Months ago, * our mighty States
Were pleas'd to Vote, *No King* ;
But two Months since, to act new Cheats,
Their Votes the Changes ring.

'Tis Time the Bells of *Westminster*
Chime backwards, and retire
To quench the Flame, when as we hear
The Kingdom's all on Fire.

But yet (it seems) they make a Stand,
And cry, it is no Matter :
What need they care for Fire or Land,
Whose Journey lies by Water ?

GOD send them Ships, fair Winds and Tide,
With Passage quick and good ;
Or else I fear (to scourge our Pride)
They'll swim through Seas of Blood.

The Holy War goes on apace,
Yet brings the Saints no Pay :
In Triumph now they ne'er say Grace,
But only Fast and Pray.

They many a hungry Conquest get,
But no Thanksgiving-Dinners :
The City knows they scorn to eat
With Publicans and Sinners.

The Members cannot spare one Meal ;
Their Bags lie seal'd in Town :
What tho' they broke the King's Great
They'd not undo their own ? (Seal,

The Country bids them starve, or hang,
They'll be no more kept under :
The *Cavaliers* will soundly bang
Them all, and spoil their Plunder.

Reformation, thou Stalking-Horse
Of our Hip-shotten State,
Th' Appendix of the Public Purse,
And Midwife of our Fate !

'Twas Thou, and Beldam-Conscience first,
That set the World a madding ;
And you yourselves, like *Cain* accus'd,
Have ever since been gadding.

Pox take th' unlucky Cause, for me,
It is a wild Vagary ;
The Bane of Boon Society :
For that first rais'd *Canary*.

Poor Sinners now must snap a Crust ;
Ye Deadly sev'n, farewell :
For since y'are all Excis'd, we must
Pay dear to purchase Hell.

What, tho' the Factions are agreed
The Kingdom still to cheat ?
Do what they can, it is decreed
The King shall come and treat.

Come from the Dungeon to the Throne,
(Great *Charles*) and quell the Rage
Of th' Iron World ; with Thee alone
Revives the Golden Age.

Those very Saints, who joy'd thy Fall,
And said thy Day was done,
Will now, like *Persian-Pagans*, all
Adore the Rising-Sun.

No more, wrap'd up in Clouds, remain,
Secluded from the Nation :
May Thou and Thine shine bright, and
A Glorious Constellation. (reign

It is decreed (Great Prince) thy Fate
Shall check their damned Plots ;
Tho' *London* jade it for the State,
And bandies at the *Scots*.

The *Presbyters* now fain would ride
And shew us t'other Feat ;
Therefore to quell the Saints high Pride,
They say, the King shall treat.

Were he in their Hands, the Town's their
The Houses too must work, (own,
To vote the *Independents* down,
And mount the Rascal *Kirk*.

Away, ye juggling, paltry Crew
Of well-affected Knaves ;
Rather than free your Sov'rain, you
Yourselfs will live like Slaves.

Stand to't, ye *Lords*, we'll stand to you,
And clip the *Commons* Wings :
Let not the *Lev'ling* Rascal-Crew,
Thus domineer like Kings.

The Lower is the Upper-House,
And hath been so sev'n Years :
Your Votes they value not a Louse,
Ye *Anti-Christian* Peers.

They give you many a Ratling Peal,
And bait you one by one ;
For should a Treaty take, their Zeal
And Saintships are undone.

My Lords, of *Gotham*, not of *Greece*,
Your Wisdoms I shall sing ;
And sell you all for Pence apiece,
If you reject your King.

No Camel like the *London*-Breed,
To Drudge, Pray, Pay and Feast ;
In Body, and in Purse to bleed :
O 'tis a patient Beast !

If you'll needs pray, pray stay at Home ;
Tell GOD your sad Condition :
'Tis *Papish* to the Saints to come,
And put up your Petition.

This wond'rous Idol of the States,
The Stomach hath of *Bell* :
Like *Moloch* it Mankind doth eat,
And quick devours, like Hell.

As th' Horse-Leech (*Give*) it ever cries,
And rages like the Dragon ;
As the old Serpent, it is wise ;
But it must fall like *Dagon*.

Would you know why the Plague hath
These last sev'n Years now spent ? (ceas'd
Because GOD knows no greater Pest
Than this same Parliament.

How many Thousands hath it swep'd
Of Bodies, Souls, and Gold !
King, Church, and People (none except)
Have all been bought and sold.

Our merry Pipes, for Trumpets shrill,
Our Tabers chang'd to Drums :
Princes are brav'd by *Jack* and *Jill*,
Wat Tylers, and *Tom Thumbs*.

'Tis time those Bags, which caus'd the War,
Should make the War to cease ;
For the States Music is to jar,
But our best Music's Peace.

How shall the King enjoy his own ;
And that new Vertue, Treason,
Whereby the Saints do claim the Crown,
Be baffled with high Reason.

Great *Charles*, thy Vertues I desire,
Not *Solomon's*, nor his Stores ;
For who can tell most to admire,
His Wisdom, or his Whores ?

His Vices so eclips'd his Grace,
That Wranglers cannot tell,
Whether, as yet, they may him place
In Heaven, or in Hell.

But all that was in him Divine,
And more, to Thee is giv'n ;
That, where so many Graces shine,
A Prison must be Heav'n.

Another Blow ! will not the *Scot*,
And Loyal *English* do ?
Sure, *Jove* himself is of the *Plot*,
An *Independent* too.

Is he a King, and will he see
Rebels assault the Crown ?
Had they but Hands to reach, 'tis he
Should next resign his own.

Is he a God ? and shall this Tribe
Go on as they begin ?
Atheists will say, they do him bribe
For Privilege to Sin.

If these be Saints, 'tis vain indeed
To think there's Good or Evil :
The World will soon be of this Creed,
No God, no King, no Devil.

Of

Of all those Monsters which we read
In *Afric*, *Inde*, or *Nile*,
None like to those now lately bred
Within this wretched *Ile*.

The *Cannibal*, the *Tyger* fell,
Croc'dile, *Sycophant*,
The *Turk*, the *Jew*, the *Infidel*,
Make up an *English* Saint.

By these were *Lisle* and *Lucas* crown'd;
Two Worlds, both great and good:
For Men, Arts, Arms, were all near drown'd
In Deluges of blood.

The Trump of Fame's too low and weak;
That of the General Doom
Is only fit their Praise to speak,
The World to be their Tomb.

The Treaty holds; and some Men are
Convinc'd the Wars will cease:
Fond Folk! to think the Men of War
Will e'er endure a Peace.

Go, bid the *Scot* quit *English* Ground,
The *Swede* and *German* Air;
Holland obey the *Spanish* Crown,
The *Pope* leave *Peter's* Chair.

Woode the great Statesman to his Grave,
Preach Gospel to the *Jews*,
To *Turks*, that *Mahomet's* a Knave,
Platonic Love to Stews.

Let Citizens loath sacred Things,
Presbyters Pride and Ease;
When these are done, make Saints love
And then we may have Peace. (Kings,

See in what Glory *Charles* now sits,
With Truth to conquer Treason;
And prove he is the King of Wits,
The World, Himself, and Reason.

Angels bear witness, God looks down,
The Graces too attend;
Sure, none but Devils then will frown
Upon a Blessed End.

Ten hundred thousand Loyal Hearts,
All bleeding at his Fate;
As many Wishes, from all Parts,
Fly round his Chair of State.

Come then, ye Dirty, Sainted Elves,
Worse than Church-Window Paint:
By this fair Glass abhor yourselves,
Learn here to be a Saint.

The King the four great Bills must pass,
And none but Saints be free:
Th' *Irish* and *Cavaliers*, alas!
Must th' only Rebels be.

New Lords, new Laws, new Saints are
Religion's in fine Pickle, (we;
When 'tis resolv'd the Church shall be
A three Years *Conventicle*.

Militia too they needs must gain,
Those pretty carnal Tools:
From *Paul's* old Weapons they disdain,
As fit for none but Fools.

Thus Royally *Charles* lets to Lease,
Lays Sword and Scepter down,
To shew he values Us and Peace
Above a Glorious Crown.

Give me the Dragon's Gall for Ink,
His Sting to be my Pen,
To blast the *Scot*, and make him stink
Worse than the Dregs of Men.

See now the Reformation-Wirk,
For which they made us bleed,
Is to cashire King, Church and Kirk,
On this and that Side *Tweed*.

Let them with *Egypt's* Plagues be crost,
Yet still find new and worse;
And since I have *Job's* Patience lost,
Give me his Skill to curse.

At Home and Hell may they e'er dwell;
And for quick Passage thither,
As they have juggled all full well,
So may they hang together.

Let

Let me be *Turk*, or any Thing
But a *Scotch Calvinist*:
First, he damn'd *Bishops*; next, his *King*;
Now he Cashiers his *CHRIST*.

Gude Faith, Sir, they the Pulpit bang,
But let their Gospel down;
For, the Old *Saviour* needs must gang,
Now a New One's come to Town.

The Saints, whom once their Mouths did
Dear Brethren are, and Friends: (curse,
Which proves their Zeal a Stalking-Horse,
For Knavish-godly Ends.

Then rail no more at Anti-Christ,
But learn ye to be civil:
And since ye have King *Cromwell* kiss'd,
Shake Hands too with the *Devil*.

Since they have damn'd all Saints of old,
No New shall be for me:
Like *Jews*, they worship Gods of Gold,
Their King they crucify.

Were he the King of Kings, his Crown
Could not be safe from Foes:
Like *Jesuits*, they no Gospel own,
But Murther and Depose.

Like *Turks*, their *Heav'n* lies all in Sense,
In Wenches, Tarts and Gelly:
No Hell they fear, when parted hence;
They serve no God, but Belly.

All this, and more (by *Jove*) is true,
If they the Treaty cease,
To juggle with the Lev'lling Crew
That cry, *No King, No Peace*.

No *Lord*, no *Knight*, no *Gentleman*,
For Honours now are Crimes:
The Saints will form us (if they can)
All to the Prim'tive Times.

Brave Days, when *Adam* was a King
Without Crown, Lands, or Riches!
So, stripp'd of Royal Robes, they'll bring
Great *Charles* to Fig-Leaf Breeches.

Princes with Plowmen rank'd shall pass;
Ladies, like the first Woman,
Must spin, or else be turn'd to Grass,
Now all Things are in common.

Thus Cov'nanting, and Levelling,
Three Kingdoms have o'erthrown,
And made all Fellows with their King,
A Foot-Ball of the Crown.

Tell me, thou *Presbyterian* Ass,
Why thou at first didst jar:
Thy peevish Plea (*No Bishops*) was
The first Ground of the War.

Next, to thy Shame, thou didst combine
With the *Sectarian* Routs;
Our *Charles* should be no King of thine,
Or but a King of *Clouts*.

Both King and Bishops thus Exil'd,
The Saints not yet content:
Now with fresh Flames of Zeal grow wild,
And cry, *No Parliament*.

Well may we then this Maxim prove,
Treason no End can know,
But levels at the Gods above,
As well as those below.

Hark, how for Peace the Kingdom groans,
Which warr'd they knew not why!
Yield then, or else the very Stones
Will out against you cry.

For Shame, ye Bastard-Saints, give o'er,
Or else the World will think
Your Mother is great *Babel's* Whore,
If Blood you love to drink.

The State's grown fat with *Orphan's* Tears,
While Widows pine and mourn;
And tender Conscience in sev'n Years,
Is turn'd t' a Heart of Stone.

Return, hard Hearts, the Treaty ends,
Our Breasts with Hope do swell;
Your Bags are full, then let's be Friends,
Or bid the World farewell.

No Gods above, nor Gods below,
Our Saints (I see) will own ;
Allegiance is Rebellion now,
Treason to wear a Crown.

Nor *King* nor *Parliament* will please,
'Tis Gospel to rebel :
Nay, they'll Remonstrate against Peace,
Be it in Heav'n or Hell.

Pluto, beware, to thee they come .
When here their Work is done :
For they'll break loose, and beat up Drum,
And storm thee in thy Throne.

Then *John-a-Leyden*, *Nol*, and all
Their Goblin-ghostly Train,
(Brave Rebel-Saints triumphant) shall
Begin their second Reign.

Brave *Reformation* ! now I see
London's a blessed Place,
To find the Saints their Quarter free,
And nurse the Babes of Grace.

Oh, may they suck, and drain them quite,
Whose Thousands caus'd these Curses ;
For the tame Slaves will never fight
Till they have empty Purfes.

Come then, ye lousy, wanton Wags
Of Sainted Chevalry,
And free their poor condemned Bags,
Which groan for Liberty.

March on, boon Blades, here's Store of Cash,
Their King they will not pity :
Then spur them on, and soundly lash
These dull Men of the City.

Dull Cuckolds ! we are dainty Slaves,
And well may be content,
When thirty Fools, and twenty Knaves,
Make up a Parliament.

They banish all Men in their Wits,
Vote *King*, *Lords*, *All Offenders* ;
And authorize the frantic Fits
Of our Long-Sword State-Menders.

'Tis *Nol's* own Brew-House now, I swear ;
The Speaker's but his Skinker : War,
Their Members are, like th' Council of
Carmen, *Pedlars*, and *Tinkers*.

Fine Journey *Junto* ! pretty Knack !
None such in all past Ages !
Shut Shop ; for, now the Godly Pack
Will next pay you your Wages.

Gone are those Golden Days of yore,
When *Christmas* was a High-Day,
Whose Sports we now shall see no more ;
'Tis turn'd into *Good-Friday*.

Now, when the *King* of *Kings* was born,
And did Salvation bring,
They strive to Crucify, in Scorn,
His *Vice-Roy*, and their *King*.

Since th' ancient Feast they have put down,
No new one will suffice ;
But the choice Dainties of a Crown,
Princes in Sacrifice.

No Powers are safe, Treason's a Tilt,
And the mad Sainted-Elves
Boast when the Royal Blood is spilt,
They'll all be *Kings* themselves.

Like jolly Slaves, ye goodly Knaves,
We'll bid th' old Year *Adieu* :
Old *Sack* and Things must pass away,
And so shall all your New.

Now for a *No-King*, or a *New* ;
For th' Old, they say, shall pack ;
The New may serve a Year to view,
Like an old *Almanach*.

New Houses, new ; for, th' old Ones dote,
And have been thrice made Plunder ;
And Saints do Vote, and Act by Rote,
And are a Nine-Days Wonder.

Then let us chear, this merry New-Year ;
For *Charles* shall wear the Crown :
'Tis a damn'd Cause, that damns the Laws,
And turns all Up-Side down.

In

In Mr. Bevil Higgon's SHORT REVIEW of our ENGLISH HISTORY, (very few of which Books escaped the Hands of some of his late MAJESTY'S Messengers, &c. on Account of certain Offences it gave) I find the following Character of his Highness the Lord Protector.

Oliver Cromwell was descended, by a Daughter, from the famous *Cromwell*, in the Time of *Harry* the Eighth. From this Ancestor, who was one of the first *Fanatics* in *England*, our *Oliver* seems to have derived his Enthusiasm, which now meeting with more Power and Malice, was more fatal. This Person, from a very Private Gentleman, by running in with the Humour of the Times, which was Whining, Canting and Preaching, had raised himself, by Degrees, to the Supreme Command in the Army. Whether or no he was really so great a Man as some People fancy, who always admire successful Villainy, we will here inquire. Some of his Contemporaries, in their Memoirs, have denied even that which seems his most visible great Quality, his Personal Courage: But this Disingenuity we will impute to Pique and Envy, by allowing him a Quality which is no longer a Virtue than when it is well placed. We find it often in Thieves and Highwaymen, as well as in Heroes; and Philosophy calls it only a Brutal Ferity, when not founded on a Basis of Prudence and Justice. As for the other great Endowments, both of Body and Mind, which are the Ladders of Ambition, and have raised Men in all Ages and Countries, he seems to have wanted them all, except a profound Dissimulation and Hypocrisy. His Person was mean, his Aspect unpromising, and his Address awkward, unbecoming a Gentleman. Besides, his natural Parts were not extraordinary, nor improved by any very great Advantages of Education; for he was very ignorant of the Great World, and very illiterate, notwithstanding he had been bred in a University, which is in itself not the best Education to form a Great Man. This Want of due Qualifications, seems to render him improper for Insinuation and Popularity; for it is certain, that his Aspect and Behaviour were so far from engaging, that, to the contrary, there is a memorable Tradition; — That when he was only a Private Burgess, in the Year 41. before he was known in the World, or the War broke out, Sir *Bevil Granvil*, who was a Member of that Parliament, conceived so mortal a Disgust against the Person of this *Cromwell*, that he could not endure to sit near him in the House; and when he was ask'd, by his Friends, what Reason he had for that Aversion? he replied; "He could give no Account, but that his Mind foreboded, that ill-looking Fellow would destroy the King:" A Pretage more Remarkable than True. But we have several Instances of the like Nature in Story. So that, after all, we must ascribe this extraordinary Rise to a strange Conjunction of Circumstances in the Time he lived, which, as they never happened in the World before, so probably never may again: For a Man to raise his Fortune by *Preaching* and *Praying*, which were the only Talents which first recommended him to this *Fanatic* Army; a Profession which, in other Ages and Countries, never much minded Religion. Upon this Consideration we may rationally conclude, That, had he been born in *England* in any other Time, he would have been no more than *Oliver Cromwell*; and if in *France*, never had a Regiment of Horse.

A a 2

Valour

Valour ANATOMIZED in a FANCY.

By Sir PHILIP SIDNEY. 1581.

L O N D O N Printed in the Year 1651.

VAlour towards Men, is an Emblem of Ability towards Women; a good Quality signifying a better. Nothing draws a Woman like to it. Nothing is more believable for that Sex: for from it they receive Protection, and in a free way too, without any Danger. Nothing makes a shorter Cut to obtaining; for a Man of Arms is always void of Ceremony, which is the Wall that stands betwixt *Piramus* and *Thisbe*, that is Man and Woman: For there is no Pride in Women but that which rebounds from our own Baseness (as Cowards grow Valiant upon those who are more Cowards) so that only by our pale Asking we teach them to deny; and by our Shame-facedness we put them in Mind to be Modest. Whereas indeed it is cunning Rhetoric to persuade the Hearers, that they are that already which the World would have them to be. This Kind of Bashfulness is far from Men of valorous Disposition, and especially from Soldiers, for such are ever Men (without Doubt) forward and confident, losing no Time, lest they should lose Opportunity, which is the best Factor for a Lover. And because they know Women are given to dissemble, they will never believe them when they deny. Certainly before this Age of Wit, and wearing Black brake in upon us, there was no way known to win a Lady, but by Tilting, Turneyng, and Riding, to seek Adventures thro' Dangerous Forests: In which Time, these Slender Striplings, with little Legs, were held but of Strength enough to marry their Widows. And even in our Days, there can be given no Reason of the Inundation of Serving-Men upon their Mistresses, but only that usually they carry their Masters Weapons, and their Valour. To be accounted handsome, just, learned, and well-favoured, all this carries no Danger with it. But it is better to be admitted to the Title of Valiant Acts: at least that imports the venturing of Mortality; and all Women delight to hold him safe in their Arms who hath escaped thither thro' many Dangers. To speak at once; Man hath a Privilege in Valour. In Clothes and good Faces we do but imitate Women; and many of that Sex will not think much (as far as an answer goes) to dissemble Wit too. So then these neat Youths, these Women in Men's Apparel, are too near a Woman to be beloved of her; they be both of a Trade, but he of a grim Aspect, and such a one a Lady dares take, and will desire him for Newness and Variety. A Scar in a Man's Face, is the same that a Mole is in a Woman's; and a Mole in a Woman's is a Jewel set in White, to make it seem more White. So a Scar in a Man is a Mark of Honour, and no Blemish; for it is a Scar and a Blemish in a Soldier to be without one. Now as for all Things
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else which are to procure Love, as a good Face, Wit, Clothes, or a good Body, each of them (I must needs say) works somewhat, for Want of a better; that is, if Valour corrive not therewith. A good Face availeth nothing; if it be on a Coward who is Bashful, the utmost of it is to be kiss'd, which rather increaseth than quencheth Appetite. He who sends her Gifts, sends her Word also, that he is a Man of small Gifts otherwise: for wooing by Signs and Tokens implies the Author dumb. And if *Ovid* (who wrote the Law of Love) were alive, as he is extant, and would allow it as a good Diversity, then Gifts should be sent as Gratuities, not as Bribes, and Wit would rather get Promise than Love. Wit is not to be seen, and no Woman takes Advice of any in her Loving, but of her own Eyes, or her Waiting-Woman's: nay, which is worse, Wit is not to be felt, and so no good Bedfellow. Wit applied to a Woman makes her dissolve her Simperings, and discover her Teeth with Laughter; and this is surely a Purge for Love: for the Beginning and Original of Love is a kind of foolish Melancholy. As for the Man who makes his Taylor his Bawd, and hopes to inveagle his Love with such a coloured Suit, surely the same Man deeply hazards the Loss of her Favour upon every Change of his Clothes. So likewise the other who courts her silently, with a good Body, let me tell him, that his Clothes stand always betwixt his Mistress's Eyes and him. The Comeliness of Clothes depends upon the Comeliness of the Body, and so both upon Opinion. She who hath been seduced by Apparel, let me give her to weete, that Men always put off their Clothes before they go to Bed; and let her who hath been inamored of her Servant's Body understand, that if she saw him in a Skin of Cloth (that is, in a Suit made to the Pattern of his Body) she would discern slender Cause to love him ever after. There are no Clothes fit so well, in a Woman's Eye, as a Suit of Steel, tho' not of the Fashion: and no Man so soon surpriseth a Woman's Affections, as he who is the Subject of Whisperings, and hath always some twenty Stories of his own Atchievements depending upon him. Mistake me not, I understand not by Valour one who never fights but when he is back'd by Drink or Anger, or hiss'd on by Beholders; nor one who is desperate, nor one who takes away a Serving-Man's Weapons, when perhaps they cost him his Quarter's-Wages; nor one who wears a Privy-Coat of Defense, and therein is confident: For then such as make Bucklers would be accounted the very Scum of the Common-wealth. I intend one of an even Resolution, grounded upon Reason, which is always even; having his Power restrained by the Law of not doing Wrong.

PHILIP SIDNEY.

W O O E I N G - S T U F F .

FAint Amorist: what, do'st thou think
To tast Loves Honey, and not drink
One Dram of Gall? or to devour
A World of Sweet, and tast no Sour?
Do'st thou ever think to enter,
Th' *Elysian* Fields, who dar'st not venture
In *Charon's* Barge? a Lover's Mind,
Must use to sail with every Wind.

He who Loves, and fears to try,
Learns his Mistress to deny.
Doth she chide thee? 'tis to shew it,
That thy Coldness makes her do it.
Is she Silent? is she Mute?
Silence fully grants thy Sute;
Doth she Pout, and leave the Room?
Then she goes to bid thee come.

Is

Is she Sick? why then be sure,
 She invites thee to the Cure.
 Doth she croſs thy Sute with No?
 Tush, ſhe loves to hear thee Wooe.
 Doth ſhe call the Faith of Man
 In Queſtion? Nay, ſhe loves thee then;

And if e'er ſhe make a Blot,
 She's loſt if that thou hit't her not.
 He who after ten Denials,
 Dares attempt no farther Tryals,
 Hath no Warrant to acquire,
 The Dainties of his chaſt Deſire.

PHILIP SIDNEY.

[The following being really a Curioſity, and never (as I can poſſibly learn) extant but in a looſe Paper, too liable to be deſtroyed, it may not be a diſagreeable Amuſement.]

Quaker Veracity : Or the Laſt Will of their Great Apoſtle George Fox, As it was all written by his own Hand, and is now lying in the Prerogative-Office. Publiſhed to convince the World, that he who made this Will, and could not write one Line of True Engliſh, is not the Author of any one Page in all thoſe Books which the Quakers have impudently publiſhed under his Name.

I Do give to Thomas Lower my ſadell the ar at Jhon Nelfons and bridall and ſpores and bootes inward lethereths and the newengland indan Bible and my great book of the ſignifying of names, and my book of the new teſtament of eight langes and all my fiſekall things that came from beyond the ſeay with the outlandeſh cup and that thing that people doe give gliſters with and my tow diales the one is an eknockſha diall and all my over plieſh bookes to be devided among my 4 ſones in law and alſo all my other bookes and my hamack I doe give to Thomas Lower that is at bengamin antrobus his cloſet and rachall may take that which is at Swarthmor.

and Thomas Lover may have my walnut equnockſhall diall and if he can he may get one cut by it which will be hard to do and he ſhall have one of my proſpect glaſeſes in my tranck at London and a pare of my gloveſeſs and my ſeale G. F. and the flaming ſword to Nat Mead and my othnr two ſeales J Roſe and the other Dan Abraham and Thomas Laier ſhall have my Spaneſh lether hud S Meade ſhall have my magnifying glaſ and the torkel ſhell com and cace. G. F.

and all that I have written conſaring what I doe give to my reſaſhons ether mony or other ways Jhon Loſt may put it up in my tronke at Jhon Elienes and wright all things downe in a paper and make a paper out of all my papers how I have ordered things for them and Jhon Loſt may ſend all things down by Powleſworth carrer in the trouнке to Jhon Fox at Powleſworth in Warwickſher and let Jhon Fox ſend Jhon Loſt a full receat and a diſcharge and in this mater and non of you may be conſurned but Jhon Loſt only. G. F.

and my other letell tronke that ſtandeth in Bengmin Antrubeſes cloſet with the outlandiſh things Thomas Lover ſhall have and if it be ordered in any other papeers to any other that muſt not ſtand ſoe but as now orders. G. F.

and Sary thou may give Sary Frickenfeld half a gine for ſhe hath been ſarveſable to mee a honeſt carſull young woman. G. F.

make

make no noyes of thef things but doe them in the life as I have orderd them and when all is don and cleared what remenes to the printing of my books.

Bengmin Antrabus hath one 100 of mine take noe yowes of them for it when you do receive it.

and in my cheaft in Bengamen Antrabs chamber there is a letell gilt box with fom gold in it Sary Mead to take it and let it do it farveses among the rest so far as it will goe the box is sealed up. G. F.

and let Thomas Docker that knoeth many of my Epefeles and written bookes which he did wright com up to London to alist frends in sorting of my Epefeles and other writings and give him a gine. G. F.

This is to be put up among G. F. seled up papers that pocket that Sary Mead hath.

I do order W. and Sarah Mead and J. Lover to take care of all my my books and Epefeles and papers that be at Benjimin Antrobs and at M. M. chamber and thof that com from Swarthmor and my jorall of my life and the paseges and travels of frendes and to take them all into ther hands and all the over pluch of them the may have and keep together as a library when the have gathered them them together which is to be parted.

and for them to take charge of all my mony and defray all as I have ordered in my other papers and any thing of mine the may the may take and god will and shall be ther reward the 8. mo. 1688. G. F.

Thomas Lover and John Rous may alist you and all the Paseges and travild and suferings of frinds in the beging of the spreading of the troath which I have keep together will make a fine history and the may be had at Swarthmor with my other bookes and if the com to London with they papers then the may be had either at W. M. or ben Antrubs closet for it is a fine thing to know the beging of the spreading of the gospel after so long night of apostace since the Apofels days that now Christ reines as he did in the harts of his people glory to the lord for ever amen. G. F.

The 8. mon. 1688. ——— Endorfed thus,

For G. F. to be layed in the tranke at W. M. the 8. Mo. 1688.

[Having concluded my First *Number* with an *Old Prayer*, sure none can take Offence at my ending this my Second *Number* with a *New Song*.]

[Now first Printed.]

A New BALLAD, written Extempore, by a Young Gentleman, on a Race, no less manfully Run, than miraculously Won, in Stowe-Garden, by the Reverend Mr. CON RAN, the 7th of December, 1730.

To the Tune of, CHIVEY CHACE.

Good *Church-men* all to me attend,
With glad and joyful Heart:
For him who's not the *Church's* Friend
I do not care a F——t.

I'll tell you of a famous *Race*,
At *Stowe*, near *Buckingham*,
In which a *Parson*, by G—d's Grace,
Out-ran a Nimble *Dame*.

This *Parson* was not lank and lean,
Like *Saints* who little eat;
But plump and round, like any *Dean*,
Well-fed and full of Meat.

And therefore many did suppose,
He was not fit to run;
And that his Breath he'd surely lose,
E'er half the Course was done.

But

But he (tho' ill he did appear
To Exercise inclin'd,) /
With Preaching long, and loud, and clear,
Had strengthen'd much his Wind.

When, therefore, him this Lady-Fair,
To run with her defy'd,
He swore, an Oath wou'd make you stare,
The Wager shou'd be try'd.

Now both, on equal Ground, were set,
Before the Garden Gate;
And divers on their Heads did bett,
Whose Names I will relate.

First Col'nel *Bland* cry'd out aloud,
" I for *My Lady* Stake:"
For, right or wrong, he judg'd it good
The *Ladies* Part to take.

And next Sir *Molton Lambert*, Knight,
Against the *Doctor* laid,
Who bore the *Church-men* mortal Spite,
And oft'ner punn'd than pray'd.

But Lady *Lambert*, Godly Dame,
Tho' to a *Heathen* join'd,
To bring the *Church's* Foes to Shame
Was piously inclin'd.

Eke Lady *Vanburgh* did appear
Upon the *Doctor's* Side:
Why Women *Parsons* love so dear,
I shall not here decide.

While thus before the Goal they stay,
Expecting the Command,
His Gown the *Doctor* threw away,
And eke his Wig and Band.

This being done, with chearful Look
He cry'd; " Begin the Race:"
But first a Napkin white he took,
Wherewith to sponge his Face.

Then like two Arrows, from one Bow,
Together both they start:
O! had you heard how *Con* did blow
It wou'd have griev'd your Heart.

But soon *My Lady* got before
(Tho' wond'rous Haste *Con* made)
Whereat he puff'd, and strain'd, and swore,
And last of all he pray'd.

O! hear me all ye *Saints* Above,
Who *Priests* were heretofore,
Now to your Brother shew your Love,
Who is distress'd full sore.

And never let such foul Disgrace
Upon our *Order* fall,
That we shou'd lag in any Race,
Earthly or Spiritual.

His pious Pray'r he soon obtain'd;
For, lo a Miracle!
My Lady both her Ancles sprain'd,
And flat along she fell.

Con spying this, before her shot,
And onward nimbly flew:
To see his Speed one wou'd have thought,
A *Mitre* was in View.

Now to the Goal he panting came,
And seiz'd upon the *Prize*:
For, tho' 'tis true he ran for *Fame*,
He do's not *Gold* despise.

Soon as this Prodigy was blaz'd
Abroad, both far and near,
Dear *Mother-Church* it highly rais'd,
And struck her *Foes* with Fear.

The P——, of fair L—— Town
To Heav'n gives Praises due,
Which thus exalts the Rev'rend Gown,
By Signs and Wonders new.

And hence he argues, learnedly,
'Gainst *Misbelievers* vile;
Nay, proves the *Clergy*, soon will be
The *Darlings* of our Isle.

Now Heav'n fulfil this Prophecy,
Without too long Delay,
And grant that we may live to see
That good and blessed Day.



Phoenix Britannicus.

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N U M B. III.

[Many talk of Robin Hood, who never shot in his Bow; says our Proverb. — Nothing is more common among us, than to hear People talk very familiarly of the Rack, to which the happy Inhabitants of this Realm have long been Strangers. Of all the Accounts I ever read on that Subject, none so well agrees with the Relations I have heard Abroad, from the Mouths of some who have experienced what Racking is, as does this of William Lithgow. Wherefore, as his Book is scarce, I judged proper to borrow the following Extract, for the Satisfaction of such as may be desirous of knowing something concerning it. True, this Author seems guilty of several Insincerities, in some of his Narratives relating to more remote Parts: But as this, I say, does not disagree from what I have had elsewhere, and is withal so well attested by Persons of such Credit, the whole of it may seemingly be depended on. Soon after the Death of King James I, Mr. Lithgow published his Travels; which Book, in Octavo, he Dedicated to King Charles I. I deliver all as I find it, in his own Scottish Dialect, omitting only some of his Poesies, which, I take it, would not have proved much to the Edification of our modern English Readers: Nor do I correct much of his Cacography, except in some Proper Names, and his Spanish, which he strangely mangles. His Confabulation with the Inquisitors, if Fact, may be allowed to be much such a Piece of Wisdom as that of one Gardiner, in the Reign of K. Edward VI, whose Zeal so out-ran his Prudence, that snatching the Host out of the Priest's Hand, and stamping on it (even in the King of Portugal's Presence) he got himself miserably Roasted alive, at Lisbon, as may be read at large, in Fox.—In Barbary they have a Saying, worthy Observance: "Always, when you are in a strange Place, thrust your Finger into the Ground, and then put it to your Nose, to smell where you are."]

WILLIAM LITHGOW's Account of his Inhuman Racking,
by the SPANIARDS, at MALAGA, in 1620.

AT TENDING my Departure from Malaga, upon the fifth Day after my coming hither, Anno 1620. October 27th. the English Fleet, that went against the Pyrates of Algiers, gave Anchor at Mid-night in the Road: whose suddain coming yielded no small Fear to the affrighted Town, mistaking them for Turks;

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B b

for

Malaga affrighted with the English Fleet.

for the two Castle Belis ringing backward, the thundering Drums resounding, and the Town all the latter Night in Arms, bred such disturbant Despair to their Families, and Distraction to themselves, that their Wives and Children fled to the higher Castle, without the Town; and I staid Comfort with the Defendants till Day-light. But Morning come, and the English Colours discovered, *Don Gaspar Ruiz de Peredas* the Governor, went aboard of the English General Sir *Robert Mansel* *, where after congratulating Compliments, he being returned ashoar, dismissed the Burgers and their Arms. In that Afternoon, and the Day following, being *Saturday*, there came Hundreds ashoar of my special Friends and old Familiars, *Londoners* and Courtiers, with whom desirously met, we were jovial together, till *Sunday* Morning: where then I went aboard of the *Lyon*, his Majesty's Ship, and saluted the General, who kindly entertained me to the next Day, that the Fleet was divided in three Squadrons, and he under Sail, and then unhappily came I ashoar in a Fisher-boat, to my dear-bought Destruction, being fore against the General's Will, but that I should have gone with him to *Algiers*: Save only that my Linnen, Letters and Sacket were lying in my Hostery, and so could not go: But what shall I say?

Quod fortuna dedit, nemo tollere potest.

And so now followeth the sorrowful Relations of my Tragical Sufferings, which as briefly as I may, I shall succinctly avouch, although the larger, the better to be understood.

*Sad Soul mix Truth, with grave and prompt Discourse.
Let Passions be, this Tragic Style must rest
On Faith and Patience, Columns of Secourse,
Which underpropp'd my Sufferings here expres'd:
Lord weigh my Words, with Wisdom, give me Grace
In all this Work, to give thy Glory Place.*

I was no sooner entred the Town, and drawing up a private Way to my Lodging, to shun Company and Acquaintance, for that Night was I to have embarked for *Alexandria*, but I was suddenly surpris'd in that narrow depopulated Street, with nine *Alguaziles*, (Sergeants) who inclosing me on both Sides, laid violent Hands on me, wrapping me up in a black Frizado Cloak, and griping my Throat to stop my crying, they carried me on their Arms to the Governor's House, and inclosed me in a low Parlour.

To which when the Governor came, for I was acquainted with him before, I sadly spoke, saying, *My most noble Governor, and worthy Lord, I humbly beseech your Goodness to shew for what Offence or Cause, I am thus violently brought before you, knowing that in me, and from my Carriage, there is no Injury committed.*

Whereat, without Answer, and shaking his Head, he caused to inclose me in a little Cabinet, within the Parlour, till he went for Mafs, commanding them with all possible Diligence to fetch hither the Captain of the Town, *Don Francisco de Cordova*, the *Alcalde Mayor*, and the States *Scrivan* †, injoining them to conceal my Apprehending till farther Tryal, under the Pain of Death.

At last he from the Mafs, and they come hither, the Sergeants were dismissed, the Doors made fast, and I was brought forth before these four *Cavaliers*, all placed in

* Look back to Page 79.

† *Escrivano*.

Chairs,

Chairs, and the *Scrivan* Table-set, with Pen and Paper to write my Confession. Where after long silence, the Governor asked me of my Nation, and how long, and how often I had been out of my Country, and whether I was bound and how long I had been in *Spain*?

To whom I punctually returned my dividuate Answers.

Whereupon being inclosed in my former Cabinet, within a while *Don Francisco* entered my Room, demanding me, if I had been in *Sivilla*, or was come from it? and clapping my Cheeks with a *Judas-Smile* made this Entreaty. *My dear Brother and gallant Companion; confess freely that you have been in Sivilla; for your Countenance bewrayeth, there are some bidden Purposes in the Closet of your Breast; and Para huyr mas malo *, you had best in Time relate to me the Truth.*

Whereat I saying no, as Truth acquired, he went back, resolving them of my stiff Denial, and they therewith incensed, I was invited to their former Presence, and main Accusations ensuing. First the Governor made me swear and hold up my Hand, that I should tell the particular *A Tyrannical Truth* of every Thing he was to demand of me; which indeed I *constrained Oath*: did according to my Knowledge.

Then he required, if the *English* General was a Duke, or Great Signor, and what could be the Reason, that he refused to come ashore there? For that was the first Impression of their false conceived Jealousy. Next, he asked me, if I knew his Name, and the other Captains, and what their Names were? And what their Intention was? Or if I had known of their coming Abroad, or Preparation for it, before my Departure from *England*?

The *Scrivan* writing down, mean while, every Word he spoke, and what I answered: Well; to all the former Particulars giving condign Satisfaction, and to the last, denying that I knew of the Forth-coming of the Fleet, they all four gave a Shout in the contrary. Whereupon the Governor swearing, cursed and said, *Thou lyeest like a Villain, thou art a Spy and a Traytor, and camest directly from England of Purpose to Spain; and hast been lying nine Months in Sivilla, getting sure Intelligence, when the Spanish Navy was looked for from the Indies; and that thou expressly here came to meet with the English Armada (knowing of their Drift) to give them credible Knowledge thereof: And that, by thy Information, they might the more readily compass their Ends, and thus thy Treachery and Subtilty hath been employed.*

Whereat I being astonished, and seriously answering for the Intention of the *English* Fleet, and my own Innocency concerning them: He threatening said, I was seen Familiar aboard and ashore, with the whole Captains, and known to be of their special Acquaintance; besides three Hundred other Gentlemen, and Mariners with whom, and they with thee, were so inward, that it far exceeded Kindness of accidental Meeting.

*The English
Acquaintance
my greatest
Hinderance.*

All this we saw, and hourly remarked (said he) and thou art newly come from the General, when thou wast taken, where consulting with their Council of War this Morning (concerning what they assigned thee to accomplish) thou hast delivered thy Opinion, and the Expectation of *Sivilla*, touching the Return of his Majesty's *Armada de Plata*; and therefore thou art a *Spionot*, a Traytor, and a scelerate *Vellaco* ‡: for we are not ignorant (said he) of the burning of *San Thoma*, in the *West-Indies*; for there and then we had a certain Evidence of the *English* Infidelity and treacherous Exploits, in Time of Peace: Wherefore these *Lutherans*, and Sons of the Devil, ought, from us good *Catholics*, to receive no Credit.

* To avoid worse.

† *Espion*, i. e. A Spy.
B b 2

‡ *Rogue*.
Where-

Whereupon I besought him, to send for some sufficient *English* Factors, there sojourning, who would testify the contrary in my Behalf, their Country, and their Fleet: but that he would not, for my being discovered. At last, seeing his damnable Opinion, and to clear my self of such false Imputations, I requested him to send a Sergeant to my *Posado*, or Lodging, for my Clogbag, where he should see a more evident Testimony of my Carriage and honest Purpose, and thereupon the Approbation of my Prince.

This Demand liked him well, thinking thereby to find out all the Secrets and Practices of my Negotiation with the *English* Fleet. Whereupon
His Majesty's Letters and Seals misregarded. forthwith, and with close Circumspection, he had it brought unto him, my Hostage-House not knowing where I was. The Clogbag I opened my self, and showing him his Majesty's Letters in Parchment, and under his Hand and Seal, dated at *Theobalds* 1619. July 17th. and compiled and wrote by Mr. *Thomas Red*, then Secretary for the *Latin* Tongue, done in my Behalf, and my intended Resolution for *Æthiopia*, the King's Safe-Conduct he misregarded, giving it neither Respect nor Trust.

After which, I show'd him divers Patents, Seals, and the Great Seal of *Jerusalem*, Passports, and my Book of Arms, called *Liber armorum*, wherein I had the Hand-writs and Arms of sundry Kings, Dukes, Princes, Vice-Roys, Marquesses, Earls, Lords, and Governors, &c. done in Prose and Verse, in *Greek*, *Latin*, or their Maternal Tongues, being as propitious Pledges of their Favour, in Commendation of me, and of my Travels.

But all these would not satisfy him; nay, rather confirming a greater Jealousy of his former Suspicion: whereupon misconstruing all, they seized absolutely upon my Clog-bag, viewing and detaining all I had, at their Pleasure; including me the third Time. This done, and within Night, being represented again, the Governor commanded me to subscribe my Confession, which I voluntarily obeyed; though they still urged me farther and farther to confess. Mean while these four Complices consulting about my Imprisonment, the *Alcalde*, or Chief Justice, would have had me along with him to the Town-Jayl, but the *Corrigidor* refused, saying, *Para no ser visto de sus Payfanos*: That he may not be seen by his Country-Men, it behoveth me to have a care of his Concealment: and I warrant you (said he) I shall lodge him well enough.

Upon the same Knowledge of this, that I was secretly to be incarcerated in the Governor's Palace, entered the Mr. *Sergeant*, and begged my Money, and Licence to search it: and Liberty granted, he found in my Pockets Eleven *Phillippoes* or Ducatoons; and then uncloathing me before their Eyes, even to my Shirt, and searching my Breeches, he found in my Doublet Neck, fast shut between two Canvasses, a hundred and thirty-seven Double Pieces of Gold. Whereat the *Corrigidor* arose and counting my Gold, being five hundred forty eight Ducats, he said to the Sergeant, Cloath him again, and inclose him there in the Cabinet, till after Supper. Mean while the Sergeant got the eleven Ducatoons of Silver; and my Gold, which was to take me for *Æthiopia*, the Governor seized upon; giving afterwards two hundred Crowns of it to supply the new-laid Foundation of a *Capuchin* Monastery there, reserving the rest (being three hundred forty-eight Ducats) for his own avaricious Ends.

This done, and Midnight come, the Sergeant and two *Turkish* Slaves releasing me from the inferior Room, brought me through certain ascending Passages, to a Chamber, in a sequestrate Side of the Palace, toward the Garden, and right above his Summer Kitchen: Where, there and then, the Sergeants, and the two Slaves, thrust on every Ankle a heavy Bolt, my Legs being put to the full Stride, by a main
 Gal

Gad of Iron far above a Yard long, upon the Ends of which the two Bolts depended, that were fastned about my Legs; insomuch that I could never sit up, nor walk, nor stand, nor turn me, but lay continually on my Back; the Irons being thrice heavier than my Body.

Whereupon beholding my inevitable Misery, and such Monster-made Irons, my sighing Soul deplored thus: *Alas Sergeant, and you two Slaves, remark in me the just Judgments of God; and loe how the Heavens have reduced me to this meritorious Reward, and truly deserved; for I have dearly and truly bought it; that I whose Legs and Feet the whole Universe could scarcely contain, now these Bolts and Irons keep them fast, in a Body-Length of a Stone-paved Floor.* O foolish Pride! O suppressing Ambition! and vaporous Curiosity! Woe worth the Fury of your aspiring Vanities; you have taken me over the Face of the Earth, and now left me in a Dungeon-hole: My soul, O my Soul is Leager unto this Proverb, *Man proposeth, and God disposeth*: O happy had I been, thrice happy in a Shepherd's Life.

Thus, and more lamenting the Destiny of Nature, they left me with solacious Words, and straight returned again with Victuals; being a Pound of boil'd Mutton, a Wheat Bread, and a small Pint of Wine: which was the first, the best, and the last of this Kind that ever I got in that woeful Mansion. The Sergeant leaving me (never seeing him more, till a more unwelcomed Sight) he directed the Slaves, that, after I had contented my discontented Appetite, they should lock the Door, and carry the Keys to *Arcta*, a *Spaniard*, and Keeper of the Silver-plate.

A little while after he was gone, the other Drudge left me also, who newly turned *Christian*; where being alone with *Hazier* [probably *Hassan*] the Natural *Turk*, who was to attend me, feed me, and keep me, lying nightly a constrained Centinel, without the Door of my Imprisonment; he demanded me for what Cause I was committed, and what Malefact I was guilty of? to whom I answered, only for a naked Suspicion, mistaking the Honourable Intention of the *English Armada*, I am as a Spy apprehended, and falsely accused.

Whereupon the silly Slave, falling down on his Knees, held up his Hands, crying, *Hermano, Hermano, es muy grand menester, para tomar paciencia, &c.* Brother, Brother, it is much needful for you to take all in Patience, for it is impossible now you can escape some fearful Tryal, and thereupon a horrible Punishment, even unto Death; and alas! to relieve you, if I durst (as I dare not under Death) to discover you to your Country-Men, I would do it upon my Knees: And leaving me with a weeping Good-Night, he made fast the Door, and transported the Keys, as he was directed.

The Day following, the Governor entered my Prison alone, intreating me to confess that I was a Spy, and he would be my Friend, and procure my Pardon, neither should I lack (*interim*) any needful Thing: But I still attesting my Innocency, he wrathfully swore I should see his Face no more, till grievous Torments should make me do it: And leaving me in a Rage, he observed too well his Condition.

But withal, in my Audience, he commanded *Arcta*, that none should come near me, except the Slave, nor no Food should be given me, but three Ounces of moosted brown Bread every second Day, and a *Fuleto*, or *English* Pint, of Water; neither any Bed, Pillow, or Coverlet to be allowed me: And close up, said he, his Window, in his Room, with Lyme and Stone, stop the Holes of the Door with double Matts, hanging another Lock to it; and to withdraw all visible and sensible Comfort from him, let no Tongue, nor Feet be heard near him, till I have my Designs accomplished: And thou *Hazier*, I charge thee, at thy In-comings to have no Conference

ference with him, nor at thy Out-goings abroad to discover thee to the *English* Factors, as thou wilt answer upon thy Life, and the highest Torments can be devised.

These Directions delivered, and alas! too accessary to me in the Performance: My Room was made a dark-drawn Dungeon, my Belly the Anatomy of merciless Hunger, my comfortless Hearing the Receptacle of sounding Bells, my Eyes wanting Light, a loathsome Languishing in Despair, and my Ground-lying Body the woeful Mirror of Misfortunes; every Hour wishing another's coming, every Day the Night, and every Night the Morning.

And now being every second or third Day attended with the Twinkling of an Eye, and my Sustainance agreeable to my Attendance, my Body grew exceeding debile and infirm; insomuch that the Governor (after his Answers received from *Madrid*) made haste to put in Execution his bloody and merciless Purpose before *Christmas* Holy-Days; lest, ere the expiring of the Twelfth-Day, I should be utterly famished, and unable to undergo my Tryal, without present Perishing, yet unknown to me, save only in this Knowledge, that I was confident to dye a fearful and unacquainted Death: For it is a current Custom with the *Spaniard*, that if a Stranger be apprehended upon any Suspicion, he is never brought to open Tryal and common Jayl, but clapp'd up in a Dungeon, and there tortured, imprisoned, or starved to Death: Such meritorious Deeds, accompany these only Titular *Christians*; for the *Spaniard* accounteth it more to be called a *Christian*, than either to believe what he professeth, or to conform himself to the Life of *Christianity*: yea, I sparingly avouch it, he is the worst and baddest Creature of the *Christian* Name; having no more Religion (and less respective to Devotion) than an external presumptuous Show; which perfecteth this ancient Proverb, *The Spaniard est bonus Catholicus, sed malus Christianus*.

In the End, by God's Permission, the Source of my fiery Tryal approaching; upon the forty-seventh Day after my first Imprisonment, and five Days before *Christmas*, about two a Clock in the Morning, I heard the Noise of a Coach in the Fore-Street, marvelling much what it might mean.

Within a pretty while I heard the Locks of my Prison-Door in opening; whereupon, bequeathing my Soul to God, I humbly implored his Gracious Mercy and Pardon for my Sins: for neither in the former Night nor this, could I get any Sleep, such was the Force of knowing Hunger, and portending Heaviness of my prefaging Soul.

Mean while the former nine Sergeants, accompanied with the *Scrievan*, entered the Room, without Word speaking; and carrying me thence, with Irons and all, on their Arms through the House to the Street, they laid me on my Back in the Coach: where two of them sat up beside me (the rest using great Silence) went softly along by the Coach Side.

Then *Baptista*, the Coach-man, an *Indian Negro*, driving out at the Sea-Gate, the Way of the Shoar-side, I was brought Westward almost a League from the Town, to a Vine-press House, standing alone among Vineyards, where they inclosed me in a Room till Day-light; for hither was the Rack brought the Night before, and privately placed in the End of a Trance.

And all this Secresy was used, that neither *English*, *French*, or *Flemings* should see or get any Knowledge of my Tryal, my grievous Tortures, and dreadful Dispatch, because of their treacherous and cruel Proceedings.

At the Breach of Day the Governor, *Don Francisco*, and the *Alcalde*, came forth in another Coach; where when arrived, and I invited to their Presence, I pleaded for a *Trench-man* *; being against

* Here he means *Terjiman*, which in *Turkish* is Interpreter; by Travellers corruptly called *Druggerman*, *Dragoman*, *Truckment*, and what not.

their Law, to accuse or condemn a Stranger without a sufficient *with Strangers*
Interpreter. The which they absolutely refused, neither would they *without an In-*
suffer or grant me an Appellation to *Madrid.* *terpreter.*

And now after long and new Examinations, from Morning to dark Night, they finding my first and second Confession so run in one, that the Governor swore, I had learned the Art of Memory: Saying farther; Is it possible he can, in such Distress, and so long a Time, observe so strictly, in every manner, the Points of his first Confession, and I so often shifting him to and fro!

Well, the Governor's Interrogation and my Confession being mutually subscribed; he and *Don Francisco* besought me earnestly to acknowledge and confess my Guiltiness in Time; if not, he would deliver me in the *Alcalde's* Hands there present: Saying moreover; Thou art as yet in my Power, and I may spare or pardon thee; providing thou wilt confess thy self a Spy, and a Traytor against our Nation.

But finding me stand fast to the Mark of my spotless innocency, he, invektive and malicious he, after many tremendous Threatnings, commanded the *Scrivan* to draw up a Warrant for the Chief Justice; and done, he set his Hand to it; and taking me by the Hand, delivered me and the Warrant in the *Alcalde Mayor's* Hands, to cause me to be tortured, broken, and cruelly tormented.

Whence being carried along on the Sergeants Arms, to the End of a Trance, or Stone-Gallery, where the *Potaro*, or Rack was placed; the *Encarnador*, or Tormentor, began to disburden me of my Irons, which being very hard imbolted, he could not ram-verse the Wedges for a long Time. Whereat the Chief Justice being offended, the malicious Villain, with the Hammer which he had in his Hand, stroke away above an Inch of my Left-Heel with the Bolt. *A merciless*
Whereupon I grievously groaning, being exceeding faint, and *Hurt, before*
without my three Ounces of Bread, and a little Water for three Days *they began to*
together: The *Alcalde* said, O Traytor! all this is nothing, but the *Rack me.*
Earnest of a greater Bargain you have in Hand.

Now the Irons being dissolved, and my Torments approaching, I fell prostrate on my Knees, crying to the Heavens.

O Great and Gracious GOD, it is truly known to thy All-seeing Eye, that I am innocent of these false and fearful Accusations; and since therefore it is thy Good Will and Pleasure, that I must suffer now by the scelerate Hands of merciless Men, Lord furnish me with Courage, Strength, and Patience, lest by an impatient Mind, and feebling Spirit, I become my own Murtherer, in confessing my self guilty of Death, to shun present Punishment: And according to the Multitude of thy Mercies, O Lord, be merciful to my sinful Soul, and that for Jesus thy Son and my Redeemer's Sake.

After this, the *Alcalde*, and *Scrivan*, being both Chair-set, the one to examine, the other to write down my Confession and Tortures; I was, by the Executioner, stripped to the Skin, brought to the Rack, and then mounted by him on the Top of it: where est-soons I was hung by the bare Shoulders, with two small Cords, which went under both my Arms, running on two Rings of Iron that were fixed in the Wall above my Head.

Thus being hoisted, to the appointed Height, the Tormentor descended below, and drawing down my Legs, through the two Sides of the three-plank-ed Rack, he tyed a Cord about each of my Ancles: And then, *The Hams and*
ascending upon the Rack, he drew the Cords upward, and bending *Lids of my*
forward, with main Force, my two Knees against the two Planks, *Knees were both*
the Sinews of my two Hams burst asunder, and the Lids of my *broken.*
Knees being crushed, and the Cords made fast, I hung so demain-ed for a large Hour.

At

At last the *Encarnador* informing the Governor, that I had the Mark of *Jerusalem* on my Right Arm, joined with the Name and Crown of King *James*, and done upon the *Holy Grave*, the *Corrigidor* came out of his adjoining Stance, and gave Direction, to tear asunder the Name and Crown (as he said) of that *Heric King*, and Arch-Enemy to the Holy *Catholic Church*: Then the Tormentor, laying the Right-Arm above the Left, and the Crown upmost, did cast a Cord over both Arms, seven distant Times: And then lying down upon his Back, and setting both his Feet on my Hollow-pinch'd Belly, he charged, and drew violently with his Hands, making my Womb support the Force of his Feet, till the seven several Cords combined in one Place of my Arm, and cutting the Crown, Sinews and Flesh to the bare Bones, did pull in my Fingers close to the Palm of my Hands; the Left Hand of which is lame to still, and will be for ever.

Now mine Eyes begun to startle, my Mouth to foam and froth, and my Teeth to chatter like the doubling of Drummers Sticks. O strange Inhumanity of Men-Monster Manglers! surpassing the Limits of *O cruel and inhuman Murder!* their National Law; Threescore Tortures being the Tryal of Treason, which I had, and was to indure: yet thus to inflict a seven-fold Surplusage of more intolerable Cruelties! And notwithstanding of my shivering Lips, in this fiery Passion, my vehement Groaning, and Blood-springing Fonts, from Arms, broke Sinews, Hams and Knees, yea, and depending Weight on Flesh-cutting Cords; yet they stroke me on the Face with Cudgels, to abate and cease the thundering Noise of my wrestling Voice.

At last being loosed from these Pinacles of Pain, I was Hand-fast set on the Floor, with this their incessant Imploration: Confess, confess, confess in Time, for thine inevitable Torments ensue; where finding nothing from me, but still *Innocent*; O I am Innocent, O Jesus! thou Lamb of God have Mercy upon me, and strengthen me with Patience, to undergo this barbarous Murder.

Then, by Command of the Justice, was my trembling Body laid above, and along upon the Face of the Rack, with my Head downward, inclosed within a circled Hole, my Belly upmost, and my Heels upward toward the Top of the Rack; my Legs and Arms, being drawn asunder, were fastned with Pins and Cords to both Sides of the outward Planks; for now was I to receive my main Torments.

Now what a *Potaro*, or Rack is (for it stood by the Wall declining downward) it is made of three Planks of Timber, the upmost End whereof is larger than a full Stride, the lower End being narrow, and the three Planks joining together, are made conformable to a Man's Shoulders: in the down-most End of the middle Plank there was a Hole, wherein my Head was laid. In Length it is longer than a Man, being interlaced with small Cords from Plank to Plank, which divided my supported Thighs from the middle Plank; through the Sides of which exterior Planks, there were three distant Holes in every one of them; the Use whereof you shall presently hear.

Now the *Alcalde* giving Commission, the Executioner laid fast a Cord over the Calf of my Leg, then another on the Middle of my Thigh, and the third Cord over the Great of my Arm; which was severally done, on both Sides of my Body, receiving the Ends of the Cords, from these six several Places, through the Holes made in the outward Planks, which were fastened to Pins, and the Pins made fast with a Device: for he was to Charge on the Outside of the Planks, with as many Pins as there were Holes and Cords; the Cords being first laid meet to my Skin: and on every one of these six Parts of my Body I was to receive seven several Tortures; each Torture consisting of three winding Throws of every Pin; which amounted to twenty one Throws, in every one of these six Parts.

Then

Then the Tormentor having charged the first Passage about my Body, (making fast by a Device each Torture as they were multiplied) he went to an Earthen Jar standing full of Water, a little beneath my Head; from whence carrying a Pot full of Water, in the Bottom whereof there was an incised Hole, which being stopped by his Thumb, till it came to my Mouth, he did pour it into my Belly; the Measure being a *Spanish Sombre*, which is an *English Pottle*: The first and second Services I gladly received, such was the scorching Drought of my tormenting Pain, and likewise I had drank none for three Days before.

But afterward, at the third Charge, perceiving these Measures of Water to be inflicted upon me as Tortures, O strangling Tortures! I closed my Lips, gain-standing that eager Cruelity.

Whereat the *Alcalde* infuriating, set my Teeth asunder with a Pair of Iron Cadges, detaining them there, at every several Turn, both mainly and manually; whereupon my hunger-clung'd Belly waxing great, grew *A Cruelty beyond Cruelties.* Drum-like imbolstered: for it being a suffocating Pain, in regard of my Head hanging downward, and the Water re-ingorging it self in my Throat with a struggling Force, it strangled and swallowed up my Breath from Youling and Groaning.

And now to prevent my renewing Grief (for presently my Heart faileth and forsaketh me) I will only briefly avouch, that between each one of these seven circular Charges, I was aye re-examined, each Examination continuing half an Hour; each half Hour a Hell of infernal Pain, and between each Torment, a long distance of Life-quelling Time.

Thus lay I fix Hours upon the Rack, between four a Clock in the Afternoon, and ten a Clock at Night, having had inflicted upon me threescore and seven Torments: Nevertheless, they continued me a large half Hour (after all my Tortures) at the full Bending; where my Body being all begored with Blood, and cut through in every Part, to the crushed and bruised Bones, I pitifully remained, still roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my Teeth, with insupportable Cries, before the Pins were undone, and my Body loosed. *A Hellish and insupportable Pain.*

True it is, it passeth the Capacity of Man, either sensibly to conceive, or I patiently to express the intolerable Anxiety of Mind, and Affliction of Body in that dreadful Time I sustained.

At last my Head being by their Arms advanced, and my Body taken from the Rack, the Water regushed abundantly from my Mouth; then they recloathing my broken, bloody, and cold trembling Body, being all this Time stark naked, I fell twice in a swooning Trance; which they again refreshed with a little Wine, and two warm Eggs, not for Charity done, but that I should be reserved to farther Punishment; and if it were not too truly known these Sufferings to be of Truth, it would almost seem incredible to many, that a Man, being brought so low, with starving Hunger, and extreme Cruelties, could have subsisted any longer reserving Life.

And now at last they charged my broken Legs with my former Eye-frighting Irons, and done, I was lamentably carried on their Arms to the Coach, being after brought and secretly transported to my former Dungeon, without any Knowledge of the Town, save only these my lawless and merciless Tormentors: where, when come, I was laid with my Head and my Heels alike high, on my former Stones. *A lamentable Remembrance of inhuman Cruelty.*

The latter End of this woeful Night poor mourning *Hazier*, the *Turk*, was set to keep me, and on the Morrow the Governor entered my Room, threatening me still with more Tortures to confess, and so caused he every Morning long before

*A dreadful af-
frighting or
more Tortures.*

Day, his Coach to be rumbled at his Gate, and about me where I lay, a great Noise of Tongues, and opening of Doors; and all this they did of Purpose to affright and distract me, and to make me believe I was going to be Rack'd again, to make me confess an Untruth; and still thus they continued every Day of five Days to

Christmas.

Upon *Christmas* Day, *Mariana* the Lady's Gentlewoman got Permission to visit me, and, with her Licence, she brought abundance of Tears, presenting me also with a Dish of Honey, Sugar, some Confections, and Raisins in great Plenty, to my no small Comfort, besides using many sweet Speeches for Consolation-sake.

She gone, and the next Morning of Saint *John's* Day come, long ere Day the Town was in Arms, the Bells ringing backward, the People shouting, and Drums beating; whereat my Soul was over-joyed, thinking that the *Moors* had seized upon all: And in the Afternoon the *Turk* coming to me with Bread and Water, being by

Alas! too good News to have been true. replied; Be of good Courage; I hope in God and *Mahomet* that you and I ere long shall be set at Liberty; for your Country-men, the English *Armada*, and mine the *Moors*, are joined together, and are coming to sack *Malaga*: And this Morning a Post came from

Alicante to premonish the Governor thereof; whereupon he and the Town have instantly pulled down all the Cowper-shops, and Dwelling-Houses that were builded without by the Shoar-side, adjoining to the Towns Wall: But yet, said he, it is no Matter, the Town may easily be surprized, and I hope we shall be merry in *Algiers*, for there is above a hundred Sail seen coming hither; and therewith kissing my Cheek, he kindly left me.

Indeed, as for such News from *Alicante* the Detriment of twenty-eight Houses, the Shore-planted Cannon, the Suspicion they had of the *English*, and the Town four Days in Arms were all true, save only the Confederacy of the *English* with the *Moors*, that was false.

Witnesses Sir *Richard Hawkins*, and the Captains of his Squadron, who a little after *Christmas*, coming to the Road, went to the Governor to clear himself, and the Fleet of that absurd Imputation laid to their Charge. The twelfth Day of *Christmas* expired, they began to threaten me on still with more Tortures, even till *Candlemas*: in all which comfortless Time, I was miserably afflicted with the beastly Plague of gnawing Vermin, which lay crawling in Lumps, within, without, and about my Body; yea, hanging in Clusters about my Beard, my Lips, my Nostrils, and my Eye-brows, almost inclosing my Sight.

And for a greater Satisfaction to their merciless Minds, the Governor caused *Areta*, his Silver-plate-Keeper, to gather and sweep the Vermin upon me twice in eight

NoPainsof grievous, as a lame Man to be still tormented with gnawing Vermin. Days, which tormented me to Death, being a perpetual Punishment; for my Arms being broke, my Hands lucken and sticking fast to the Palms of both Hands, by reason of my shrunk Sinews; I was unable to lift my Arms, or stir my Fingers, much less to avoid the filthy Vermin; neither could my Legs and Feet perform, I being impotent in all. Yet I acknowledge, the poor *Infidel* some few Times, and when Opportunity served, would steal the Keys from *Areta*, and about Midnight would enter my Room, with

Sticks and burning Oyl. and sweeping them together in Heaps would Burn the greatest Part, to my great Release; or doubtless I had been miserably eaten up, and devoured by them.

And now some eight Days before *Candlemas*, the Slave informed me, that an *English* Seminary Priest, born in *London*, and belonging to the Bishop's College of *Malaga*,

Malaga, and a *Scotish* Cowper, named *Alexander Ley*, born in *Dunbar*, and there married, were translating all my Books and Observations out of *English*, into the *Spanish* Tongue, bringing every other Day Numbers of wrote Papers to the Governor, and for their Pains had thirty Ducats allowed, and that they were saying, I was an *Arch-Heretic* to the *Pope* and the *Virgin Mary*.

Having redounded him concealed Thanks, I was assured of their bloody Inquisition, preparing my self in God, with Faith and Patience to receive and gain-stand it: for my Spiritual Resolution was surely founded, being sightless of Company and human Faces, I had intirely the Light of my Soul celebrate to God Almighty.

And hereupon, the second Day after *Candlemas*, the Governor, the Inquisitor, a Canonical Priest, entered my Dungeon, accompanied with two Jesuits, one of which was *Predicador*, and Superior of the *Teatinean* College of *Malaga*; where being Chair-set, Candle-lighted, and Door-locked, the Inquisitor, after divers frivolous Questions, demanded me; if I was a *Roman Catholic*, and acknowledged the *Pope's* Supremacy? To whom I answered, I was neither the one, nor did the other. And what Power (said I) have you to challenge me of my Religion, since it is a chief Article of the former concluded Peace, that none of our King's Subjects should be troubled by your Inquisition? but as you have murdered me for alledged Treason, so you mean to martyr me for Religion.

A politic Inquiry of a damnable Inquisition.

And you Governor, as you have tortured and hunger-starved this helpless Body, consumed with Cold and Vermin to the last of my Life, the Almighty God, who revealeth the Secrets of all Things (although I be never relieved) will certainly discover it to my Country and to the World. And is this the best of your good Deeds you repay to our merciful King, who then being only King of *Scotland*, in the Time of your just Over-throw of Eighty-eight, gave Secourse to Thousands of your Shipwrecked People for many Months; and in the End, caused transport them safely to their desired Ports? Leaving to the World's Memory an eternal Stamp of *Christian* Bounty, Mercy, and Royal Charity: and your Acquittance to him is an Imputation of Treachery to his Fleet, detaining and mis-regarding his Letters and Seals, and now imposing to a tormented Innocent your lawless Inquisition.

To which the Governor answered; All that was True, but it was done more through Fear than Love, and therefore deserved the lesser Thanks; but (*interim*) we will follow the uttermost of our Ends. And the Jesuit *Predicador*, to confirm his Words, said, there was no Faith to be kept with *Heretics*, which directly or indirectly is the sublime Policy of Conquerors, which our mighty and invincible Nation ever more taketh Notice of and observeth.

Then the Inquisitor arising, expressed himself thus: Behold the Powerful Majesty of God's Mother, Commander of her Son, equal to the Father, Wife to the Holy Ghost, Queen of Heaven, Protector of Angels, and sole *Gubernatrix* of the Earth, &c. How thou being first taken as a Spy, accused for Treachery, and innocently tortured (as we acknowledge we were better informed, lately from *Madrid*, of *English* Intention) yet it was her Power, her Divine Power, which brought these Judgments upon thee; in that thou hast wrote calumniously against her blessed Miracles of *Loretto*, and against his Holiness, the great Agent, and Christ's Vicar on Earth: Therefore thou has justly fallen into our Hands, by her special Appointment; thy Books and Papers are miraculously translated by her special Providence with thy own Countrymen; wherefore thou mayst clearly see the impenetrable Mysteries of our Glorious Lady in punishing her Offenders; and for humble Satisfaction, repent thee of thy Wickedness, and be converted to the Holy Mother Church. And after many such like Exhortations of all the four,

A damnable Inquisitor applying false Attributes to our Blessed Lady.

the Inquisitor assigned me eight Days for my Conversion: Saying, that he, and the *Teatines* would twice a Day visit me in that Time, intreating me to be advised against the next Morning, of these Doubts and Difficulties that withstood my Conscience.

Then, in leaving me, the Jesuit *Predicator* making a Cross upon my crossed Breast; said, *My Son, behold you deserve to be burned quick; but by the Grace of our Lady of Loretto, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your Soul and Body:* Spewing forth also this Famine Latin; *Nam mansueta & misericordiosa est Ecclesia, O Ecclesia Romana! Extra quam non est salus:* They gone, and I alone, all this Night was I instant with my God, imploring his Grace, to rectify my Thoughts, illuminate my Understanding, confirm my Confidence, beautify my Memory, to sanctify my Knowledge, to expel the servile Fear of Death, and to save my Soul from the intangling Corruption of any private Ends, Illusions, or mundane Respects whatsoever.

The next Morning, the three Ecclesiastics returned, and being placed with Chairs and Candles, the Inquisitor made Interrogation, of what Difficulties, Errors, or Misbelief I had. To whom ingenuously I answered, I had none, neither any Difficulty, Error, nor Misbelief; but was confident in the Promises of *Jesus Christ*, and assuredly believed his revealed Will in the Gospel, professed in the Reformed *Catholic Church*; which being confirmed by Grace, I had the infallible Assurance in my Soul of the true *Christian Faith*.

To these Words, he answered, thou art no *Christian*, but an absurd *Heretic*, and, without Conversion, a Member of Perdition. Whereupon I replied, Reverend Sir, the Nature of Charity and Religion, do not consist in opprobrious Speeches; wherefore if you would convert me (as you say) convince me by Argument: If not, all your Threatenings of Fire, Death, or Torments shall not make me shrink from the Truth of God's Word in Sacred Scriptures. Whereupon the mad Inquisitor clapp'd me on the Face with his Foot, abusing me with many Railings, and if the *Jesuits* had not intercepted him, he had stabbed me with a Knife; where, when dismissed, I never saw him more.

The third Day ensuing (and having broke their Promise) the two *Jesuits* returned, and after a frowning Silence, the Superior asked me of my Resolution. I told him I was resolved already, unless he could show me good Reasons in the contrary. Whereupon having past with me some few superficial Arguments of their seven Sacraments, *Intercession*, *Transubstantiation*, *Images*, *Purgatory*, *Miracles*, *Merit*, &c, he began to brag of their Church, her Antiquity, Universality, and Uniformity. Ancient no, said I, for the Profession of my Faith hath been ever since the first Time of the Apostles; and Christ had ever his own Church (howsoever obscure) in the greatest Time of your Darknests.

So *Rome*, four hundred Years and upward, was the True Church; but afterward falling in Apostacy, by means of her corrupt Leaders, we have left her in nothing but what she hath left her former self. Universal no; although she assumeth a Catholic Name: Was not the Church in the *East* a greater Church than yours in the *West* for hundreds of Years? and I pray you, what are now the Oriental Churches in *Asia* (besides the *Greeks*) and the *Æthiopian Africans*, that do not so much as know, or hear of your Pope, far less his Profession?

With no small ado, *Boniface* the Third obtained of *Phocas* the Emperor to be called Universal Bishop; which was assisted afterward by *Pipin* the French King, and rectified by *Paleologus*, the Father of *Constantine*, who lost *Constantinople*:
And

And what long Controversies about this new Power, was between ~~The~~ Romish Church your Popes, and the Councils of *Carthage*, *Calcedon*, *Ephesus*, falls short of true *Alexandria*, and *Nice*? Uniformable no; some of your Priests *Antiquity*, *Univer-* give the Sacrament only in Bread, for real Flesh and Blood, some *salut*, and *Uni-* in Wine without Bread, and some in both. *formity*.

The *Bavarians*, in their own Language, sing the *Psalms* in Prose at their *Masses*, and not elsewhere done. The second Commandment goeth current among some of your Catholics in *France*, yet not in *Bretagne*, nor *Provence*; so doth it in *Austria* and *Bavaria*, but not in *Italy* and *Spain*.

It is most evident, what your former Popes have confirmed, the succeeding Popes have disannulled, and daily do, as their present Lives and your ancient Histories bear a true Record.

And was there not, at one Time, three Popes in three several Places? and oftentimes two at once, one professing *Heresy*, and another *Atbeism*? What Mutinies and Malice are daily among your Monasteries, each envying anothers Privilege, anothers Preferment, anothers Wealth? And your Order (Father) by all the other Monastics, is hated and vilipended to Death; besides Diversities of Doctrine between your Professors and the *Dominicans*; and hundreds of like Difunities you have both in Ceremony and Order, which now I suspend. So I pray you (Father) where is your Uniformity, much less your Universality, and worst of all your Antiquity?

Having thus concluded, the fiery faced *Jesuits*, with boisterous Menacings, left me; and the eighth Day thereafter, being the last Day of their Inquisition, they returned again, in a more milder Disposition: where after divers Arguments on both Sides, the two *Jesuits*, with Tears distilling from their Eyes, solidly protested, they were sorry from their Heart for that terrible Death I was to undergo, and above all the Losing of my Soul: And falling down on their Knees, cried, *Convert, convert, O dear Brother! for our Blessed Lady's Sake convert.* The *Jesuits* last To whom I replied, that neither Death nor Fire I feared; for I *Allurements for* was resolved for both, yet thinking my self unworthy to suffer for *my Conversion* Christ and the Gospel's Sake, considering my Vileness and my *to their Sect.* own Unworthiness: yet the Spirit of God assureth my Faith, it is his Divine Pleasure it should be so that I must suffer; wherefore if I should divert, trust me not, for I would but dissemble with you (through Fear, Flattery, or Force) to shun present Death.

Whereupon they called the Governor, and after privy consulting, he thus spoke; *Dear Brother, my greatest Desire is, to have thee a good Christian, a Roman Catholic, to which if thy Conscience will yield, I will shew thee as great Courtesy as thou hast received Cruelty: For Pity it were, that such an invincible Spirit, and endued with so many good Parts, should perish in both Worlds for ever. Pluck up thy Heart, and let the Love of our Blessed Lady enter in thy Soul: Let not thy former Sufferings dismay thee, for (thy Sores being yet green and curable) I shall transport thee to a fine Chamber, and there thou shalt have all needful Things for the Recovery of thy Health and Strength. Thy Money and Patents shall be refunded, but thy Heretical Books are already burned: And lastly, said he, I will send thee with my own Servant to Court, Council, and King, with Letters from the Holy Inquisition, and from me, faithfully promising thou shalt enjoy a Pension of three hundred Ducats a Year.*

But having satisfied his bewitching Policy with a Christian Constancy, they all three left me in a thundering Rage; vowing, I should that Night have the first Seal of my long Sorrows. And directing their Course to the Bishop and Inquisitor (for the Governor had wrested the Inquisition upon me, to free him of his former Aspersions laid upon the *English* Fleet, and my Tryal therefore converting to all Matters of Religion) the Inquisition (I say) sat forthwith, where first I was condemned

A Condemnatory Sentence to Death by the Inquisition.

demned to receive that Night eleven strangling Torments in my Dungeon; and then after *Easter* Holy-days, I should be transported privately to *Granada*, and there about Midnight to be burned Body and Bones into Ashes, and my Ashes to be flung into the Air. Well, that same Night the *Scrivan*, Sergeants, and that young *English* Priest entered my melancholy Stance; where the Priest, in the *English* Tongue, urging me all that he could (though little it was he could do) and unprevailing, I was disburdened of my Irons, unclothed to my Skin, set on my Knees, and held up fast with their Hands; where instantly setting my Teeth asunder with Iron Cadges, they filled my Belly full of Water, even gorging to my Throat: Then with a Garter they bound fast my Throat, till the White of my Eyes turned upward; and being laid on my Side, I was by two Sergeants tumbled to and fro seven Times through the Room; even till I was almost strangled. This done, they fastened a small Cord about each of my great Toes, and hoisting me therewith to the Roof of a high Loft (for the Cords run on two Rings of Iron fastened above) they cut the Garter, and there I hung, with my Head downward, in my tormented Weight, till all the gushing Water dissolved. This done, I was let down from the Loft, quite senseless, lying a long Time cold-dead among their Hands: whereof the Governor being informed, came running up Stairs, crying, Is he dead? O fie Villains! go fetch me Wine, which they poured in my Mouth, regaining thereby a slender Spark of Breath.

A Turkish Slave's Charity in the Bowels of Compassion.

The strangling Torments ended, and I re clothed, and fast bolted again, they left me lying on the cold Floor praising my God, and singing of a *Psalm*. The next Morning the pitiful *Turk* visiting me with Bread and Water, brought me also secretly in his Shirt Sleeve, two handfuls of Raisins and Figs, laying them on the Floor among the crawling Vermin; for having no Use of Arms nor Hands, I was constrained, by Hunger and Impotency of Time, to lick one up with another with my Tongue. This Charity of Figs the Slave did once every Week or Fortnight, or else I had long ere then famished.

After which sorrowful Distress, and inhuman Usage, the Eye-melting *Turk* taking Displeasure, fell five Days sick, and Bed-fast; but the House-*Spaniards* understanding his Disease, made him believe I was a Devil, a Sorcerer, a Negromancer, and a blasphemous Miscreant, against their Pope, their Lady, and their Church; giving him such a Distaste, that for thirty Days he never durst look me in the Face, being afraid of Witchcraft.

All this Time of his Absence, one *Leonora*, the Cook, an *Indian Negro* Woman, attended me, for she being a Christian Drudge, had more Liberty to visit me, than the slavish *Infidel*; who certainly (under God) prolonged then my languishing Life, conveying me for four Weeks space, once a Day, some less or more Nourishment, and in her Pocket a Bottle-glass of Wine; being no ways semblable to the Soul-betraying Tears of her *Crocodilean* Sex, which the *Spanish* Proverb prettily avoucheth: *Las mugeres, enganan a los hombres, dellas lastimandoles, con sus lagrimas fingidas; dellas ballagandoles, con palabras lisongeras*: to Wit, Women deceive Men, some of them, grieving them with their feigned Tears, and other fawning on them with flattering Words.

[Here follow 28 Poetical Lines, concerning *Leonora's* Kindness; which as I cannot recommend for their extraordinary Beauty, I omit.]

Now about the Middle of *Lent*, *Hazier*, my former Friend, was appointed to attend me again, suspecting *Leonora's* Compassion; but as my Miseries were multiplied, my Patience in God was redoubled: For Men are rather killed with the Impatience they

they have in Adversity, than Adversity itself: And of all Men, that Man is most unhappy, to whom God in his Troubles hath not given Patience; for as the violent Enemy of Age is Grief, so is the Mind's Impatience the Arch-corruptor of all our Troubles: But indeed in the Weakness of Judgment, when Men seem lost by long Affliction to themselves, then they are often and ever nearest to God. For who would have thought, that I, who had seen so many Sects and Varieties of Religion, dispersed over the Face of the Earth, could have stuck fast to any Religion at all? Travellers being reputed to be *ubique & omnibus parati*. But I will tell thee Christian, it was the Grace of God in me, and not mine: For as Fire lying hid under Ashes, and touched with Flame; so I seeming to my self careless of Christianity, then God, pricking my Conscience, made Tryal of my Faith: For Christ forbid, that every Ship which coasteth the rocky Shoar, should leave her Ruins there.

*An impatient
Mind in Trou-
ble is a triple
Torture.*

This I speak not for my Self-praise, but to glorify God, and to condemn the rash Censures of Opinion, and, with *Phocion*, I mistrust my self, because of popular Applause: *Erubuit quasi peccasset quod placuerit*. But now to abbreviate a thousand Circumstances of my lamentable Sufferings, which this Volume may not suffer to contain; by God's great Providence, about a Fortnight before *Easter, Anno 1621*, there came a *Spanish* Cavalier of *Granada* to *Malaga*, whom the Governor, one Night, invited to Supper, being of an old Acquaintance; where after Supper, to entertain Discourse, the Governor related and disclosed to the Stranger (God working thereby my Discovery and Deliverance) all the Proceedings and Causes of my first Apprehending, my Confessions, Torments, Starvings, their mistaking of the *English* Fleet, and finally wresting of the Inquisition upon me, and their condemnatory Sentence; seeming also much to lament my Misfortunes, and praising my Travels and Deserts.

*God's great
Mercy in my
first Discovery
by a Stranger.*

Now all this while, the Gentleman's Servant, a *Planderish Fleming*, standing at his Master's Back, and adhering to all the Governor's Relations, was astonished to hear of a fakeless Stranger to have endured, and to endure such damnable Murther and Cruelty. Whereupon the Discourse ending, and Midnight past, the Stranger returned to his Lodging; where that *Fleming*, having bedded his Master, and himself also in another Room, he could not sleep all the Night, and if he slumbered, still he thought he saw a Man torturing, and burning in the Fire; which he confessed to Mr. *Wilds* when Morning came.

Well, he longed for Day, and it being come, and he cloathed, he quietly left his Lodging, inquiring for an *English* Factor; and coming to the House of Mr. *Richard Wilds*, the chief *English* Consul, he told him all what he heard the Governor tell his Master, but could not tell my Name; only Master *Wilds* conjectured it was I, because of the others Report of a Traveller, and of his first and former Acquaintance with me there.

Whereupon the *Fleming* being dismissed, he straight sent for the other *English* Factors, Mr. *Richard Busbitch*, Mr. *John Corney*, Mr. *Hanger*, Mr. *Stanton*, Mr. *Cook*, Mr. *Rowley*, and Mr. *Woodson*: where advising with them, what was best to be done for my Relief, they sent Letters away immediately, with all Post-diligence, to Sir *Walter Aston*, his Majesty's Embassador, lying at *Madrid*: Upon which he mediating with the King and Council of *Spain*, obtained a straight Warrant to command the Governor of *Malaga*, to deliver me over in the *English* Hands: which being come, to their great Disliking, I was released on

*These are the
English Factors
which first
wrought my
Relief.*

Easter-

Easter-Saturday, before Midnight, and carried upon *Hazier* the Slave's Back to Master *Busbisch's* House, where I was carefully attended till Day-Light.

Mean while (by great Fortune) there being a Squadron of his Majesty's Ships lying in the Road, Sir *Richard Hawkins* came early ashore, accompanied with a strong Train, and received me from the Merchants: whence I was carried on Mens Arms in a Pair of Blankets, to the *Vanguard*, his Majesty's Ship. And three

I durst not stay Days after, I was transported to a Ship bound for *England*, the Fleets
ashoar for fear Victualler, named the *Good-Will* of *Harwich*, by the Direction of
of the Inquisi- the General Sir *Robert Mansel*; where being well-placed, and Charge
tion. given by Sir *Richard Hawkins* to the Ship's Master, *William Westerdale*,

for his Carefulness toward the Preservation of my Life, which then was brought so low and miserable. The aforesaid Merchants sent me from Shoar (besides the Ship's Victuals) a Suit of *Spanish* Apparel, twelve Hens, a Barrel of Wine, a Basket full of Eggs, two Roves of Figs and Raisins, two hundred Oranges and Lemons, eight Pounds of Sugar, a Number of excellent good Bread, and two hundred Reals in Silver and Gold; besides two Double Pistoles Sir *Richard Hawkins* sent me as a Token of his Love.

The Kindnesses of whom to bury in Oblivion, were in me the very Shame of Ingratitude, I being then a lost Man and hopeleſs of Life, which argued in them a greater Singularity of Kindness and Compassion. Yet I remember,

Religious Sir for all my Lameness and Distraction, I intreated Sir *Richard Hawkins*
Rich. Hawkins *kings* to go ashore to the Governor, and demand of him my Gold,
my special my eight Patents, my Book of Arms, and his Majesty's Letters and
Friend. Seals; the which he willingly obeyed (being accompanied with Captain *Cave*, and Captain *Raymond*) but could obtain nothing at all,

save Blandements and lying Excuses.

And now on the twelfth Day of our lying in the Road, our Ship weighing her Anchors, and hoisting her Sails, we passed through the Streights of *Gibraltar*, or *Fretum Herculeum*; for this was the farthest Land that *Hercules* could attain, unto; which made him erect a Pillar, and indent thereon, *nil ultra*; but when *Charles* the Fifth, returned from that untoward Voyage of *Algiers*, he caused to set up in the same place, *plus ultra*.

Here in this Channel, I remarked a perpetual Current, flowing from the Ocean to the *Mediterranean* Sea, without any Regress; which indeed is admirable, the *Mediterranean* Seas being hemmed in, and environed in with the main Continent of South *Europe*; the North and North-West Coasts of *Asia*, and the Northern Parts of *Africa*, save only the narrow Passage of *Helleſpont*, which from *Mare Propontis* bendeth his Course to *Mare Euxinum*: And yet the *Euxine*, or Black-Sea, hath no Affinity with any other moving Waters, being likewise incompassed with the main Continent; and from it also runneth a continual Current, through *Bosphorus Thracicus*, to the *Mediterraneum*.

This Narrow Sea on *Africa*, or Side of *Fez*, consisteth between *Cape The Streight of* *Spartel*, and the Promontory of *Centa*, *Sibta*, and upon the Coast of
Gibraltar five *Spain*, between *Cape de Trafalgar*, and the butting fore-head-Land of
Leagues broad. *Gibraltar*, or *Jubil Tarif*; the Passage being five Leagues broad, and nine in Length.

And to be brief, upon the fiftieth Day after my Departure from *Malaga*, I arrived at *Darford* upon *Thames*; whence the next Morning I was carried to *Theobalds* on a Feather-Bed, and brought to the Privy-Gallery, for the King's coming from Park. Witness all the Court of *England*, even from the King to the Kitchen, what a martyred Anatomy I was, at then of me their first Sight; and what small Hope was either expected of my Life or Recovery.

Where,

Where, when immediately having made my most humble and grievous Complaints unto his Sacred Majesty's gracious Consideration (in the mean Time) was such, for the Recovery of my Health, that I was twice sent to *Bath* at the Charges of his Royal Love, during the Space of twenty-seven Weeks: Where by the Divine Providence, and his Princely Clemency, I have recovered for the Time, in a large Measure, the Health and Strength of my Body, although my Left-Arm and crushed Bones be incurable.

Mean while, in the first Week of my Arrival in *England*, I was conveyed from *Theobalds* (by his Majesty's Direction) to *Don Diego Sarmiento de Gondomar*, the *Spanish* Embassador, then Resident in *Holborn*. *A false Promise* Where he vottally undertook, before the then two Lord Marquesses, *unperformed*. *Hamilton* and *Buckingham* (confirming it the Day following to his Majesty at *Greenwich*) that after a condign Tryal had from *Spain*, concerning my Grievances, I should have all my Money, Cloaths, Observations, Testimonial-Patents, and his Majesty's Seals restored me again, with a thousand Pound Sterling also (being modified by his Royal Pleasure) of the Governor of *Malaga's* Means, for the maintaining of my lame and racked Body.

These Promises were made the sixth of *June* 1621. and were to be performed against *Michaelmas* Day ensuing: But this Day come, he continued his Drifts to the *Prima vera* [Spring] and it also arrived, he deferred Time, with new Protestations, only to *Easter*, or *Pascua*: And that Season come, he turned my *Pascua* to Prison: For a little before his Departure (seeing his Policy too strong for my oppressed Patience) I told him flatly in his Face, from the Grief of my Soul, what he was, and what he went about; which afterwards proved true: Whereupon, in the Chamber of Prefence, before the Emperor's Embassador, and divers *A single Combat* Knights and Gentlemen, his Majesty's Servants, he rashly adventured the Credit of Leager Honour in a single Combat against me a retorted Plaintive; where indeed his *Fistula* was contra-banded with a *Fist*, and for Victory Favour lent me Authority, because of my *veller*. Commitment for I lay nine Weeks incarcerate in the *Marshalsea* at *Southwark*; whence I returned with more Credit, then he left *England* with Honesty; being both Vanquished and Victor.

[Here came in 16 more Lines of his Poetry, on his incarcerate Estate, which for the aforesaid Reasons, I also omit.]

But I remember in the aforesaid Time of this my Imprisonment, there were two Papiists my Countrymen, who wrote to me a Letter; not like to a Familiar Epistle of *Cicero*: No, but they would have fastened *A false Asper-* an Untruth upon me; affirming that I was a *Roman Catholic* in my *sion laid on me* Heart; and that they would justify it, that I received the Sacrament at *Rome*, in the first Year that *Paulus* (*Burgesius*) *Papa*, *Quintus*, came to his Triple Crown.

[Likewise, I here leave out two whole Pages and a half of very indifferent Poesy, being a Satire on Popery, &c. in the Lyric Way.]

After this, their sequel Answer being mortified, and I set at Liberty by a just Favour of the Privy-Council, my Formalists durst never attempt any farther Dispute with me, neither any passing Countenance in our Rancounters. But what shall I say concerning my Grievances? *Sed qui patitur vincis*: Since there is no Help or Redress to be had for Wrongs past, no, neither alas! for any present in either Mean, or Mighty Falls; for when the Stars of great States, decline under the self-same Constellation of my Sorrows, and made the Deplored for Spectacles of the Inconstancy of Fortune; what shall I then in a private Life, and public Pilgrimage expect, but the common Calamity of this Age, and the irrevocable Redress of my Miseries

sustained, for this Crown and Kingdom of *England*, which shall be presently cleared? Yet would to God I might do as *Xerxes* the *Persian* King did, that when the *Greeks* had taken *Sardis*, the Metropolis of *Lydia*, he commanded one of his Servants to stand before him every Day at Dinner, and cry aloud, saying; *The Grecians have taken Sardis*: whereby he was never at quiet, till it was recovered.

So would I, oppressed I by mighty Powers (though not a King, *Incompatible* yet the faithful Subject of a King) cry daily from the Heart-broken *Grief without* Sorrow of my incompatible Injuries; O barbarous, and inhuman *deserved Relief* *Malaga!* when shall my Soul be revenged on thy cruel Murther; and when shall my Eyes see thy merciless Destruction? But tush, what dream I? Now a Days Grief can find no Relief, far less Compassion, and meaner Revenge; and so farewell Satisfaction, when flattering Fear dares challenge Obsequiousness, to the Alteration of any Thing.

But afterward when Death, Heavens fatal Messenger, and Enemy to Nature, had darted King *James*, of matchless Memory; who sometimes (besides my Sovereign) in some Respects, and for the former Cause, was a Father to me: then was I forcibly (I say) constrained to prefer a Bill of Grievance to the Upper-House of Parliament, *Anno* 1626. which I daily followed seventeen Weeks. Well, my Grievances were heard and considered, and thereupon an Order granted me (bearing the Lord's Reference and Pleasure concerning my Suit) unto Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Lord-Keeper of *England's* Great Seal; and through whose Office my Business should have passed: which Order was delivered unto him, by Mr. *James Maxwell*, Knight of the Black Rod, and one of his Majesty's Bed-Chamber, in Behalf of the Lords of the Upper-House. The Order thus being reserved then with the Lord-Keeper for a Month,

A Direction for he appointed me to fetch him (because of a Warrant to his State-
Certificates by Office) the Certificates of Sir *Walter Aston*, Sir *Robert Mansel*, and
the Lord-Keeper. Sir *Thomas Button*, to clear my Sufferings, and the Causes wherefore: which I gladly obeyed, and brought all their three Certificates unto him; yea, and Sir *Walter Aston* (besides his Hand-writ) spoke seriously Face to Face with him thereupon.

Mean while the House breaking up abruptly (because of our Sovereign's disliking) their Order for my Suit could take none Effect as then, nor yet since, in regard it was no Session Parliament; and so my Order and Relief lieth suspended till some happy Time.

But now to confound the caluminous and vituperous *Papists*, the miscreant and miserable *Atheists*, the peevish and self-opiniating *Puritans*, the faithless misbelieving Mungrels of true Religion, and of this Truth: And the very Objections have been said sometimes in my Face, by irreligious and disdainful *Nullifidians*; who have said and thought that I could neither be so constant, nor they so cruel; I think it not amiss, to set down verbally one of their Cercificates here, being all one Style, and to one Purpose; and thus it followeth.

To the Right Honourable Sir *Thomas Coventry* Knight, Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, &c.

MAY it please your Honour. I have taken Boldness to certify your good Lordship, of the Truth concerning the grievous Sufferings of this heavily injured Man, William Lithgow. True it is, that this Bearer, being bound for Alexandria in Egypt, having with him Letters of Safe Conduct, under the Hand and Seal of his late Majesty King *James*, of blessed Memory, ran-counter'd with us, and our Fleet at Malaga: Whereof I was employed as Vice-Admiral against the Pyrates of Algiers; where

where he repairing aboard of us, and frequenting our Company aboard, was presently (after we had set Sail) apprehended, by Command of the Governor and Magistrates there, as a Spy; whom they suspected had of Purpose been left behind by our General, and us of the Council of War, for the Discovery of that Place, and other adjacent Parts: Whereupon being secretly imprisoned in the Governor's Palace, and after serious Examination of our Intention, he was without any Cause done, or offered by him, most unjustly put to the cruel Rack and Tortures; besides all other his unspeakable Miseries, which for a long Time he sustained thereafter: whereof I was credibly and infallibly informed by Mr. Richard Wilds, to whom he was first discovered, and by other English Factors of good Note, then resident there, in my repairing divers Times to the Road of that Town with my Squadron of Ships, during the Time of his long Imprisonment, and after his Deliverance. And afterward the Governor there being better informed of our Loyal Proceedings in those Parts, and to colour their former Cruelties, and Suspicion had of us, he did wrest the Inquisition upon him; where being condemned to Death, he had doubtless undergone (as I was likewise truly informed by the aforesaid Merchants) the final Sentence of their Inquisition; if it had not been, for the religious Care, and speedy Prevention of Sir Walter Aston, then Leiger Ambassador there: By whose earnest Meditation he being delivered, and afterwards sent Home by Direction of Sir Robert Mansel, General: I now commend his grievous and lamentable Cause unto your Lordship's tender and religious Consideration. Resting,

Your Lordships to command,
to serve You;

From Fulham this tenth
of July, 1626.

Sir Thomas Button.

And now to conclude this tragical Discourse, the religious Eye may perceive God's compassionate Love four Ways here extended. First, His powerful Providence, in my long and admirable Preservation in Prison; Hunger, Vermin, and Tortures, being my comfortless Companions. Secondly, The pitiful Kindness of his All-seeing Eye, in the miraculous Wonder of *God's miraculous Mercy in my Deliverance.* my Discovery, when the perverted Policy of subtil Serpents had scelerately suggested my Concealment. Thirdly, His unspeakable *my Deliverance.* Mercy in my unlooked-for Deliverance, being by hopeless me not thought, nor sought; and yet by his Munificence was wrought. And lastly, His Gracious Goodness, in the Recovery (after some large Measure) of my Health and Use of Body again; *All Praise and Glory be to his Majesty therefore.*

[Before I quite take Leave of this Author, whose Sufferings are really much to be lamented, and which (being, as I said, so well attested, are not to be doubted) I judge it may not be much amiss to adjoin what he advances, with relation to Ireland, which the Reader will find whimsical enough. His Description of that our neighbouring Sister-Island runs thus.]

D d 2

W. LITH-

W. LITHGOW'S *Description of IRELAND.*

AUGUST 22. I arrived at *Dublin*, in *Ireland*.—After a general Survey of that Kingdom (the North-west Part of *Connought* excepted) accomplished, from the first of *September* till the last of *February*, I found the Goodness of the Soil, more than answerable to my Expectation, the Defect only remaining (not speaking of our Colonies) in the People, and from them, in the Bosom of two graceless Sisters, Ignorance and Sluggishness.

This Kingdom is divided into four Provinces, although some allude five, that is, East and West-*Meath*, but they are understood to be annexed to *Leinster*; their Names are these, *Leinster*, *Munster*, *Ulster*, and *Connought*: the South-most whereof is *Munster*, a Soil (and so is *Leinster* in most Parts) nothing inferior, if seasonably manured, to the best Grounds in *England*. The Island lieth almost in a Rotundo, being every way spacious; the greatest River whereof is *Shannon*, whose Course, amounteth to eightscore Miles, inclosing within it many little Isles.

And this I dare avow, there are more Rivers, Lakes, Brooks, Strands, Quagmires, Bogs, Marshes, in this Country, than in all Christendom besides; for travelling there in the Winter, all my daily Solace was sink-down Comfort; while Boggy-plunging Deeps kissing my Horse belly; while over-mired Saddle, Body, and all; and often or ever set a swimming, in great Danger, both I, and my Guides, of our Lives; that for Cloudy and Fountain-bred Perils, I was never before reduced to such a floating *Labyrinth*; considering that in five Months Space, I quite spoiled six Horses, and my self as tired as the worst of them.

And now I call to Memory (not without Derision) though I conceal the particular Place and Prelate; it was my Fortune in the County of *Donnegal*, to be jovial with a Bishop at his Table, where after divers Discourses, my Ghostly Father grew offended with me, for terming of his Wife Mistress; which, when understood, I both called her Madam, and Lady Bishop: Whereupon he grew more incensed; and leaving him unsatisfied; resolve me Lector; If it be the Custom here or not? And if, Amends shall repay Over-sight, a Ghostly Wife shall be still Madam Lady with me; if not, mine observed Manner shall be Mistress.

But now to come to my punctual Discourse of *Ireland*. True it is, to make a fit Comparison, the *Barbarian Moor*, the *Moorish Spaniard*, the *Turk*, and the *Irish-Man* are the least industrious, and most sluggish Livers under the Sun; for the vulgar *Irish*, I protest, live more miserably, in their brutish Fashion, than the undaunted, or untamed *Arabian*, the devilish idolatrous *Turcoman*, or the Moon-worshipping *Caramans*; showing thereby a greater Necessity they have to live, then any Pleasure they have, or can have in their Living.

Their Fabrics are advanced three or four Yards high, Pavillion-like incircling, erected in a Singular Frame of Smoak-torn Straw, green long-pricked Turff, and Rain-dropping Watles. Their several Rooms of Palatiate Divisions, as Chambers, Halls, Parlours, Kitchens, Barns, and Stables, are all inclosed in one, and that one (perhaps) in the Midst of a Mire; where, when in foul Weather scarcely can they find a dry Part whereupon to repose their Cloud-baptized-Heads; their Shirts being woven of the Wooll or Linnen of their own Nature, and their penurious Food semblable to their ravid Condition.

And lastly, these only Titular Christians, are so ignorant in their superstitious Profession of *Popery*, that neither they, nor the greatest Part of their Priests know, or understand

understand what the Mystery of the Mass is, which they daily see, and the other celebrate, nor what the Name of *Jesus* is, either in his Divine, or Human Nature. Ask him of his Religion? He replyeth, what his Father, his Great Grand-Father were, that will he be also: And hundreds of better than the Common Sort have demanded me; If *Jerusalem* and *Christ's* Sepulcher were in *Ireland*; and if the *Holy-Land* was contiguous with Saint *Patrick's* Purgatory.

They also at the Sight of each new Moon (I speak it credibly) bequeath their Cattle to her Protection, obnoxiously imploring the pale Lady of the Night, that she will leave their Beastial in as good Plight as she found them; and if sick, scabbed, or sore, they solicitate her Maiden-fac'd Majesty to restore them to their Health; in which Absurdity they far surmount the silly *Sabunks*, and *Garolinean Moors* of *Lybia*.

*A foolish and
superstitious
Error.*

Indeed of all things (besides their Ignorance) I only lamented their heavy Bondage under three Kind of Masters; the Landlord for his Rent, the Minister for his Tythes, and the *Romish* Priest for his Fees: And remark when their own *Irish* Rent-masters have any Voyage for *Dublin*, or peradventure superspended at Home in feasting of Strangers, then must these Poor Ones be taxed and afflicted with the Supply of the devastated Provision of their prodigal Houses; otherwise in supporting their superfluous Charges for *Dublin*.

O! what a slavish Servitude do these silly Wretches endure, the most Part of whom, in all their Lives, have never a third Part Food, Nature's Clothing, nor a secure Shelter for the Winter Cold.

The miserable Sight whereof, and their sad-sounding Groans, have often drawn a sorrowful Remorse from my Human Compassion.

As for their Gentry, such as are brought up here at *London*, learn to become a great deal more civil than those who are brought up at Home, after their own rude and accustomable Manner: And this I observed, in my traversing the whole Kingdom, I never saw one, or other, neither could move any of that self Nation, to pledge or present his Majesty's Health; but as many other Healths as you list they will both fasten and receive from you, till they fall in the muddy hotch-potch of their dead Grand-fathers Understanding. Indeed for Entertainment of Strangers they are freely disposed, and there Gentlemen, of any good Sort, reserve ever in their Houses *Spanish* Sack and *Irish Usquebaugh*, and will be as tipsy with their Wives, their Priests, and their Friends, as though they were naturally incooled in the eleven Royal Taverns of *Naples*.

And now among many, there are two intolerable Abuses of Protections in that Kingdom: The one of Thieves and Wood-carnes, the other of Priests and Papists: I discourse of these Corruptions now, as I found them then.

*Two intolerable
Abuses in Ire-
land.*

The first is prejudicial to all Christian Civilness, tranquil Government, and a great Discouragement for our colonized Plantators there, belonging to both Soils of this Island, being daily molested, and nightly incumbered with these Blood-sucking Rebels.

And notwithstanding of their barbarous Cruelty, ever executed at all Advantages, with Slaughter and Murder upon the *Scots* and *English* Dwellers there, yet they have and find, at their own Wills, Simonaical Protections, for lesser or longer Times; ever as the confused Disposers have their Law-sold Hands filled with the bloody Bribes of slaughtered Lives, Highway and House-robbed People: And then thereafter their ill-got Means being spent, like unto Dogs, they return back to their former Vomit; so juggling with their in and out-goings, like to the restless Ocean, that they cannot, nor never did, become true Subjects to our King, nor faithful Friends to their Country; unless by Extremity of Justice, the one still hanged before the other, the Remnant by the Gallows may ex-

*The filthy Cor-
ruption of Irish
emply.*

Priests and Wood-carnes amplify Amendment, contrary-wise that Land shall never be quiet: for these villainous Wood-carnes are but the Hounds of their *thievish Rebels*. hunting Priests, against what Faction soever their malicious Malignity is intended; partly for Entertainment, partly for particular Spleens, and lastly, for a general Disturbance of the Country, for the Priests greater Security and Stay.

The other Abuse is, their Libertinous Masses, the Redress whereof, I first to the Heavens, and then to my Prince bequeath; whose Sabbath-recusant Money, whereof they brag (as they say) in Derision of our lukewarm Dispensation, tendeth to no other Purpose but to obumbrate the true Light of the Gospel, and to feed their absurd, and almost irrevocable Ignorance.

And nevertheless at their daily Meetings (Experience taught me) there was never a more repining People against our Prince and Church than they be; for in this Presumption a two-fold Cause ariseth, Want of Zeal and Church Discipline in our Part, and the officious nine-Penny Mass on their Part; yea, all and each of them so exacted and compounded with at higher or lower Rates, as the Officers in this Nature please.

The Distribution whereof I no ways parallel to the slight concaviating Veins of the Earth, nor the sole Supply of High-rising *Atlas*, neither to invellop the Perpendiculars of long-reaching *Caucasus*: howsoever Teet-demolished Churches, unpassable Bridges, indigent Scholars, and distressed Families be supported therewith, I am as clear of it as they, although I smart by the contrary Confusion.

But leaving this and observing my Method, I remember I saw in *Ireland's* North-Parts two remarkable Sights: The one was their Manner of Tillage, Ploughs drawn by Horse-tails, wanting Garnishing, they are only fastened with Straw, or Wooden-Ropes, to their bare Rumps, marching all Side for Side, three or four in a Rank, and as many Men hanging by the Ends of that untoward Labour. It is as bad a Husbandry, I say, as ever I found among the wildest Savages alive; for *Caramins*, who understand not the civil Form of Agriculture, yet they delve, hollow and turn over the Ground with manual and wooden Instruments: but the *Irish* have thousands of both Kingdoms daily labouring beside them; yet they cannot learn, because they will not learn, to use Garnishing, so obstinate they are in their barbarous Consequence, unless Punishment and Penalties were inflicted; and yet most of them are content to pay twenty Shillings a Year, before they will change their Custom.

The other as goodly Sight I saw, was Women, travelling the Way or toiling at Home, carry their Infants about their Necks, and laying their Dugs over their Shoulders, would give suck to the Babes behind their Backs, without taking them in their Arms. Such Kind of Breasts, me thinketh, were very fit to be Money Bags for East or West-Indian Merchants, being more than half a Yard long, and as well wrought as any Tanner, in the like Charge, could ever mollify such Leather.

As for any other Customs they have, to avoid Prolixity, I spare; only, before my Pen flee over Seas, I would gladly shake Hands with some of our Churchmen there; for better are the Wounds of a Friend, than the sweet Smile of a Flatterer: for Love and Truth can not dissemble.

Many dissembling Impudents intrude themselves in this high Calling of God, who are not truly, neither worthily, thereunto called; the Ground here arising either from a carnal or careless Presumption, otherwise from needy, greedy, and Lack of bodily Maintenance.

Such

Such is now the Corruption of Time, that I know here even Mechanic Men admitted in the Place of Pastors: yea, and rude-bred Soldiers, whose Education was at the Musket-mouth, are become there, both *Lybian* grave, and unlearned Church-men: Nay, besides them professed, indeed professed Scholars, whose warbling Mouths ingorged with Spoonfuls of bruised *Latin*, seldom or never expressed, unless the Force of Quaffing spew it forth from their empty Sculls: Such I say, interclude their Doctrine between the Thatch and the Church-wall Tops; and yet their smallest Stipends shall amount to one, two, three, or four hundred Pounds a Year.

An Ecclesiastic Corruption in unlawful Preachers.

Whereupon you may demand me; How spend they, or how deserve they this? I answer, their Deserts are nought, and the Fruit thereof as naughtily spent: for Sermons and Prayers they never have any, neither never preached any, nor can preach.

And although some could, as perhaps they seeming would, they shall have no Auditor (as they say) but bare Walls, the Plants of their Parishes being the Roots of meer *Irish*. As concerning their Carriage, in spending such Sacrilegious Fees, the Course is thus.

The Alehouse is their Church, the *Irish* Priests their Consorts, their Auditors be fill and fetch more, their Text *Spanish* Sack, their Prayers Carousing, their Singing of Psalms the Whiffing of Tobacco, their Last Blessing *Aquavita*, and all their Doctrine sound Drunkenness.

And whensoever these Parties do meet, their Parting is, *Dane-like*, from a *Dutch* Pot, and the Minister, still Purse-bearer, defryeth all Charges for the Priest. Arguments of Religion, like *Podolian* *Polonians* they succumb; their Conference only pleading mutual Forbearance; the Minister afraid of the Priests Wood-carnes, and the Priests as fearful of the Ministers apprehending, or denoting them; contracting thereby a *Gibeonized* Covenant, yea, and for more Submission Sake, he will give Way to the Priest to mumble Mass in his Church, where he in all his Life made never Prayer nor Sermon.

A flattering Covenant betwixt Ministers and Mass-Priests.

Lo! there are some of the Abuses of our late weak and straggling Ecclesiastics there, and the Soul funk-Sorrow of Godless *Epicures* and *Hypocrites*.

To all which, and much more have I been an ocular Testator, and sometimes a constrained Consociate to their Companionry; yet not so much inforced, as desirous to know the Behaviour and Conversation of such mercenary *Jesuits*.

Great God amend it, for it is great Pity to behold it; and if it continue so still, as when I saw them last, O far better it were, that these ill-bestowed Tythes, and Church-wall Rents were distributed to the Poor and Needy, than to suffocate the swine-fed Bellies of such idle and prophane *Parasites*.

And here another general Abuse I observed, that whensoever any *Irish* dye, the Friend of the Defunct (besides other Fees) paying twenty Shillings to the *English* Curate, shall get Corps of the Deceased to be buried within the Church, yea often, even under the Pulpit-Foot, and for Lucre interred in God's Sanctuary when dead, who when alive would never approach, nor enter the Gates of *Sion*, to worship the Lord, nor conform themselves to true Religion.

Truly such and the like Abuses, and evil Examples of lewd Lives, have been the greatest Hinderance of that Land's Conversion; for such like Wolves have been from Time to Time, but Stumbling-blocks before them; regarding more their own sensual and licentious Ends than the Glory of God, in converting of one Soul unto his Church.

Now as concerning the conscionable Carriage of the *Hibernian* Clergy, ask me, and there my Reply: As many of them (for the most part) as Protestant Ministers, have their Wives, Children and Ser-

Ministerial Offices strangely abused.

vants

vants invested Papists; and many of these Church-men at the Hour of their Death (like Dogs) return back to their former Vomit. Witness the late Vicar of *Calin* (belonging to the late and last *Richard*, Earl of *Desmond*, who being on his Death-Bed, and having two hundred Pounds a Year, finding himself to forsake both Life and Stipend, sent straight for a *Romish* Priest, and received the Papal Sacrament; confessing freely in my Audience, that he had been a *Roman* Catholic all his Life, dissembling only with his Religion for the better maintaining of his Wife and Children: and being brought to his Burial-place, he was interred in the Church, with the which he had played the Ruffian all his Life; being openly carried at Mid-day with Jesuits, Priests and Fryars of his own Nation, and after a contemptible Manner, in Derision of our Profession and Laws of the Kingdom.

Infinite more Examples of this Kind could I recite, and the like Resemblances of some being alive; but I respectfully suspend (wishing a Reformation of such Deformation) and so concludeth this Clergical Corruption there. Yet I would not have the Reader to think, that I condemn all our Clergy there: no, God forbid; for I know there are many sound and religious Preachers of both Kingdoms among them, who make Conscience of their Calling, and live as *Lamborns* to incapable Ignorants, and to those stragling *Stoics* I complain of, condemnatory Judges; for it is a grievous thing to see incapable Men to juggle with the high Mysteries of Man's Salvation.

And now after the fastidious Ending of a tempestuous Rain-sack-
My Departure ing Toil, I embarked at *Toghall* in *Munster*, *February 24. 1620.*
from Ireland to in a little *French* Pink bound for *St. Malo* in *Bretagne*.
France.

[*The following Observations I the rather insert, because our Traveller, W. Lithgow says something to the Purpose, in Pag. 208, tho' not very fully.*]

OBSERVATION of the TIDE, and how to turn out of the Streights-Mouth, the Wind being Westerly. Communicated by that industrious and experienced Seaman, Mr. Richard Norris, 1670.

AT *Tangier* and *Tarifa* a S. W. and by S. Moon makes a full Sea on the Shore: But in all Parts of the *Streights-Mouth* the Flood runs till a W. and by S. Moon. All the W. Part of the *Streights-Mouth* hath the Flood out of the W. which runs in from *Cape-Sprat* and *Cape-Trafalgar*, on each Side, along by the Shore, much stronger than in the Middle to the Eastward, as far as *Cape-Cabritas*, on the *Spanish* Side, and *Ape's-Hill*, on the *Barbary* Side, and at those two Points meets with the Flood that cometh out of the N. E. about the Point of *Gibraltar*, and runs S. W. into the *Streights-Mouth*, all in the First Quarter Flood; and the Remainder of the Tide the Flood setteth from the Point of *Gibraltar*, W. S. W. towards *Cape-Cabritas*. At the Top of High-Water, there cometh always out of the W. between the two Capes, a Race of a Current which spreadeth the whole *Streights-Mouth*, from Side to Side, but continues on neither Side, seldom longer than half an Hour. But in the Middle of the *Streights-Mouth*, the Current runs to Eastward very strong all the Tide of Ebb; and the Race of a Current falleth always between *Ape's-Hill* and *Cape-Cabritas*, at a W. and by S. Moon; and at that Instant begins the Ebb, on the W. Side of those two Points, to run to the Westward. The Tide of Ebb, on the *Spanish* Side, runs from *Cape-Cabritas*, about two Miles broad from the Shore, as far as the Island of *Tarifa*, and runs between the Island and the Main,

Main, all the Tide of Ebb, along by the Shore, towards *Cape-Trafalgar*; but on the S. Side of the Island, the Ebb runs very narrow, except it be in a Set of fair Weather. The Tide of Ebb, on the *Barbary* Side, runs from *Ape's-Hill*, but narrow along the Shore, as far as the Point *Al-Cassar*; but on the W. Side of that Point, thwart the Bay, the Tide runs about three Miles broad, and at *Cape-Malabata*, which is the East-most Point of the Bay of *Tangier*, about two Miles broad, and so continues to the Westward out to *Cape-Sprat*, and from thence the Ebb runs S. W. along the Shore, towards *Salce*. The Ebb to the Eastward of *Cape-Cabrita* and *Ape's-Hill* is begun by the aforefaid Race of a Current, which spreadeth from one Side to the other, between *Gibraltar* and *Centa* Point, and runs in E. N. E. in the Middle; and from the Point of *Ape's-Hill* to the Point of *Centa* along the Shore, all the first Half-Tide; and the remaining Half-Tide the Current runs, from *Cape-Cabrita*, E. S. E. into the *Streights*, by the Point of *Centa*: And from the Point of *Gibraltar* the first Half-Ebb runs N. E. into the *Streights* towards *Cape-Fangerola*. Thwart of *Cape-Trafalgar*, about three Miles distant from the Shore, lies a Rock nine Foot under Water, between which Rock and the Cape you may sail thro' from the Island of *Tarifa*. W. and by S. lies a Ledge of Rocks, eight, nine, and ten Foot under Water, which may be seen in foul Weather by the Breach of the Sea. At the E. Side of the Island of *Tarifa* is a good Road for a Westerly Wind, in which you may anchor between 20 and 13 Fathom Water, in clear, hard Ground; but come not to Anchor nearer to the Island than 13 Fathom, because near the S. E. Point of the Island is foul Ground: The best of this Road is with the S. W. Point of the Island W. S. W. from you, and the Sand Hill W. N. W. and there you shall find 14 Fathom Water, clear Ground. Between this Island and *Cape-Cabrita* there is no Danger, but what lies always above Water. In the Middle of this Bay is a Light-House, thwart of which you may anchor in 12 Fathom Water, clear Ground, a fine Distance from the Shore; one third Part of the Distance from this Light-House, towards the Cape, is 12 Fathom, the Ground blue Clay: And that is a good Road for a N. E. Wind. You may borrow on the Cape, the Rocks to the Westward of the Cape to five Fathom, and on the E. Side to seven Fathom. A little to the Westward of the W. Point of the Bay of *Gibraltar*, thwart of a little Valley in fair Way between this Point and *Cap-Cabrita*, is a Rock eight Foot under Water, and by the E. Side of this Rock is 12 Fathom. At the Point of *Cape-Malabata* lies a Ledge of Rocks joining to the Land, that stretcheth a little Way into the Sea, but all above Water; and you shall have five Fathom Water fair by the Rocks. Note, the Tide of Ebb runs very strong to the Westward by this Point, round the Bay of *Tangier*. To anchor in the Bay of *Tangier*, in clear Ground, bring the Castle that stands on the N. W. Corner of the Town, over the N. Wall of the Town, and *Cape-Malabata* N. E. and there is between nine and ten Fathom Water at a full Sea.

To turn thro' the *Streights*-Mouth, the Wind being Westerly, you must ply to Windward, on the *Spanish* Side, from the Point of *Gibraltar* to *Cape-Cabrita*, and from thence to the Island of *Tarifa*; but you must turn about the Cape a little before High-Water, that you may have Time enough to make two or three short Boords, to the Westward of the Cape, before a Race of a Current comes out of the W. which continues but a very little while; which being past, the Ebb begins to run to the Westward, which runs so strong, that you may turn up to the Island in one Tide of Ebb; but if you cannot, you may stop the Flood any where between the Cape and the Island, in 12 or 14 Fathom Water, and there you must anchor till so much of the Flood be spent that you may get over to the *Barbary* Side, to take the first of the Ebb there: And if you fall a little to the Westward of the Point *Al-Cassar*, you may get into the Bay of *Tangier* by a Low-Water, from whence you may, observing the Tide, turn out at Pleasure.

[It is here requisite, that I inform the Reader, that the following exquisite Piece was, originally, published in 1620, under Title of, *VOX POPULI, or NEWS from SPAIN*; translated according to the *Spanish Copy*: Which may serve to forwarn both *England*, and the *United Provinces*, how far to trust to *Spanish Pretences*.—A second Part was also published, presently after, with the same Title; but not a Syllable mentioned of any *English Author*; tho', undoubtedly, they are both the *Products* of *English Pens*. Both the Parts I have; and shall insert the Second in my next Number. I chuse to print this from the later Edition, as being somewhat more correct; as also under its Title, which, being more particular, is better adapted to its Contents. What real Foundation this Editor had to father it upon the celebrated *Sir Robert Cotton* I know not; for by his Preface, which follows the Title, he seems not to have had any very great Authority. Whoever was the Author, the Thing is curious, and so will be deemed by all who have only had confused Relations of the exorbitant Sway Count Gondomar was unhappily permitted to carry in King James's Court.]

A CHOICE
 NARRATIVE
 OF
 Count GONDOMAR's Transactions
 DURING HIS
 EMBASSY in ENGLAND.

By that Renowned Antiquary, Sir ROBERT COTTON, Knight and Baronet.
 Exposed to Light, for the Benefit of the whole Nation.
 By a Person of Honour.

LONDON: Printed for *John Garfield*, at the Printing-Prefs for Pictures, near the Royal Exchange in *Cornhill*, over-against *Pope's-Head Alley*. 1659.

To the Right Worshipful, Sir WILLIAM PASTONS, Knight and Baronet.

S I R,

THE general Voice is, *That you are a great Lover of Rarities; whence it is that I dedicate this to you, and I hope you will make my Apology your self, with that of Seneca, Non malè meruit, sed benè judicavit. The Age is full of voluminous Books, that are able to make the Reader nauseate, were he not recreated by Diversion. This I present you with is but small, yet were it wire-drawn to its full Length, it would make a huge Volume: For it includes the Actions of King James, Earl Gondomar, Bishop Bancroft, Sir Walter Rawleigh, and some other famous Men, of whom several Histories might be compiled. I may compare it to Gold, that in a small Quantity is of more Worth than a great deal of base Coin, for it comprehends much Matter in a few Words. And for the farther Commendation, it bears in the Frontispiece the Name of that ever famous Antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton, who was never wont to treasure up any thing but what was rare; nor can I certainly say, whether it were penn'd by himself or not. I insist the more upon him, because it was my Chance to be one whom he vouchsafed to take by the Hand a little before his Death, I being sent to him by my Lord Privy-Seal, to acquaint him, that, by my Lord's Mediation, the King was reconciled to him: But his Answer was, That his Heart was broken, and that it was now too late: Whereby it appears, that Princes are sometimes abused, and misinformed, to the Ruin of the best Men. Sir Walter Rawleigh's unfortunate End proves the same, who was circumvented by the cunning Practices of Earl Gondomar; whereby, to the unspeakable Detriment of Posterity, he was prevented from setting forth the Second Part to compleat the World's History, which he had made ready for the Press. Gondomar is yet fresh in the Memory of many Men, who knew him when he lay Leiger here from the King of Spain; and I never heard or read of any Ambassador that acted his Part with more Dexterity for his Master's Glory and Advantage than he did; for however he had to deal with a very wise Prince (as he says) yet, like another Mercury, he could soon, with his facetious Words and Gestures, pipe King James asleep, and did sometimes take hold of the Helm himself, and was very near to have run the Ship a-Ground, or to have split her upon the Rocks: The Influence of his ill Aspect, and eclipsing the Sun-beams, is hardly over unto this present Age. Don Caro Columbo who was sent hither, was thought, by many judicious Men, to be the more prudent, and that Gondomar was but a Buffoon, compared with him; yet when he departed, he was fain to leave this Motto behind him, Revertar, implying, That he had not accomplished what he came about: But Gondomar put a Period to what he had designed; and perhaps it had been better for our Nation, if that politic Spaniard had never trod upon English Ground. I should be injurious to your Patience if I should detain you longer in the Subnrbs: Therefore I hasten to subscribe my self,*

Your Worshipp's

Very Humble Servant,

JOHN ROWLAND.

A choice NARRATIVE of Count *Gondomar's* TRANSACTIONS during his Embassy in *England*.

HIS *Catholic* Majesty had given Commandment, that presently upon the Return of *Signor Gondomar*, his Leiger Embassador from *England*, 1718. a special Meeting of all the principal States of *Spain* (who were of his Council) together with the Presidents of the Council of *Castile*, of *Aragon*, of *Italy*, of *Portugal*, of the *Indies*, of the *Treasure*, of *War*, and especially of the Holy *Inquisition*, should be held at *Monson* in *Aragon*, the Duke of *Lerma* being appointed President, who should make Declaration of his Master's Pleasure, take Account of the Embassador's Service, and consult touching the State and Religion respectively, to give Satisfaction to his Holiness's *Nuncio*, who was desired to make one in this Assembly, concerning certain Overtures of Peace and Amity with the *English*, and other Catholic Projects, which might engender Suspicion and Jealousy betwixt the Pope and his Majesty, if the Mystery were not unfolded, and the Ground of these Counsels discovered afore-hand.

This made all Men expect the Embassador's Return, with a Kind of Longing, that they might behold the Issue of this Meeting, and see what Good for the Catholic Cause the Embassador's Employment had effected in *England*, answerable to the general Opinion conceived of his Wisdom, and what farther Project would be set on Foot to become Matter for public Discourse. At length he arrived, and had present Notice given him from his Majesty, that before he came to the Court, he should give up his Account to this Assembly: Which Command he gladly received, as an Earnest of his acceptable Service; and gave Thanks, that, for his Honour, he might publish himself in so judicious a Presence. He came first, on the Day appointed, to the Council Chamber (except the Secretaries) not long after all the Council of State and their Presidents met. There wanted only the Duke of *Lerma*, and the *Pope's Nuncio*, who were the Head and Feet of all the Assembly.

These two stayed long for divers Respects; the *Nuncio*, that he might express the Greatness of his Master, and lose the See of *Rome* no Respect by his Oversight, but that the Benches might be full, to observe him at his Approach: The Duke of *Lerma*, to express the Authority and Dignity of his own Person, and to shew how a Servant put in the Place of his Master, exacts more Duty of his Fellow-Servants than the Master himself. These two stayed till all the rest were weary of waiting; but at length the *Nuncio*, supposing all the Council set, lanced forth and came to Road in the Council-Chamber; where, after mutual Discharge of Duty from the Company, and Blessing upon it from him, he sat down in solemn Silence, grieving at his Oversight, when he saw the Duke of *Lerma* absent, with whom he strove as a Competitor for Pomp and Glory.

The Duke had sent before, and understood of the *Nuncio's* being there, and stayed something the longer, that his Boldness might be observed; wherein he had his Desire; for the *Nuncio* having a while patiently driven away the Time with several Compliments, to several Persons, had now almost run his Courtship out of Breath, but that the Duke of *Villa-Hermosa*, President of the Council of *Aragon*, fed his Humour by the Discharge of his own Discontentment, upon Occasion of the Duke of *Lerma's* Absence, and beckoned *Signor Gondomar* to him, using this Speech, in the Hearing of the *Nuncio*, after a sporting Manner; How unhappy are the People where you have been, first for their Souls, being Heretics, then for their Estates, where the Name of

a Favourite is so familiar ! How happy is our State, where the Keys of Life and Death are so easily come by (pointing at the *Nuncio*) hanging at every Religious Girdle, and where the Doors of Justice and Mercy stand equally open to all Men, without Respect of Persons ! The Embassador knew his Ironical Stroke to be intended only as a By-blow to the *Nuncio*, but fully at the Duke of *Lerma* (whose Greatness begun now to wax heavy toward Declension) and therefore he returned this Answer.

Your Excellency knoweth, the Estate is happy where wise Favourites govern Kings, if the Kings themselves be foolish ; or where wise Kings are, who having Favourites either foolish, or the wiser sort, will not yet be governed by them. The State of *England* (howsoever you hear of it in *Spain* or *Rome*) is too happy in the last Kind : They need not care what the Favourite be, though for the most part he prevents all sort of Suspicion in that Kind ; being chosen rather as a Scholar to be taught and trained up, than as a Tutor to teach. Of this they are sure, no Prince exceeds theirs in personal Abilities ; so that nothing could be added to him in my Wish, but this one ; that he were our Vassal and a Catholic. With that the Noise without gave Notice of the Duke of *Lerma*'s Entrance ; at whose first Approach the whole House arose, though some later than other, as Envy had hung Plummets on them to keep them down ; the *Nuncio* only sat unmoved. The Duke cherished the Observance of the rest with a familiar kind of Carriage, too high for Courtesy as not neglecting their Demeanors, but expecting it ; and after a Filial Obeysance to the Pope's *Nuncio*, sat down as President, under the Cloth of Estate, but somewhat lower ; then after a Space given for Admiration, Preparation, and Attention, he began to speak in this Manner.

The King my Master (holding it more Honour to do, than to discourse, to take from you the Expectation of Oratory, used rather in Pulpits and Schools than in Councils) hath appointed me President in this holy, wise, learned, and noble Assembly, a Man naturally of a slow Speech, and not desirous to quicken it by Art or Industry ; as holding Action only proper to a *Spaniard*, as I am by Birth ; to a Soldier, as I am by Profession ; to a King, as I am by Representation. Take this therefore briefly, for Declaration both of the Cause of this Meeting, and my Master's farther Pleasure.

There hath been in all Times, since the World's Foundation, one chief Commander or Monarch upon the Earth ; this needs no farther Proof than a back-looking into our own Memories and Histories of the World ; neither now is there any Question (except with Infidels and Heretics) of their own Chief Commander in Spirituals, in the Unity of whose Person the Members of the Visible Church are included. But there is some Doubt of the Chief Commander in Temporals, who, as the Moon to the Sun, might govern by Night, as this by Day ; and by the Sword of Justice compel to come in, or cut off, such as infringe the Authority of the Keys : This hath been so well understood long since by the infallible Chair, as that thereby, upon the Declension of the *Roman* Empire, and the Increase of *Rome*'s Spiritual Splendor (who thought it unnatural that their Sun should be Sublunary) our Nation was, by the Bishop of *Rome*, selected before other People, to conquer and rule the Nations with a Rod of Iron. And our King to that End adorned with the Title of *Catholic* King, as a Name above all Names under the Sun (which is) under God's Vicar-General himself, the Catholic Bishop of Souls. To instance this Point by Comparison, look first upon the *Grand Signor*, the *Great Turk*, who hath a large Title, but not universal ; for besides that he is an Infidel, his Command is confined within his own Territories, and he is stiled not Emperor of the World, but of the *Turk* and their Vassals only. Among *Christians*, the *Defender of the Faith*, was a glorious Style, while the King, to whom it was given by his Holiness, continued worthy of it ; but he stood not in the Truth, neither yet those who succeed him ; and beside, it was no great Thing to be called, what every *Christian* ought to be, *Defender of the Faith* ; no more than to
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be stiled with *France*, the *Most Christian King*; wherein he hath the greatest Part of his Title common with most *Christians*. The Emperors of *Rome*, *Russia*, *Germany*, extend not their Limits farther than their Stiles, which are local, only my Master, the Most *Catholic King*, is for Dominion of Bodies, as the Universal Bishop for Dominion of Souls, over that Part of the World which we call *America* (except where the *English* Intruders usurp) and the greatest Part of *Europe*, with some Part of *Asia*, and *Africa*, by actual Possession, and over all the rest by real and indubitable Right; yet acknowledgeth this Right to be derived from the free and fatherly Donation of his Holiness, who, as the Sun to the Moon, lends Luster by Reflection to this Kingdom, to this King, to this King of Kings my Master. What therefore he hath, howsoever gotten, he may keep and hold; what he can get from any other King, or Commander, by any Stratagem of War, or Pretence of Peace, he may take; for it is theirs only by Usurpation, except they hold of him from whom all Civil Power is derived, as Ecclesiastical from his Holiness. What the Ignorant call Treason, if it be on his Behalf, is Truth; and what they call Truth, if it be against him, is Treason. And thus all our Peace, or War, our Treaties, Marriages, and whatsoever Intendment else of ours, aims at this principal End, to get the whole Possession of the World, and to reduce all to Unity, under one Temporal Head; that our King may truly be what he is stiled, the *Catholic* and *Universal King*. As Faith is therefore universal, and the Church is universal, yet so as it is under one Head, the Pope, whose Seat is and must necessarily be at *Rome*, where *St. Peter* sate; so must all Men be subject to our and their Catholic King, whose particular Seat is here in *Spain*, his universal every where. This Point of State, or rather of Faith, we see the Catholic *Roman* Religion hath taught every where, and almost made natural; so that by a Key of Gold, by Intelligence, or by Way of Confession, my Master is able to unlock the Secrets of every Prince, and to withdraw their Subjects Allegiance; as if they knew themselves rather my Master's Subjects in Truth, than theirs whom their Birth hath taught to miscall Sovereign. We see this in *France*, and in *England* especially, where at once they learn both to obey the Church of *Rome*, as their Mother, to acknowledge the Catholic King as their Father, and to hate their own King as a Heretic and an Usurper: So we see Religion and the State are coupled together; laugh and weep, flourish and fade, and participate of either's Fortune growing upon one Stock of Policy. I speak this the more boldly here in this Presence, because I speak here before none but Natives, Persons who are Partakers, both in themselves and Issues, of these Triumphs of ancient *Rome*, and therefore such as besides their Oaths it concerns to be secret. Neither need we restrain this Freedom of Speech from the *Nuncio's* Presence, because, besides that he is a *Spaniard* by Birth, he is a *Jesuit* by Profession and Order, devised, by the Providence of God's Vicar, to accomplish this Monarchy the better, all of them being appropriate thereunto, and as public Agents and privy Counsellors to this End; whereas the Wisdom of this State is to be beheld with Admiration, that in Temporal Wars it employs, or at least trusts none but Natives. So in *Castile*, *Portugal*, or *Aragon*: So in Spirituals, it employs none but the *Jesuits*, and so employs them that they be generally reputed, how remote soever they be from us, how much soever obliged to others, yet still to be ours, and to be of the *Spanish* Faction, though they be *Polonians*, *English*, *French*, and residing in those Countries and Courts. The Penitents therefore, and all with whom they deal and converse in their Spiritual Traffic, must needs be so too; and so our Catholic King must needs have an invisible Kingdom, and an unknown Number of Subjects in all Dominions, who will shew themselves and their Faiths, by their Works of Disobedience, whensoever we shall have Occasion to use that *Jesuitical* Virtue of theirs. This therefore being the principal End of all our Councils, according to those Holy Directions of our late pious King *Philip* the Second, to his Son now surviving, to advance the Catholic *Roman* Religion,

Religion, and the Catholic *Spanish* Dominion, together, we are now met, by his Majesty's Command, to take an Account of you (*Signor Gondomar*) who have been Embassador for *England*, to see what good you have effected there, towards the Advancement of this Work, and what farther Project shall be thought fit to be set on Foot to this End; and this is briefly the Occasion of our Meeting.

Then the Embassador who attended bare-headed all the Time, with a low Obedience began thus; This most laudable Custom of our Kings, in bringing all Officers to such an Account, where a Review and Notice is taken of good and bad Service upon the Determination of their Employments, resembles those *Roman* Triumphs, appointed for the Soldiers; and as in them it provoked to Courage, so in us it stirs up to Diligence. Our Master converseth, by his Agents, with all the World, yet with none of more Regard than the *English*, where Matter of Diversity is often presented through the several Humours of the State, and those of our Religion and Faction, that no Instruction can be sufficient for such Negotiations, but much must be left in Trust to the Discretion, Judgment and Diligence of the Incumbent. I speak not this for my own Glory, I having been restrained, and therefore deserved meanly, but to forewarn on the Behalf of others, that there may be more Scope allowed them to deal in, as Occasion shall require. Briefly this Rule, delivered by his Excellency, was the Card and Compass by which I scaled to make Profit of all Humours, and by all Means to advance the State of the *Romish* Religion, and the *Spanish* Faction together, upon all Advantage, either upon Oath or Breach of them; for this is an old Observation but a true, that for our Piety to *Rome*, his Holiness did not only give, but also bless us in the Conquest of the New World; and thus, in our pious Perseverance, we hope still to be Conquerors of the Old. And to this End, whereas his Excellency, in his Excellent Discourse, seems to extend our outward Forces, and private Aims, only against Heretics, and restrain them in true Amity with those of the *Romish* Religion. This I affirm sure, because there can be no Security, but such Princes as are now *Romish* Catholics may turn Heretics hereafter, my Aims have ever been to make Profit of all, and to make my Master, Master of all, who is a faithful and constant Son of his Mother *Rome*. And to this End I beheld the Endeavours of our Kings, of happy Memory, how they have atcheived Kingdoms and Conquest by this Policy, rather than by open Hostility, and that without Difference, as well from their Allies and Kinsfolks, Men of the same Religion and Profession, such as were those of *Naples*, *France*, and *Navarre*; though I do not mention *Portugal*, now united to us, and *Savoy*, which hardly slipped from us, as of an Adverse and Heretical Faith; neither is this Rule left off, as the present Kingdom of *France*, the State of *Venice*, the *Low-Countries*, *Bohemia*, now all labouring for Life under our Plots, apparently manifest this Way; therefore I bend my Engines in *England*, as your Honours shall particularly hear; neither should I need to repeat a Catalogue of all the Service I have there done, because this State hath been acquainted with many of them heretofore, by the Intercourse so wrought, that the State should be rather robbed and weakened (which is our Aim) than strengthened, as the *English* vainly hope; besides in a small Time, they should work so far into the Body of the State, by buying Offices, and the like, whether by Sea or Land, of Justice Civil or Ecclesiastical, in Church or State, all being for Money exposed to Sale, that, with the Help of the *Jesuits*, they would undermine them with meer Wit, without Gunpowder, and leave the King but few Subjects, whose Faiths he might rely upon, while they were of a Faith adverse to his: For what Catholic Body, that is sound at the Heart, can abide a corrupt and Heretical Head.

With that, the Duke of *Medinadel Rio Seco*, President of their Council of War, and one of the Council of State, rose up and said; His Predecessors had felt the Force of Wit of the *English* in Eighty-Eight; and he had Cause to doubt, that the Catholics

Catholics themselves who were *English*, and not fully *Jesuited*, upon any Foreign Invasion, would rather take Part with their own King, though a Heretic, than with his Catholic Majesty, a Stranger.

The Embassador desired him to be of another Mind; since first, for the Persons, generally their Bodies, by long Difuse of Arms, were disabled, and their Minds effeminated by Peace and Luxury, far from that they were in Eighty-Eight, when they were daily fleshed in our Blood, and made hearty by customary Conquests. And for the Affections of those whom they call *Recusants* (quoth he) I assure your Honours, I could not imagine so basely of their King and State, as I have heard them speak; nay, their Rage hath so perverted their Judgments, that what I myself have seen and heard proceed from their King, beyond Admiration even to Astonishment, they have slighted, misreported, scorned and perverted to his Disgrace, and my Rejoicing, magnifying, in the mean Time, our Defects for Graces.

Here the Duke *Pastrana*, President of the Council of *Italy*, stepped up and said: He had lately read a Book of one *Cambden*, called his *Annals*, where writing of a Treaty of Marriage, long since, betwixt the *English Elizabeth*, and the *French Duke of Anjou*; he there observes, that Marriage was not seriously intended on either Side, but politicly pretended by both States counterchangeably, that each might effect their own Ends. There (quoth he) the *English* had the better, and I have some Cause to doubt, since they can dissemble as well as we, that they may have their Aims under-hand as we have, and intend the Match as little as we do: And this (quoth he) I believe the rather, because their King, as he is Wise to consult and consider, so he is a constant Master of his Word, and hath written and given strong Reasons against Matches made with Persons of contrary Religion; which Reasons no other Man can answer, and therefore, doubtless, he will not go from, nor counsel his Son to forsake these Rules, laid down so deliberately.

Your Excellency mistakes (quoth the Embassador) the Advantage was then on the Side of the *English*, because the *French* sought the Match; now it must be on ours, because the *English* seek it, who will grant any Thing rather than break off; and besides have no Patience to temporize or dissemble in this or any other Design, as the *French* have long since well observed; for their Necessities will give them neither Time, nor Rest, nor Hope elsewhere to be supplied. As for their King I cannot search into his Heart; I must believe others who presume to know his Mind, hear his Words, and read his Writings, and these relate what I have delivered: But for the rest of the People, as the Number of those who are truly Religious are ever the least, and for the most Part of least Account, so it is there; where if an equal Opposition be made betwixt their truly Religious and ours, the Remainder which will be the greater Number, will stand indifferent, and fall to the stronger Side, where there is most Hope of Gain and Glory; for those two are the *Gods* of the Magnitude and Multitude; now these see apparently no certain Supplies of their Wants, but from us.

Yes (quoth the Duke) for even now you said, the General State, loathing the Match, would redeem the Fear thereof with half their Estates; it is therefore but calling a *Parliament*, and the Business were soon effected.

A *Parliament*! (says the Embassador) Nay, therein lies one of the chiefest Services I have done, in working such a Dislike between the King and the *Lower-House*, by the Endeavours of that Honourable Earl, and Admirable Engine, a sure Servant to us, and the Catholic Cause, whilst he lived, as that the King will never endure *Parliaments* again, but rather suffer absolute Want, than receive conditional Relief from his Subjects: Besides, the Matter was so cunningly carried the last *Parliament*, that, as in the *Powder-Plot*, the Fact effected should have been imputed to the *Puritans*, the greatest Zealots of that *Calvinian* Sect; so the *Propositions* which dammed
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up the Proceedings of this *Parliament*, howsoever they were invented by *Romish* Catholics, and by them intended to disturb that *Session*, and yet were propounded in Favour of the *Puritans*, as if they had been hammered in their Forge, which very *Name* and *Shadow* the King hates, being a sufficient Asperſion to diſgrace any Perſon to ſay he is ſuch, and a ſufficient Bar to ſtay any Suit, and utterly to croſs it, to ſay it ſmells of, or inclines to that Party. Moreover, there are ſo many about him who blow this Coal, firing their own Stakes, if a *Parliament* ſhould inquire into their Actions, that they uſe all their Art and Induſtry to withſtand ſuch a *Council*, perſuading the King he may *rule* by his abſolute *Prerogative* without a *Parliament*, and thus furniſh himſelf by Marriage with us, and other Domestic Projects, without Subſidies, when levying of Subſidies and Taxes have been the only Uſe Princes have made of ſuch *Aſſemblies*. And whereas ſome free Minds among them, reſembling our Nobility, who preſerve the Privilege of Subjects againſt Sovereign Invaſion, call for the Courſe of the Common-Law (a Law proper to their Nation) theſe other Time-ſervers cry the Law down, and up the *Prerogative*; whereby they prey upon the Subjects by Suits and Exactions, milk the State and keep it bare, procure themſelves much Suſpicion among the better and more judicious Sort, and Hate among the oppreſſed *Commons*; and yet if there ſhould be a *Parliament*, ſuch a Courſe is taken, as they ſhall never chuſe their Shire-Knights and Burgeſſes freely, who make the greater Half of the Body thereof; for theſe, being to be elected by moſt Voices of the Free-holders in theſe Countries where ſuch Elections are to be made, are carried which Way the great Perſons, who have Lands in theſe Countries, pleaſe; who by their Letters command their Tenants, Followers and Friends, to nominate ſuch as adhere to them; and for the moſt Part are of our Faction, and reſpect their own Benefit or Grace, rather than their Countries Good; yea, the Country-People themſelves will every one ſtand by that great Man, their Lord, or Neighbour, or Maſter, without Regard of his Honesty, Wiſdom, or Religion; that which they aim at (as I am aſſured by faithful Intelligence) is to pleaſe their Landlord, and ſo to renew their Leaſe; in which Regard they will betray their Country and Religion too, and elect any Man who may moſt profit Particular: Therefore it is unlikely there ſhould ever be a *Parliament*, and impoſſible the King's Debts ſhould be paid, his Wants ſufficiently repaired, and himſelf left full-handed by ſuch a Courſe; and indeed, as it is generally thought, by any Courſe but by a Marriage with us: For which Cauſe, whatſoever Project we liſt to attempt, enter ſafely at the Door, while their Policy lies aſleep, and will not ſee the Danger: I have made Tryal of theſe *Particulars*, and find ſew Exceptions in this general Rule.

Thereby I and their own Want together, have kept them from furniſhing their Navy, which being the Wall of their Iſland, and once the ſtrongeſt in Chriſtendom, lies now at Road, unarmed, and fit for Ruin. If ever we doubted their Strength by Sea, now we need not; there are but ſew Ships or Men able to look abroad, or live in a Storm, much leſs in a Sea-Fight. This I effected by bearing them in Hand, the furniſhing of their Navy bred Suſpicion in my Maſter, and ſo would avert him from the Match, the Hope of which, rather than they would loſe, they would loſe almoſt their Hope of Heaven.

Secondly: All their Voyages to the *East-Indies*, I permit rather with a colourable Reſiſtance than a ſerious, becauſe I ſee them not helpful, but hurtful to the State in general, carrying out Gold and Treſure, bringing home Spice, Silks, Feathers, and the like Toys, and inſenſibly waſting the common Stock of Coin and Bullion, while it fills the *Custom-Houſe*, and ſome private Purſes, who thereby are enabled to keep this Diſcommodity on Foot by Bribes, eſpecially ſo many Great Perſons (even States-Men) being Adventurers and Sharers in the Gain: Beſides this, it waſteth their

Mariners, not One of Ten returning; which I am glad to hear, for they are the Men we stand in Fear of.

Thirdly: Their *West Indian* Voyages, I withstand them in Earnest, because they begin to inhabit there, and fortify themselves, and may in Time perhaps raise another *England*, to withstand our *New Spain* in *America*; as this Old *England* opposeth our present State, and clouds the Glorious Extents thereof in *Europe*: Besides, there they Trade for Commodities without Waste of their Treasure, and often return Gold for Knives, Glasses and the like Trifles, and that without much Loss of their Mariners, as in other Places; therefore I crossed whatsoever Intendments were projected for *Virginia*, or the *Bermudas*, because I see they may be hereafter really helpful unto them, as now they serve for Drains to unload their populous State, which else would over-flow its own Banks, by Continuance of Peace, and turn Head upon itself, or make a Body fit for any Rebellion.

And so far I prevailed herein, as I caused most of the *Recusants*, who were Sharers, to withdraw their Ventures and discourage the Work; so that besides Private Persons unable to effect much, nothing was done by the Public Purse: And we know by Experience, that such Voyages and Plantations are not effected without great Means to sustain great Difficulties, and with an unwearied Resolution and Power to meet all Hazards and Disasters with strong Helps and continual Supplies, or else the Undertaking prove idle.

Fourthly: By this Means likewise, I kept the voluntary Forces from *Venice*, till it was almost too late to set out, and had a Hope that Work of Secrecy should have broken forth to Action, before those could have arrived to succour them.

Fifthly: I put hard for the Cautionary Towns, which our late King *Philip*, of happy Memory, so aimed at, accounting them the Keys of the *Low-Countries*, that they might be delivered to his *Catholic* Majesty, as to the proper Owner; and had perhaps prevailed, but that professed Enemy to our State and Church who dyed shortly after, gave Council to restore them to the Rebellious States, as one who knew Popular Common-wealths to be better Neighbours, surer Friends, and less dangerous Enemies than Monarchs; and so by this Practice rescued them from my Hands, and furnished the Exchequer from thence for that Time; neither was I much grieved at this, because the Dependancy they had before on the *English* seemed now to be cut off, and the Interest the *English* had in them and their Cause to be taken away, which must be fully and finally effected, before we can hope either to conquer them, or *England*, who holding together are too strong for the World at Sea; and therefore must be disunited before they can be over-come. This Point of State is acknowledged by our most experienced Pensioner, and sure Friend, *Monsieur Barnevelt*, whose succeeding Plots for this End, shall bear Witness for the Depth of his Judgment.

Sixthly: But the last Service I did for the State, was not the least, when I under-wrought that admirable Engine, *Rawleigh*, and so was the Cause that his Voyage, threatening much Danger and Damage to us, was overthrown, and himself returning in Disgrace, I pursued almost to Death: Neither (I hope) need I say almost, if all Things hit right, and all Strings hold: But the Determination of my Commission would not permit me longer to stay to follow him to Execution, which I desired the rather, that by Concession I might have wrung, from the inconsiderate *English*, an Acknowledgment of my Master's Right in those Places, punishing him for attempting there, though they might prescribe for the first Foot. And this I did to stop their Mouths hereafter, and because I would quench the Heat and Valour of that Nation, that none should dare hereafter to undertake the like, or be so hardy as to look out at Sea, or breathe upon our Coasts: And lastly, because I would bring to ignominious Death that old Pirate, who is one of the last, now living, bred under that

that deceased *English Virago*, and by her fleshed in our Blood and Ruin. To do this I had many Agents; first, divers Courtiers who were hungry and gaped wide for *Spanish* Gold; secondly, some who bare him at the Heart for inveterate Quarrels; thirdly, some Foreigners, who having in vain sought the *Elixer* hitherto, hope to find it in his Head; fourthly, all Men of the *Romish* Faith, who are of the *Spanish* Faction, and would have been my Blood-hounds to hunt him, or any such to Death willingly, as Persons hating the Prosperity of their Country, and the Valour, Worth and Wit of their own Nation, in respect of us and our *Catholic* Cause; lastly, I left behind me such an Instrument composed, artificially, of a Secular Understanding, and a Religious Profession, as he is every Way adapted to screw himself into the Closet of the Heart, and to Work upon Feminine Levity, who in that Country have Masculine Spirits, to command and pursue their Plots unto Death. This therefore I account as done, and rejoice in it, knowing it will be very profitable to us, grateful to our Faction there; and what though it be cross to the People, or the Clergy, we who only negotiate for our Gain, and treat about this Marriage for their own Ends, can conclude or break off when we see our Time, without Respect of such, as can neither profit us, nor hurt us; for I have certain Knowledge, that the Commons generally are so effeminate and cowardly, that they, at their Musters, which are seldom and slight, only for the Benefit of their Muster-Masters, of a Thousand Soldiers, scarce a Hundred dares discharge a Musket, and of that Hundred, scarce one can use it like a Soldier: And for their Arms they are so ill provided, that one Corslet serveth many Men, when such as shew their Armour one Day in one Place, lend them to their Friends in other Places to shew, when they have Use; and this if it be spied, is only punished by a Mulct in the Purse, which is the Officer's Aim, who, for his Advantage, winks at the rest, and is glad to find and cherish by Connivance profitable Faults, that increase his Revenues. Thus stands the State of that poor miserable Country, which had never more People and fewer Men; so that if my Master should resolve upon an Invasion, the Time never fits as at this present; Security of this Marriage, and the Disuse of Arms having cast them into a dead Sleep, a strong and wakening Faction being ever among them ready to assist us, and they being unprovided of Ships, or Arms, or Hearts to fight, a universal Discontentment following all Men: This I have from their Muster-Masters and Captains, who are many of them of our Religion, or of none, and so ours, ready to be bought and sold, and desirous to be my Master's Servants in Fee.

Thus much for the State particularly, wherein I have bent my-self to weaken them and strengthen us, and in all these have advanced the *Catholic* Cause, but especially in procuring Favours for all such as favour that Side, and crossing the other by all Means: And this I practice my-self, and give out to be generally practised by others, that whatsoever Success I find, I still boast of the Victory, which I do to dishearten the Heretics, and to make them suspicious one of another, especially of their Princes best Statesmen, and to keep our own in Courage, who by this Means increase, otherwise would be in Danger to decay.

Now for Religion, and such Designs as fetch their Pretence from thence, I beheld the Policy of that late Bishop of theirs, *Bancroft*, who stirred up and maintained a dangerous Schism, betwixt our Secular Priests and Jesuits, by which he discovered much Weakness, to the Dishonour of our Clergy, and Prejudice of our Cause. This taught me, as it did *Barneveldt* in the *Low-Countries*, to work secretly and insensibly betwixt their Conformists, and Non-conformists, and to cast an Eye as far as the *Orcades*, knowing that Business might be stirred up there which might hinder Proceedings in *England*, as the *French* ever used *Scotland* to call Home the Forces of *England*, and so to prevent their Conquests; the Effect you have partly seen in

the Earl of *Argyle*, who sometimes was Captain for the King and Church, against the great Marquis *Huntley*, and now fights under our Banner at *Brussels*, leaving the Crosses of St. *George* and St. *Andrew*, for the Cross of St. *James*: Neither do our Hopes end here, but we daily expect more Revolters, or at least such a Disunion as will never admit solid Reconcilement, but will send some to us, and some to *Amsterdam*, for the King (a wise and vigilant Prince) labouring for a perfect Union betwixt both the Kingdoms, which he sees cannot be effected; where the least Ceremony in Religion is continued, diverse sharp and bitter Brambles from thence arising, while some striving for Honour more than for Truth, prefer their own Way and Will before the general Peace of the Church, and the Edification of Souls: He, I say, seeks to work both Churches to Uniformity, and, to this End, made a Journey into *Scotland*, but with no such Success as he expected; for divers of ours attended the Train, who stirred up Humours and Factions, and cast in Scruples and Doubts, to hinder and cross the Proceedings; yea those that seem most adverse to us, and averse to our Opinions, by their Disobedience and Example, help forward our Plots; and these are encouraged by a factious and heady Multitude, by a faint and irresolute Clergy, many False Brethren being among their Bishops and the prodigal Nobility, who maintain these Stirs in the Church, and that thereby they may safely keep their Church-livings in their Hands, which they have most sacrilegiously seized upon in the Time of the first Deformation, and which they fear would be recovered by the Clergy, if they could be brought to a brotherly Peace and Agreement; for they have seen the King very bountiful in this Kind, having lately increased their Pensions, and settled the Clergy a competent Maintenance; and besides out of his own Means, which in that Kingdom is none of the greatest, having brought in and restored whole Bishopricks to the Church, which were before in Lay-mens Hands, a great Part of the Nobilities Estate consisting of Spiritual Lands, which makes them cherish the *Puritanical* Faction, who will be content to be Trencher-fed with Scraps and Crums, and Contributions, and Arbitrary Benevolence, from their Lords, and Lairds, and Ladies, and their Adherents and Followers.

But (quoth the Inquisitor-General) how if this Act of the King's, wherein he is most earnest and constant, should so far thrive, as it should effect a perfect Union in the Church and Common-wealth, I tell you it would, in my Conceit, be a great Blow to us, if by a general Meeting a general Peace should be concluded, and all their Forces bent against *Rome*? And we see their politic King aims at this.

True (quoth *Gondomar*) but he takes his Mark amiss; howsoever he understands the People and their Inclination better than any Man, and better knows how to temper their Passions and Affections: for besides that he is hindered there in *Scotland* underhand by some, for the Reasons above-recited, and by the other Great-ones of ours, who are in great Place and Authority among them, he is likewise deluded, in this Point, even by his own Clergy at home in *England*, who pretend to be most forward in the Cause; for they considering if a general Uniformity were wrought, what an Inundation would follow, while all or most of theirs would flock thither for Preferment (as Men pressing towards the Sun for Light and Heat) and so their own should be unprovided: These therefore, I say, howsoever they bear the King fairly in Hand, are under-hand against it, and stand stiff for all Ceremonies, to be obtruded with a kind of absolute Necessity upon them, when the other will not be almost drawn to receive any, when if an Abatement were made, doubtless they might be drawn to meet in the Midst; but there is no Hope of this with them, where neither Party deals seriously, but only for the present to satisfy the King, and so there is no Fear on either Side, that Affections and Opinions so diverse, will ever be reconciled and made one. Their Bishop of St. *Andrew* stands almost alone in the Cause,

and

and pulls upon himself the Labour, the Loss and Envy of all, with little Proficiency, while the adverse Faction have as sure Friends, and good Intelligence about the King, as he hath; and the same Post, perhaps, that brings a Packet from the King to him, brings another from their Abettors to them, acquainting them with the whole Proceedings and Councils, and preparing them beforehand for Opposition. This I know for Truth, and this I rejoice in, as conducing much to the Catholic Good.

But (quoth the *Nuncio*) are there none of the Heretical Preachers busy about this Match? Methinks their Fingers should itch to be Writing, and their Tongues burn to be prating about this Business; especially the *Puritanical* Sort, howsoever the most temperate and indifferent carry themselves.

The Truth is, my Lord (quoth the Ambassador) that privately what they can, and publicly what they dare, both in *England* and *Scotland*, all for the most part, except such as be of our Faith, oppose this Match to the uttermost, by Prayers, Counsels, Speeches, and Wishes; but if any be found longer-tongued than his Fellows, we have still Means to charm their Sauciness, and to silence them; to expel them the Court, to disgrace them, and cross their Preferments, with the Imputation of Pragmatic *Puritanism*: For Instance, I will relate this one Particular; A *Doctor* of theirs, and *Chaplain* in Ordinary to the King, gave many *Reasons*, in a Letter, against this Marriage; and propounded a *Way* how to supply the King's Wants otherwise: which I understanding, so wrought underhand, that the *Doctor* was committed, and hardly escaped the Danger of this presumptuous *Admonition*; tho' the State knew his *Intent* was honest, and his *Reasons* good: Wherein we on the other Side (both here and with the Arch-Duke) have had *Books* penned, and *Pictures* printed directly against their King and State; for which their Ambassadors have sought Satisfaction of us in vain, not being able to stay the Print, or so much as to touch the Hem of the Author's Garment. But we have an Evasion which *Heretics* miss, our *Clergy* being freed from the *Temporal Sword*, and so not included in our *Treaties* and *Conditions of Peace*, but at Liberty to give any *Heretical Prince* the *Mate* when they list; whereas they are liable to Account and Hazard, and are muzzled for barking, when ours may both bark and bite too: The *Council-Table* and the *Star-Chamber* do so terrify them as they dare not riot, but run at the Stirrop in excellent Command, and come in at the least Rebuke: they call their Preaching in many Places *Standing up*, but they crouch and dare not, stand not up nor quest, behave themselves like Setters, silent, and creeping upon their Bellies, lick the Dust which our *Priests* shake off from their beautiful Feet.

Now (quoth the Duke of *Lerma*) satisfy me about our own *Clergy*, how they fare; for there were here *Petitions* made to the King, in the Name of the *Distressed, Afflicted, Persecuted*, and *Imprisoned* Priests; that his Majesty would interceed for them, to free them from the intolerable Burdens they groan under, and to procure their Liberties; and Letters were directed from us to this End, that you should negotiate this Demand with all Speed and Diligence.

Most Excellent Prince (replied *Gondomar*) I did your Command, with a kind of Command my self, not thinking it fit to make it a Suit in your Name, and my Master's; I obtained them Liberty to walk up and down, to face, and outface their Accusers, Judges, Magistrates, and Bishops, and to exercise their Functions, almost as freely, altogether as safely as at *Rome*. Here the *Nuncio* objected, That he did not well in procuring their Liberty, since they might do more Good in Prison than abroad; because in Prison they seemed to be under *Persecution*, and so were pitied of others; and Pity of the Person prepares the Affection farther: besides, then they were careful of their own Lives, to give no Offence; but abroad they might be scandalous in their Lives, as they use to be in *Rome*, and *Spain*, and other Catholic Countries;

Countries; and so the *Opinion* of their Holiness, which upholds their *Credit* and *Cause* against the Married *Clergy*, would soon decay.

But, the Embassador replied; He considered these Inconveniencies, and besides a superior Command, he saw the Profit of their Liberty, more than of their Restraint: For now they might freely confer, and were ever practising, and would doubtless produce some Work of Wonder; and besides, the Reason of their Authority, and Means to change Places, did apply themselves to many Persons; whereas in Prison they could only deal with such as came to be taught, were their own before. And this (quoth he) I added as a Secret, that as before they were maintained by private Contributions from Devout Catholics, even to Excess; so much more now shall they be able to gather great Sums to weaken the State, and furnishing them for some high Attempt, by the Example of Cardinal *Wolsey*, barreling up Gold for *Rome*. And this they may easily do, since all *Catholics* rob the *Heretical* Priests, and withhold Tythes from them by Fraud or Force, to give to these of their own, to whom it is properly due. And if this be spied, it is an easy Matter to lay all upon the *Hollander*, and say, he carries the Coin out of the Land (who is forward enough indeed in these Practices) and so ours shall not only be excused, but a Flaw made betwixt them to weaken their Amities, and beget Suspicion betwixt them, of each other's Love.

But among all these *Priests* (quoth the *Inquisitor*) did you remember that old Reverend Father, *Bauldwin*, who had a Finger in that admirable Attempt, made on our Behalf, against the *Parliament House*? Such as he, deserving so highly, and venturing their Lives so resolutely for the *Catholic* Cause, must not be neglected, but extraordinarily regarded, thereby to encourage others to the like Holy Undertakings.

Holy Father (quoth *Gondomar*) my principal Care was of him, whose Life and Liberty, when I had, with much Difficulty, obtained of the King, I solemnly went in Person, attended with all my Train, and divers other Well-willers, to fetch him out of the *Tower*, where he was in Durance. As soon as I came in his Sight, I behaved my self after so lowly and humble a Manner, that our *Adversaries* stood amazed to see the Reverence we gave to our Ghostly Fathers. And this I did to confound them and their contemptuous *Clergy*, and to beget an extraordinary Opinion of Holiness in the Person, and Piety in us; and also to provoke the *English* Catholics to the like devout Obedience; that thereby, at any Time, these *Jesuits*, whose Authority was somewhat weakened since the Schism betwixt them and the Seculars, and the succeeding Powder-Plot, may work them to our Ends, as Masters their Servants, Tutors their Scholars, Fathers their Children, Kings their Subjects: and that they may do this the more boldly and securely, I have somewhat dashed the Authority of their High Commissioners: Upon which, whereas there are divers Pursuivants, Men of the worst Kind and Condition, resembling our *Plies* and *Familiars*, attending upon the Holy *Inquisition*, whose Office and Employment is to disturb the *Catholics*, search their Houses for *Priests* Holy Vestments, Books, Beads, Crucifixes, and the like Religious Appurtenances, I have caused the Execution of their Offices to be slackened, so that an open Way may be given to our Spiritual Instruments for the free Exercise of their Faculties. And yet when these Pursuivants were in greatest Authority, a small Bribe, in the Country, would blind their Eyes; or a little greater at the Court, or in the Exchequer, frustrate and cross all their Actions; so that their Malice went off like Squibs, making a great Crack to fright Children, and new-born Babes, but hurt no old Men of Catholic Spirits. And this is the Effect of all other their Courses of Proceedings in this Kind, in all their Judicial Courts, whither known Catholics (convicted, as they term them) are often summoned and cited, threatened and bound over; but the Danger is past so soon as the Officer hath his Fee paid to him, then the Execution goeth no farther: Nay, upon my Conscience, they are glad when

when there are Offenders in that Kind, because they are bountiful, and the Officers do their best to succour them, that they may increase, and so their Benefit and Gain come in freely.

And if they should be sent to Prison, even that Place, for the most Part, is made a Sanctuary to them, as the old *Romans* were wont to shut up such, by way of Restraint, whom they meant to preserve from the Peoples Fury: so they live safe in Prison till we have Time to work their Liberty, and assure their Lives; and in the mean Time, their Place of Restraint is as a Study unto them, where they have Opportunity to confer together, as in a College, and to arm themselves in Unity against their single Adversaries abroad. But (quoth the Inquisitor-General) how do they for Books, when they have Occasion either to write or dispute?

My Lord (replies *Gondomar*) all the Libraries belonging to the *Romish* Catholics, through the Land, are at their Command; from whence they have all such Collections as they can require, gathered to their Hands, as well from thence, as from all the Libraries of both Universities, and even the Books themselves, if that be requisite.

Besides I have made it a principal Part of my Employment, to buy all the Manuscripts and other ancient and rare Authors, out of the Hands of the Heretics: So that there is no great Scholar dies in the Land, but my Agents are dealing with his Books; insomuch as even their Learned *Isaac Causabon's* Library was in Election without Question to be ours, had not their vigilant King (who foresees all Dangers, and hath his Eyes busy in every Place) prevented my Plots; for after the Death of that great Scholar, I sent to request a View and Catalogue of his Books, with their Price, intending not to be out-bid by any Man, if Money would fetch them; because (besides the Damage that that Side should have received by their Loss, prosecuting the same Story against Cardinal *Baronius*) we might have made good Advantage of his Notes, Collections, Castigations, Censures, and Criticisms, for our own Party, and framed and put out other under his Name at our Pleasure: But that was foreseen by their *Prometheus*, who sent that Torturer of ours, the Bishop of *Winchester*, to search and sort the Papers, and to seal up the Study; giving a large and princely Allowance for them to the Relict of *Causabon*, together with a bountiful Pension, and Provision for her and her's. But this Plot failing at that Time, hath not ever done, nor had the University of *Oxford* so triumphed in their many Manuscripts, given by that famous Knight Sir *Thomas Bodley*, if either I had been then employed, or this Course of mine then thought upon: for I would labour what I might this Way or any other Way, to disarm them; and either to translate their best Authors hither, or at least to leave none in the Hands of any, but *Roman* Catholics, who are assuredly ours: And to this End, an especial Eye should be had upon the Libraries of one Sir *Robert Cotton*, an Ingrosser of Antiquities, that whensoever it comes to be broken up, either before his Death or after, the most choice and singular Pieces might be gleaned or gathered up. Neither let any Man think, that descending thus low, to petty Particulars, is unworthy an Ambassador, or of small Avail for the Ends we aim at; since we see every Mountain consists of several Sands; and there is not more profitable Converse for Statesmen, than among Scholars and their Books, especially where the King for whom we watch is the King of Scholars, and loves to live almost altogether in their Element.

Besides, if by any Means we can continue Difference in their Church, or make them wider, or beget Distaste betwixt their Clergy and common Lawyers, who are Men of greatest Power in their Land, the Benefit will be ours, the Consequence great, opening a Way for us to come in between; for personal Quarrels produce real Questions.

As he was farther prosecuting this Discourse, one of the Secretaries, who waited in the Chamber without, desired Entrance; and being admitted, delivered Letters, which

which he had newly received of a Post, directed to the President, and the rest of the Council, from his Catholic Master; the Contents whereof were to this Effect.

Right trusty and well-beloved Cousins and Counsellors, we Greet you well. Whereas we had a Hope, by our Agents in England and Germany, to effect the great Work of the Western Empire; and like on the other Side to surprize Venice: and so incircling Europe at one Instant, and inslaving it into our Arms, make the easier Road upon the Turk in Asia, and at length reduce all the World to our Catholic Command. And whereas to these Holy Ends, we had secret and sure Plots and Projects on Foot in all these Places, and good Intelligence in all Courts; Know ye that, we have received late and sad News of the Apprehension of our most trusty and able Pensioner, Barnevelt, and of the Discovery of other our Intendments: So that our Hopes are for the present adjourned, till some other more convenient and auspicious Time. We therefore will you presently, upon Sight hereof, to break off your Consultation, and repair straight to our Presence, there to take farther Directions, and proceed as Necessity of Time and Cause shall require.

With that his Excellency, and the whole House, struck with Amazement, crossed their Foreheads, rose up in sad Silence, and brake off this Treaty abruptly; and without Tarrience, took Horse and posted to the Court, from whence expect News the next fair Wind.

In the mean Time, let not those be secure whom it concerns to be roused up, knowing that this aspiring Nebuchadnezzar will not lose the Glory of his Greatness, who continueth still to magnify himself in his great Babel, until it be spoken, Thy Kingdom is departed from thee, Dan. 4.

[*The following remarkable Piece needs no better Recommendation than that of the ingenious Mr. Richard Glid, of New-College in Oxford, wherewith he concludes his Verses, on the Subject, hereunto (among the many other good Copies) annexed: And that one of these Pamphlets was lately sold for a Guinea. Nor can any Part of the Story itself be disputed, being quoted and confirmed by so many credible Writers, as Dr. Plott, in his Natural History of Oxfordshire; Dr. Derham, in his Phisico-Theologico, &c. which last affirms his having seen this Woman, alive and well, many Years after, and that she had divers Children.—In a small Octavo, I have by me, intituled Britain's Triumphs, &c. Printed in 1656, the Author, having given the Substance of the whole Fact, concludes thus.*

“ In short Space she perfectly recovered; upon which first her Reprieve and then her Pardon was procured. After this, she (as upon the Gallows) still insisted upon her Innocency and Integrity, in relation to the Fact for which she was condemned. And, indeed, this was looked upon as a special Providence of God, thus to deliver her, who, in the Judgments of those who understood the Business,
“ was

“ was deemed guiltless. Herein did the Hand of God wonderfully appear, in detecting the unadvised Actings of Men, and in shewing us the Danger we are in, when we are swayed, either by Passion or Prejudice, against the Meanest of his Creatures.”——This Abridgment of the Narrative is introduced with these Words:——
 “ During which Interval, there happened as remarkable an Accident in England, as any Story can parallel; which, for the Strangeness and Rarity thereof, may well merit my Pains to recite, and the Reader’s Patience to peruse.”—— N. B. I deviate nothing from the Original, only in putting the Copies of Verses after the Story, whereas in my Copy they are prefixed, and in a few Literal Errors.]

NEWS from the DEAD:

Or, A True and Exact

NARRATION

OF THE

MIRACULOUS DELIVERANCE

OF

ANNE GREENE.

Who, being Executed at OXFORD, December 14. 1650. afterwards Revived; and by the Care of certain Physicians there, is now perfectly Recovered.

Together with the Manner of her Suffering, and the particular Means used for her Recovery.

Written by a SCHOLAR in OXFORD, for the Satisfaction of a Friend, who desired to be informed concerning the Truth of the Business.

Whereunto are annexed certain Poems, casually written on that Subject.

OXFORD: Printed by Leonard Litchfield, for Tho. Robinson. A. D. 1651.

VOL. I. NUMB. III.

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NEWS

NEWS from the DEAD.

THERE happened lately in this City a very rare and remarkable Accident, which being variously and falsely reported among the Vulgar (as in such Cases it is usual) to the End that none may be deceived, and that so signal an Act of God's Mercy and Providence may never be forgotten, I have here faithfully recorded it, according to the Information I have received from those who were the chief Instruments in bringing this great Work to Perfection.

In the House of Sir *Thomas Read*, at *Dunstew*, in *Oxfordshire*, there lived a Maid named *Anne Greene*, born at *Steeple-Barton*, in the same County; being about twenty-two Years of Age, of a middle Stature, strong, fleshy, and of an indifferent good Feature; Who being (as she said) often sollicitated, by fair Promises and other amorous Enticements, of Mr. *Jeffery Read*, Grandchild to the said Sir *Thomas*, a Youth of about sixteen or seventeen Years of Age, but of a forward Growth and Stature, at last consented to satisfy his unlawful Pleasures. By which Act (as it afterward appeared) she conceived and was delivered of a Man-child: Which being never made known, and the Infant found dead in the House of Office, caused a Suspicion, that she, being the Mother, had murdered it, and thrown it there; on purpose to conceal both it and her Shame together. Thereupon she was immediately taken into Examination, and carried before several Justices of the Peace in the Country; and soon after, in an extreme cold and rainy Day, sent unto *Oxford Jail*; where having passed about three Weeks more in continual Affrights and Terrors, in a Place as comfortable as her Condition, she was, at a Sessions held in *Oxford*, arraigned, condemned, and on *Saturday*, the 14th of *December* last, brought forth to the Place of Execution: Where, after singing of a Psalm, and something said in Justification of her self, as to the Fact for which she was to suffer, and touching the Leudness of the Family wherein she lately lived, she was turned off the Ladder, hanging by the Neck for the Space of almost half an Hour; some of her Friends in the mean time thumping her on the Breast; others hanging with all their Weight upon her Legs; sometimes lifting her up, and then pulling her down again with a sudden Jerk, thereby the sooner to dispatch her out of her Pain; insomuch that the Under-Sheriff, fearing lest thereby they should break the Rope, forbade them to do so any longer. At length, when every one thought she was dead, the Body being taken down, and put into a Coffin, was carried thence into a private House, where some Physicians had appointed to make a Dissection. The Coffin being opened, she was observed to breathe, and in breathing (the Passage of her Throat being streightned) obscurely to rattle: Which being perceived by a lusty Fellow who stood by, he (thinking to do an Act of Charity, in ridding her out of the small Reliques of a painful Life) stamped several Times on her Breast and Stomach with all the Force he could. Immediately after, there came in Dr. *Petty*, our Anatomy-Professor, and Mr. *Thomas Willis* of *Christ-Church*, at whose coming, which was about Nine a-Clock in the Morning, she yet persisted to rattle as before; laying all this while stretched out in the Coffin, in a cold Room and Season of the Year. They perceiving some Life in her, as well for Humanity as their Profession-sake, fell presently to act in order to her Recovery. First, having caused her to be held up in the Coffin, they wrenched open her Teeth, which were fast

fast set, and poured into her Mouth some Hot and Cordial Spirits; whereupon she rattled more than before, and seemed obscurely to cough. Then they opened her Hands (her Fingers also being stiffly bent) and ordered some to rub and chafe the extreme Parts of her Body; which they continued for about a Quarter of an Hour, oft, in the mean Time, pouring in a Spoonful or two of the Cordial Water: And besides, tickling her Throat with a Feather, at which she opened her Eyes, but shut them again presently. As soon as they perceived any Heat in her extreme Parts, they thought of letting her Blood; and no sooner was her Arm bound up for that Purpose, but she suddenly bent it, as if it had been contracted by a Fit of the Convulsion. The Vein being opened, she bled about five Ounces, and that so freely, that it could not easily be stopped. All this while her Pulse was very low, but otherwise not much amiss. Her Arm being bound up again, and now and then a little Cordial Water poured down her Throat, they continued rubbing her in several Places, caused Ligatures to be made in her Arms and Legs, and then ordered her to be laid in a Bed well warmed. Then they caused her Neck, and also her Temples, to be annointed with comfortative Oils and Spirits, and so likewise the Bottoms of her Feet; and upon this she began to open her Eyes, and to move the lower Parts of her Body. About this Time came in Mr. *Bathurst* of *Trinity-College*, and Mr. *Clerke* of *Magdalen-College*, whose Advice and Endeavours were then, and all the Time afterwards, concurrent with those of the other two above-mentioned. Then they applied a Plaister to her Breasts, and ordered a heating, odoriferous Clyster to be cast up in her Body, to give Heat and Warmth to her Bowels. After that, they persuaded a Woman to go into Bed to her, and to lay very close to her, and gently to keep rubbing her. After all which she seemed, about Noon, to be in a Sweat. Her Face also began somewhat to swell and to look very red, on that Side on which the Knot of the Halter had been fastened.

While the Physicians were thus busy in recovering her to Life, the Under-Sheriff was soliciting the Governor, and the rest of the Justices of Peace, for the obtaining her Reprieve; that in case she should, for that present, be recovered fully to Life, she might not be had back again to Execution. Whereupon those worthy Gentlemen, considering what had happened, weighing all Circumstances, they readily apprehended the Hand of God in her Preservation; and being willing rather to cooperate with Divine Providence in saving her, than to overstrain Justice by condemning her to double Shame and Sufferings, they were pleased to grant her a Reprieve, until such Time as her Pardon might be completely obtained.

All this while, she had no sooner opened her Eyes, but presently she shut them again; and being called upon, to try whether she could hear or speak, there appeared no Sign that she could do either. Soon after they made Trial again, bidding her, if she understood them, to move her Hand, or open her Eyes; whereupon she obscurely opened her Eyes. The Physicians fearing lest her Face might swell more and more, and a Fever come upon her, by reason of the former Suffocation, took from her Right-arm about nine Ounces more of Blood, and then ordered her a Julep, and other Cordial Things, to be administered upon Occasion, and so left her for that Night; and about two Hours after she began to speak many Words intelligible.

On *Sunday* the 15th, about Eight in the Morning, they returned and found her much amended; being able to answer to any Question propounded unto her. She then complained of her Throat (but not much of any other Part) whereunto they ordered a Cataplasm to be applied: Then she complaining of Drought, a Julep was offered her, which she first took with Difficulty, and at last refused; warm Beer being given her she disrelished it, but of cold she drank and thanked them.

All this while she lay often sighing, and talking to her self, as if she had been still to suffer. About Noon she felt an extreme Soreness in her Breast and Sides, but

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there

there appeared nothing discoloured, or like a Contusion. That Night they ordered her a Clyster, and a Cataplasm to be applied to her Breast and Sides, with other Means to prevent what Evil might ensue by reason of contused Blood, and so left her to rest. About Nine of the Clock she laughed and talked merrily, looking fresh and of a good Colour; being a little feverish, her Tongue not furred nor clammy.

Monday the 16th, they found that she had taken some Rest, and her Fever not much increased, they then took from her Left-Arm about six Ounces of Blood more: She fainted not, but talked very chearfully, complaining somewhat of her Neck, Stomach and Throat.

But before they let her Blood, having first caused all to depart the Room, except those Gentlemen who were of the Faculty, they asked her of her Sense and Apprehension during the Time of her Suffering? She answered, that after she put off some of her Clothes, bequeathing them to her Mother (which was early in the Morning before her Execution) and heard some one say, that one of the Prisoners was let out of the Chain to put her to Death, she remembered nothing at all that had been done unto her. And that she knew not when her Fetters were knocked off, or how she came out of Prison, or that she had been upon the Gallows; neither could she remember that any Psalm had been sung, or that she said any thing there; notwithstanding those who were present do testify, that she spake very sensibly: Only about a Fortnight after, she seemed to remember something of a Fellow wrapped up in a Blanket, which indeed was the Habit of her Executioner.

It is observable also, that when she came to her self again, she fell into the like Speeches as she had used in Prison, before the Execution: Seeming there to go on where she had so long Time left off; like to a Clock whose Weights had been taken off a while, and afterwards hung on again.

That Night she was fomented about the Sides and other contused Places, her Neck being very sore, especially on the Right-Side, where it was all black, and began to blister: There appeared also divers Spots of settled Blood on her Right-Cheek.

Tuesday the 17th, in the Morning, they found her Pulse slow, but very unequal; her Tongue not very dry nor rough. The Night before she slept well: In the Morning she arose; but her Head was so light that she could hardly stand upright. She now complained of Pain beneath the Pit of her Stomach; she complained also of a Deadness in the Tip of her Tongue, thinking she had bitten it in the Time of her Suffering. She called this Day for some Bread, which she did eat, being first toasted and moistned in Beer. At Night, when they visited her again, the Pain of her Neck and Throat was decreased; the Spots of settled Blood about her Cheek and Neck lessened, but the Deadness of her Tongue still remained. That Night she slept six or seven Hours; and on the 18th, in the Morning, had no Fever; her Pulse was much amended, all Symptoms lessened, the Pains in her Breast seemed to descend into the Region of the Belly, being (as was conceived) not in the Bowels, but only in the musculous outward Parts.

The 19th she was up, and did eat Part of a Chicken. All Symptoms decreased, yet could she not go without the Help of somewhat to uphold her: Her Neck still sore, but mending; the Deadness of her Tongue lessened. That Night she slept well. About four or five Days after, being hard frosty Weather, there appeared a Blackness over the lower Part of her Right-Arm, and upon her Flanks, on the same Side; which by Degrees waxed yellow, and in four or five Days vanished.

By this Time the Care of the Physicians was well over; the Pains in her Breast and Side, when she drew in her Breath, as also the Inequality of the Pulse (which caused a Suspicion of a Contusion and extravasated Blood spilled on the Lungs) being now fully ceased: The Deadness of her Tongue and Soreness of her Neck quite gone.

gone. There remained only a Giddiness in her Head, when she walked or stirred her Body, which in a short Time likewise left her. And now being able to walk about the Town, eat, drink and sleep, as well as before this Accident befallen to her, she had Liberty to repair (and is since gone) unto her Friends in the Country; taking away with her the Coffin wherein she lay, as a Trophy of this her wonderful Preservation.

Thus, within the Space of a Month, was she wholly recovered: And in the same Room, where her Body was to have been dissected for the Satisfaction of a few, she became a greater Wonder, being revived, to the Satisfaction of Multitudes that flocked thither daily to see her.

One Thing more I had almost forgotten: That when the Numbers of People, still pressing into the House, began to be too impetuous, and the Physicians had obtained of the Governor to have a Guard placed at the Door; yet because those of the Better Sort could not altogether be denied Admission, they thought it a seasonable Opportunity, for the Maid's Behalf, to invite them either to exercise their Charity, or at least to pay for their Curiosity. And therefore (themselves first leading the Way) they recommended it to those who came in, to give every one what they pleased, her Father being there ready to receive it. After a few Days the Governor (a Gentleman as much to be beloved for his Courtesy, as he is honoured for his Prudence) coming himself to see her, did not only contribute to her in a liberal Manner, but also improved his Charity with many pertinent and wholesome Instructions. By this Means there was gathered for her to the Sum of many Pounds; whereby not only the Apothecaries Bill, and other Necessaries for her Diet and Lodging, were discharged, but some Overplus remained towards the suing out her Pardon.

And now, having done with the Sufferings, and the Cure, it will not be amiss to look back, and take a Review of the Cause of them, or Matter of Fact for which she suffered; which (as I have said) was the supposed Murder of her own Infant.

There are two Things, very considerable, alledged on her Behalf, and that many seem to clear her Innocence, as to that Business.

The first is, that the Child was Abortive or Stillborn, and consequently not capable of being murdered. The other, that she did not certainly know that she was with Child, and that it fell from her unawares, as she was at the House-of-Office.

As for the first, it is evident, that the Child was very imperfect, being not above a Span in Length, and the Sex hardly to be distinguished: so that it rather seemed a Lump of Flesh than a well and duely-formed Infant. The Midwife said also, that it had no Hair, and that she did not believe that ever it had Life. Besides, her Fellow-Servants do testify, that she had certain Issues about a Month before she miscarried, which were of that Nature (Physicians say) as are not consistent with the Vitality of a Child; the Eruption of which Issues came on her after she had violently laboured in skreening Malt. Lastly, it is not likely that the Child was Vital, the Mischance happening not above seventeen Weeks after the Time of her Conception.

For the second, that she might not know certainly that she was with Child, it is not improbable: for she was not ten Weeks without the usual Courses of Women, before she had those continual Issues which lasted for a Month together; which long and great Evacuation might make her judge, that it was nothing else but a Flux of those Humours which for ten Weeks before had been suppressed; and that the Child, which fell from her unawares, was nothing but a Lump of the same Matter coagulated. As for the Pain, it must needs be different, in such Cases, from that which accompanies a Timely Fruit of the Womb; and by Reason of those Issues coming from her, for so long continued a Time, before she could not have those Throws and Passions at the Time of her Abortion, as Women in Travail are subject unto.

Add

Add to all this, that at her Tryal she ingenuously confessed as much as was alledged by the Witnesses; and continued to the same Assertions, not only before, but at her Execution, the last supposed Minute of her Life; and the very first Words, after she came to her self again (which certainly were not spoken with a Design, or Purpose to deceive) confirmed the same.

There is yet one Thing more, which hath been taken Notice of by some, as to the Maid's Defense; That her Grand Prosecutor, Sir *Thomas Read*, died within three Days after her Execution; even almost as soon as the Probability of her Reviving could be well confirmed to him. But because he was an Old Man, and such Events are not too rashly to be commented on, I shall not make Use of that Observation.

It may perhaps be expected, by some (and it is Pity I can give them no better Satisfaction) that I should here relate some fine Story (like those of *Orpheus* or *Aeneas* in the Poets) of what Visions this Maid saw in the other World; what Cœlestial Music, or Hellish Howling she heard; what Spirits she conversed with; and what Revelations she brought back with her, concerning the present Times, or the Events of Things to come. But for such Matters the Ballad-makers must rest contented: since she (as you have heard) was so far from knowing any thing while she was Dead, that she remembered not what had happened to her, even when she was yet Alive: Her Spirits, at that Time, being either so fixed or benumbed with Fear, as not to admit of any new Impressions; or otherwise so turbulent and unquiet, as presently to discompose and obliterate them. As we often see it fares with Men who are buzzed in the Head with Drink, or transported with Madness, who, though they seem sensible enough of every present Object that moves them, yet, after they recover, can own but little of what they did or said before.

Having here done with the Story, I cannot but reflect upon the generous Attempt of those Gentlemen, who freely undertook, and have so happily performed the Cure: That while they missed the Opportunity of improving their Knowledge in the Dissection of a Dead Body, they advanced their Fame by restoring to the World a Living One, who now (deservedly) accounts it her Happiness to have fallen into such courteous and skilful Hands: not only for their successful Endeavours used in her Recovery, but for being a Means to vindicate her from that foul Stain of Murder, which, in most Mens Judgments (and, perhaps, Heaven itself also bearing Witness) was so harshly charged upon her.

In Puellam à Diutino Patibuli Cruciatu rediivam.

DISTRAHIS Ecstaticam Nemesis cur dupla Puellam?

Quam denegas superare, non pateris mori?

Lex vocat ad Laqueum, revocatque in Fila Salutis.

Medela; sitque Crux nova Remedium Crucis:

Mors sua Martyrium primum, Elysioque relicto

Per tot dolores, Vita Martyrium recens.

Sustinet illa tamen Miracula sæva, Gemellæ

Biodynatoꝝ peculium Proserpina;

Ac sati Tropico insistent, utrinque tuetur

Amphibia Iana Lucis & Noctis plagam,

Sic Phæbe Zonam cum circuit Æquidiale,

Perisciorum utrumque conspiciit Polum.

Sic Atmosphæra tangens confinia, Civis

Haud Aquila cessat Æthera, haud Cæli incipit.

Pyrrhæ

*Pyrrha emerfit humo sic dimidiata propago,
 Quam Semivivam, Semimortuam voces.
 Offas ergo Cani, Iunoni ð-ſueta debet,
 Celebranda Tbrenis, & ſimul Genetblicis:
 Myſta parentaret cantu dum Κλαυρυλοῖ®,
 Qui flevit, & arrifit alternis Genis.
 Mox proprio exoritur Buſto non Altera Phœnix,
 Lucina ſibimet, Ipſa Poſteritas ſui:
 Ac Individuâ reparatur Anaſtaſe, (credas:)
 Terræ Genitricis Regenerata è ſinnu.
 Floruit Hippolytus renovatus membra, ſed Idem
 Magicâ revixit, aut Pœticâ manu:
 Deſeruit Superos, iterumque Sibylla revifit;
 At Corporis iter fuerat, haud à Corpore:
 Eurydicenque Orbi Manes voluere remiſſam,
 Mediâ interim languebat impotens viâ.
 Natales hi cuncta premunt Myſteria; Proles
 Nam Poſthuma iſta Matris eſt etiam Suae.
 Maſſi eſtote Proci, Mors expiat omnia; Fallor?
 An conditâ Genitrice jam Virgo redit?
 Guſtabas Gabali Loton, Leſthenque bibeſat,
 Oblivioſa hæc: undique ſit ἀμνηſτα.
 Denique quis neget innocuam, ſtipulante Feretro;
 Nex ipſa quam ſatetur indignam Nece?
 Quam Juris rabies, Medicinæque perdere neſcit,
 Salvamque dat Militia, Parcarum Trias?
 Si dubitatis adhuc, Morienti credite: ſaltem
 Surgenti ab umbris fidet ipſa Inſidia.*

H. B. Coll. Om. Anim.

On the She, who was Hanged, but not Executed.

RARE Innocence! a Wench re-woman'd! ſee
 What the ſmall Sophs ſay to this Fallacy.
Up to the Ears in Death, and 'ſcape! no Kind
Was thought more fit, than to tie up her Wind.
 Women in this with Cats agree, I think,
 Both live and ſcratch after they've tipp'd the Wink.
 Henceforth take Heed of truſting Females. She
 Who ſcapes *Weleb Parſly*, Soldiers take for me.

*Hic Jacet — Quæ cùm Morte non potuit obſcurari, clarnis,
 Vindicatâ nimirum Innocentiâ,
 Fato Functâ nec tamen Deſunctâ.
 Converſo in Aſylum Patibulo
 Tunc, cùm non minùs de Puellâ conclamatum eſſet, quàm Juſtitia:
 Juſtitia, quam ſi non Cæcam, certè vix miſtem dixeris;
 Quæ cùm in aliis Ventrem inquireret, ipſa non habuit Viſcera.
 Hæc verò revixit, vel ad illius ludibrium,
 Vel (quod melius eſt) exemplum.
 Adiit Charontem pro formâ (puto) nec tamen Abiit,
 Sed inhibuit Gradum. Uno oculo flevit, ſubriſit altero;*

Mirum,

*Mirum, si hoc non sit θαυμαστόν.
 Nec vitam solam Medicorum artibus obtinuit,
 Sed Vatis etiam beneficio Immortalitatem.
 Non est quod in Faminâ plus desideres, nisi forsan velis Constantiam.*
Ἡρώδης H. B. Soc. N. C.

ORPHÆUS, to fetch his Wife, did go
 A Voyage to the Shades below:
 'Twas more than many a Man would do.

The Bloodless Ghosts did weep (they say)
 And *Pluto* Groan'd, as he did Play:
 Yet She came back but half the Way.

Now we have seen a stranger Sight;
 Whether it was by Physic's Might,
 Or that (it seems) the Wench was *Light*.

But sure 'twill spoil her Marriage-Day:
 For who so hardy to essay
 Such an immortal *Virbia*?

Wives may deceive, and do their best,
 To counterfeit in all the rest;
 Only let them not *die* in Jest.

Hen. Perin, Gen. Com. of Trin. Coll.

On one dead by Law, but revived by Physic.

COME *Sophister*, distinguish, you who call
 Restor'd Privation supernatural.
 To solve your Ignorance, come view in one
 An Ante-dated Resurrection.

Some rigid Ones perhaps this Act will spell
 With the strange Letters of a Miracle:
 But know, *Physicians* have a larger Call;
Apollo and *Physic* are collateral.
 Think not *Physicians Atheists*, since they do
 Profess Divinity, and Practice't too.

J. Hutton, Fell. of New-Coll.

In Fœminam post Patibuli cruciatus reviviscentem.

LUETE *Cives lugubre lugubres;
 Ridete Cives ludicra ludicri:
 Luete defunctam Puellam;
 Plaudite, nunc rediviva prodit.*

*Jam non stupendum sentiat Orphea
 Mendax vetustas: Eurydicen neque
 Miretur ex imo barathro
 Tibericio revocasse plectro.*

Quæ

*Qua penè sedes viderat inferas,
Et nigra sævæ regna Proserpinæ,
En! fata deludens cruenta,
Rursus adest, tumulumque fugit.*

*Flevere manes, queis comes altera
Evafit, ipsum destituens suo
Naulo Charontem, dum catervâ
Cymba gemit levior minori.*

*Hæc damna mærens, ora latrantia
Compressit Orci Ianitor: & suum
Loqui dolorem nescientes
Tartaræa siluere lymphe.*

*Mors, cui potentum spicula Cæsarum
Ducumque figunt colla minacium,
Quâ fronte posthac tela promes
Famineo modo lusa sexu?*

Ad Medicos, dissecandum corpus vitæ restituentes.

*Efficitis sanum corpus, lacerare parati:
Et mox fit mulier quod modo funus erat.
Per vos posse mori viventes ante sciebam:
Jam per vos casus vivere posse scio.*

Geo. Lee, Coll. Reg. Commenfalis.

A ceux de la Messe.

*C*à Catholique, que dis-tu maintenant?
Les miracles se font-ils pas? pendant
Qu'entre nous l'avengle gaigne la velle,
Le boiteux marche, le mort se voit en raë.
Voy-cy la fille qui tantost estoit morte,
Elle vit à cett' heure, & tres-gaillarde se porte.

Jos. Williamson, du Coll. de la Reyne.

The Woman's Case put to the Lawyers.

*M*Other, or Maid, I pray you whether?
One, or both, or am I neither?
The Mother dyed; may't not be said
That the Survivor is a Maid?
Here, take your Fee, declare your Sense;
And free me from this new Suspense.

John Watkins Gen. Com. of Q. Coll.

*N*ondam cessârunt, Miracula, dogma profanum
Mentiri Ancillæ Vita novata docet.
Estne fides? Non triste Forum, non tristior illo
Judex, voxque ipso tristior,—estne fides?

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H h

Non

*Non Crux, non Restis, non Ungula Militis, & quam
 Non ferat Alcides pectore crebra manus,
 Cuncta hæc particulam Vitæ non cedere cogunt,
 Sed Valet extremum Virgo loquuta Vale.
 Sic nescit, nisi Viva, sepulchrum impura Sacerdos
 Vestali caluit cui modo dextra foco.
 Exili Læchæsis non semper Stamine gaudet,
 Et Funes novit Parca benigna suos.
 Hæc si non Ratio est restim elusisse Puellam,
 Quæ causa est? merito credo fuisse Levem.*

THOU shalt not Swing again: come clear thy Brow,
 Thou hast the Benefit o'th' Clergy now;
 Nor is thy Neck-Verse writ in Blood, which might
 Confound thy Thoughts, as it must needs thy Sight.
 Thus when Apollo keeps th' Affizes, then
 Women are sav'd by Book, as well as Men.
 Strange Wench! what Character may fit thee best
 Who still canst Live, though Thou art Hang'd and Press'd.

Rob. Mathew of New Coll.

To the Physicians.

TO raise a Pyramide unto your Skill
 Were to mistrust Experience, and still
 Think Death a Giant, whose vast Gripe could span
 And squeeze to Nought both Memory and Man.
 Ye are not Mortal, nor need fear to Dye:
 To conquer Death is Immortality.
 Ye have done that. Marble may serve to hide
 It's own Dust now, or tell who should have dy'd:
 There is no other Use for't. And thou Death
 Vaunt not henceforth, 'tis with thy Leave we Breathe.
 Th' art vanquish'd quite, and this thy Mule't shall be,
 To write *Probatum* to their Victory.

Ad Puellam Redivivam:

QUÆ modo spes tumuli fueras tristisque feretri,
 Postuma jam vitæ nasceris ipsa tuæ.
 Ecce stupet casum Mors admirata, rogatque,
 Decepit nostras quale Sophisma manus?
 Nil potuit namque illa magis te quando peremit:
 Cum tu non moreris nil minus illa potest.

Guil. Fitz-Gerald ex Æd. Ch.

In Puellam suspensam, & dein à Medicis Anatomiam Cadaveris
 aggressuris, in Vitam revocatam.

DUM Mors & Medici conspirant federe certo,
 Amborum ut telis una puella cadat;
 Funi ut succedat Ferrum, & suspensa secetur;
 En Ferrum & Funis, bina venena, juvant.

Unâ

*Unâ multatam, geminâ dum morte parabant
Afficere, in vitam fit rediviva novam.
Naturæ in leges, ac Gentis jura, triumphans
Elusit Fati Judicis atque, minas.
Nec Medici hoc, Sceletum faciunt, exangue Cadaver,
Quod magis est, vivum cedit in Automaton.*

Guil. Willis Æd. Ch. Comm.

ADmire not, 'tis no News, ne'er think it strange ;
'Twere wonder if a Woman should not change.
They have mysterious Ways, and their Designs
Must be read backward still, like *Hebrew* Lines.
See, these with Death dissemble and can cheat
Charon himself, to make a fair Retreat.
Well, for this Trick, I'll never so be led
As to believe a Woman, though she's Dead.

Rob. Sharrock of New Coll.

In puellam ὤστερόπρωτον à patibulo reviviscentem.

QUÆ nuper Medicos vespillonesque fefellit
Et non unius victima mortis erat ;
Quàm benè Netricis titulum meruisse putanda est,
Cum poterat stamen sic renovare suum ?

Englisbed thus.

THou more than Mortal, who with many Lives
Hast mock'd the Sexton, and the Doctors Knives :
The Name of *Spinster* thou mayst justly wed,
Since there's no Halter stronger then thy *Tbread*.

To the same.

THou, thine own *Clotho*, who knew'st not to feel
The Darts of Death, yet wor'st no Buff, nor Steel :
If with such Art thou can'st thy Distaffe rule,
The Soldiers all to thee shall go to School.

Dan. Danvers Coll. Trin. Alumnus.

On the Death and Life of ANNE GREENE.

WHAT Cable-thread twin'd thee thy happy Fate,
That it out-lasts thy own Life's destin'd Date ?
Was thy Harmonious Soul strung so-so well,
As break it could not, stretch'd to a Miracle ?
Didst thou indent with rigid *Atropos*
To lose't a while, and then to quit the Loss ?
As cast-off Habits, when hang'd-by a Space,
Regain their Fashion and their pristine Grace.
Loe here's Life's *Gemini*, two Lives in one !
Or th' same in'ts Tropical Reversion !
Time after *Stylo novo* inchoated !
From the first Sun a Pearly created !

H h 2

A strange

A strange *Appendix* after *Finis* fix'd,
 Or *Funis* rather: Death and Life co-mix'd!
 A *Posthume* Act after *Catastrophe*!
 Or Antedating of the Latter Day!
 Death's Puzzler! Self-surviver! thy strange Fate
 Do's Contradictions legitimate.
 Entwisted Miracles constellate here,
 And complicated Wonders co-insphere.
 Thy uncouth Paradox Resuscitation
 Tempts to believe, that from a pure Privation
 Nature's Propension sign's a free Regress
 To pristine Habit; tempts even to confess
 Plurality of Souls in One, since Thou
 Can'st prodigally one to Death allow,
 Another keep thy self; while both maintain
Castor and *Pollux*-like alternate Reign.

That *Belgian* Headsman, whose rare artful Hand
 Could slice off Heads, and they yet seem to stand,
 Had he thee executed, had sham'd his Skill,
 When finding thee not Dead, but Living still.
Perillus's torturing Engine had but been
 A very Bull, had'st thou first enter'd in.
 Their Law would have some Plea, were it to thee;
 Who first the Malefactor Hang, then see
 Where 'twere a just and equitable Cause,
 Whether not consonant unto the Laws.

Strange *Sophister*! who grant'st to Destiny
 The Premises, Conclusion do'st deny;
 Dar'st yield to suffer Death, but not to die.

Jo. Aylmer Schol. of New Coll.

SO sportive *Atropos*! what must we see
 Some Hocus-tricks? the Thread of Life to be
 Asunder cut, and yet intire remain?
 A Body-banish'd Soul recall'd again?
 Now may the nine-liv'd Sex speak high, and say,
 That here they fought with Death, and won the Day.
 The fatal Tree, which first began the Strife,
 Sided with them, and prov'd a Tree of Life.

Another.

DEath, spare thy Threats, we scorn now to obey;
 If Women conquer thee, Men surely may.
 How came this Champion on I cannot tell,
 But I ne'er heard of one came off so well.

Peter Killigrew, Gen. Com. of Qu. Coll.

Pro *Metamorphosis naturæ dissona! fatum*
Imbelle! evictæ gloria cassa necis!
Huccine, naturam, progressa peritia, solvit?
Siccine satorum machina fracta cadit?

Euge

*Euge decus medicum ! sacrum inviolabile ! novi
Sacratum hinc docto numen inesse Choro.
Ibimus : ire juvat ; sic, sic juvat ire per umbras :
Si vixisse, mori est, ibimus : ire juvat.
Eia age Terrorum domitrix Terroris ; abundè
Provida, cum properes, ne moriari, mori.*

Gnil. Miles, Nov. Coll.

Hippolytus was Dead, and (as the Strain
Of Poets tell's) was made a Man again.
Poetic Figments are turn'd Truths, for we
Have seen a Dead Maid's *Palingenesie*.
He twice a Man; She twice a Maid: 'Tis brave;
She had one Life to lose, and one to save.
Or else it was our *Logic* dy'd, not *she*:
For from Privation a Regress we see.
Let's not admire, then, *Bacon's* Brazen-Head,
When we see one who Speaks, and yet was Dead.
You, who so much for new Inventions give,
Observe a Way found out, by Death, to Live.
Cats have for every Muse a Life; but She
For every Grace; for by this History
The Author doth a third Life to her give,
And makes her Innocence and Fame to live.
Her Life is writ here to the Life; she fell
At a cheap Rate, when 'tis describ'd so well.
For, th' Author's Pen's so good, that one would die
To be reviv'd by such a History.

Rich. Glid, New Coll.

THAT Life's a Vapour I'll no more complain:
As this, so that, takes Leave to come again.
Strange Metamorphosis! this *dead-live* Woman
Now differs from her-self; and are such common?

Geo. Davenant, Com. of Q. Coll.

Ternas sicne Deas, & tales decipis una?
Et vel carnificem femina spreta tuum?
Illius eludas artes elapsa; sed audi,
Vidtricem dici te semel, esto satis.

H. Davenant, Com. Coll. Reg.

FOR certain she was Dead! yet then
The Reason how she Lives agen,
Is that which so much puzzles Men.

Sure when her Soul this Clay forsook,
T'wards *Pluto's* Court her Way she took,
And came unto th' Infernal Brook.

It

It drank so deep of *Lethe* there,
Sh' had forgotten whatsoe'er
She had suffer'd in her Life-time here :

Arraign'd by *Minos*, straight deny'd,
That she before a Judge was try'd,
Or, sentenc'd, on the Gallows dy'd.

No other Way was left to win
Her to confess her Shame and Sin,
But send her back to learn't again.

Entring her Body straight, 'twas grown
So rack'd and torn, that 'twas not known,
Nor yet believ'd, to be her own.

This Neck was Halter-gall'd, nay more,
These Sides and Breast with Strokes were fore,
And her's were nothing so before.

Her Legs (she's sure) had Shackles on,
And wonders finding these have none ;
Her self and they were lost and gone.

Thus, what she suffered last, was now
The Lesson she first learn'd to know,
Else no Account can pass below.

If she learn't well, and not constrain
Her self to act it o'er again,
She may pass safe through *Plato's* Reign.

John Dwight, Ch. Ch.

ARE Fates grown kind? have they thus chang'd their Doom
From Murd'ers to supply the Midwife's Room?
Or were they not o'er-power'd, since Life had spun
Two Strings unto her Bow, and Death but One?

Tho. Ireland, Ch. Ch.

To the Hangman.

COME, *Flesh-Crow*, tell me, what's the Cause, that you
Rigour to Men, to Women Favour show?
Your Office you have not perform'd, 'tis plain :
See, here's the Wench you hang'd, alive again.
Yet, for this once, I'll clear you ; it was not
Your *slack Rope* sav'd her, nor your *sag-loose Knot*.
Her fatal Halter she (to end the Strife)
Untwisted, spun into a Thread of Life.

Ed. Norreys, Eq. Aur. fil. Coll. Reg.

Eurydisen

EUrydice fileat jam fama à morte reductam,
 Hippolytum taceant sæcla priora suum :
 Mercurii nuper quam compulit aurea virga
 Manibus, à nigro jam revocata grege est.
 Arte viri domita Parca stupuere superba,
 Et queritur Lachesis stamine lassa novo.
 Regni claustra sui vidit Proserpina rupta,
 Et succum atque herbas hoc potuisse gemit.
 Porthmea poenituit plenâ remeare carinâ,
 Utque dolos sensit, mox stupefactus, ait :
 Quæ prius ausugiens in ventum vita recessit,
 Tutior in medicas jam venit illa manus :
 Hæ revocant animas per Tartara nigra vagantes,
 Corporeisque iterum nexibus arte ligant.
 Quæ jacuit tenebris obducta, & lampade vitæ
 Extinctâ, accensâ jam face clara micat.
 Nunc cum sole licet cadere, & cum sole redire ;
 Et, si vult medicus, nec moriendo mori.

Edwin Skrymsher, Armig. fil. Nat. Max. Coll. Trin.

WONDER of highest Art ! he who will reach
 A Strain for thee, had need his Muse should stretch
 Till flying to the Shades, she learn what Vein
 Of *Orpheus* call'd *Eurydice* again :
 Or learn of her *Apollo*, till she can,
 As well as Singer, prove Physician.
 And then she may, without *Suspension*, sing ;
 And, authorized, harp upon thy *String*.
 Discordant String ! for sure thy Soul (unkind
 To its own Bowels Issue) could not find
 One Breast in Consort to its jarring Stroke
 'Mongst piteous Female Organs, therefore broke
 Translation's due Law, from Fate repriev'd,
 And struck a Union to her self, and liv'd.
 Was't this? or was it that the *Goatish* Flow
 Of thy adult'rous Veins (from thence let go
 By second *Æsculapius* his Hand)
 Dissolv'd the *Parcæ's* Adamantine Band,
 And made thee, Artist's Glory, Shame of Fate,
 Triumph of Nature, *Virbius's* Mate.

Christ. Wren, Gent. Com. of Wad. Coll.

HANG up thy Gallow-Tree, since 'twould not do't ;
 The Maid was hang'd for her abortive Fruit :
 — Yet do not ; for, though weak, perhaps next Year
 It may, like her, get Strength again, and bear.

Another.

If Life be but a Tennis-Play, thou then
 Com'st from the *Hazard* to be tofs'd again.
 Here only was the Difference, in thine
 The Game was sav'd by playing under Line.

Car. Forster, Eq. Aur. fil. Coll. Trin.

To the happy Instruments of the Executed Maid's Recovery.

OXFORD (the Art's Metropolis) ne'er knew
 A rarer Feat than was perform'd by you,
 Brave *Æsculapian* Friends! whose Art could give,
 After the Execution, a Reprieve.
 And yet 'twas timely too; for tho' grim Death
 Had seiz'd the Passage of her vital Breath,
 Yet you a new one made: And the same Vein
 Which let out Blood, receiv'd in Life again.
 The Soul, which is in every Part intire,
 Can, undiscern'd by you, to none retire:
 Since you no less the Track of Souls do know,
 Than that of Lev'rets in new-fallen Snow.
 Others can by their Chymistry reduce
 A Plant or Flower from its Dust or Juice;
 But your sublimer Art hath done much more,
 While human Souls you from their Urns restore.
 Yet though your Skill and Pity could dispence
 More Days to her beguiled Innocence;
 No Art removes a ruin'd Virgin's Shame,
 Unless revived she, be not the same.
 Thus 'tis more easy to recal the Dead,
 Than to restore a once-lost Maidenhead.

Kingsmill Lucy, Gent. Com. of Ch. Ch.

A B R I E F
 N A R R A T I V E
 Of a Strange and Wonderful OLD WOMAN, who hath
 A P A I R of H O R N S

Growing upon her Head.

Giving a true Account how they have, several Times after their being shed,
 grown again.
 Declaring the Place of her Birth, her Education and Conversation: With the first
 Occasion of their Growth, the Time of their Continuance; and where she is now
 to be seen, viz. At the Sign of the *Swan* near *Charing-Cross*.

*You who love Wonders to behold,
 Here you may of a Wonder read:
 The Strangest that was ever seen or told;
 A Woman bearing Horns upon her Head.*

L O N D O N: Printed by T. J. 1679.

A NARRATIVE, &c.

READER,

IT may be, upon the first View of the Title of this short Relation, thou wilt throw it down, with all the Carelessness imaginable, supposing it to be but an idle and impertinent Fiction; such as some frontless Persons have too frequently exposed to public View, on Purpose to impose upon the Credulity of the gazing Multitude, who are apt to gape at Wonders, and to think all true as the Gospel, which they see in Print.

That this may court thy more favourable Thoughts, call to Mind, that such as intend to deceive, tell of Wonders that are remote, and too far distant from thee, either suddenly to disprove, or presently to confirm thy self in the Belief of what they have told.

This gives thee an Account of what thou mayest, with little Trouble, and as small Expence, behold: Take but a Walk to the *Swan* in the *Strand*, near *Charing-Cross*, and there thou mayest satisfy thy Curiosity, and be able to tell the World, whether this following Narration be Truth or Invention.

There thou mayest see a Woman with Horns growing upon the hinder Part of her Head, an Object not only worthy of thy Sight, but Admiration too! She is seventy-six Years of Age, bred and born in the Parish of *Shotwick* in *Cheeshire*, and within four Miles of *Chester*, Tenant unto His Sacred Majesty, upon a Farm of Sixteen Pounds *per Annum*; so that she is not necessitated to this Course of Life, or to deceive the credulous and short-sighted People, but to manifest to the World such a Wonder in Nature, as hath neither been read or heard of (we may justly suppose) since the Creation.

She was Wife to one Mr. *Henry Davies*, who died thirty-five Years pass'd; and since she hath lived a religious Widow, all along of a spotless and unblameable Life and Conversation; of singular Use to her Neighbours: for she is a professed Midwife, happy and successful in that Undertaking; so that her Departure was generally lamented in the Place of her Abode, in such a Measure, that several of her Neighbours and Acquaintance brought her many Miles on her Journey.

This strange and stupendous Effect began first from a Soreness in that Place where now the Horns grow, which (as it is thought) was occasioned by wearing a strait Hat. This Soreness continued twenty Years, in which Time it miserably afflicted this good Woman, and ripened gradually unto a Wen, near the Bigness of a large Hen-Egg; which continued for the Space of five Years, more sadly tormenting her than before: After which Time it was, by a strange Operation of Nature, changed into Horns; which are in Shew and Substance much like a Ram's Horns, solid and wrinkled; but sadly grieving the old Woman, especially upon the Change of Weather.

But more accurately to describe its Nature and Manner of Production, may be a Subject proper for a College of Physicians; and no Question but it will be esteemed worthy to employ the ingenious *Vertuosi* of the Age, who need not their Glasses to magnify its Wonder.

She hath cast her Horns three Times already: The first Time was but a single Horn, which grew long, but as slender as an Oaten-Straw. The second was thicker than the former. The two first Mr. *Hewson*, Minister of *Shotwick* (to whose Wife

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this

this Rarity was first discovered) obtained of the old Woman, his Parishioner. They kept not an equal Distance of Time in falling off, some at three, some at four, and another at four Years and a half's Growth.

The third Time grew two Horns, both which were beat off by a Fall backward. One of them an *English* Lord obtained, and (as is reported) presented it to the *French* King for the greatest Rarity in Nature, and was received with no less Admiration: The other (which was the largest) was nine Inches long, and two Inches about. It is much valued for the Novelty; a greater than any *John Tradeskin* can set to View, or the greatest Traveller can, with Truth, affirm to have seen. Sir *Willoughby Aston* hath also another Horn which dropped from this Woman's Head, and reserves it as a choice Rarity. At this present she hath a Pair of Horns upon her Head, of six Months Growth; and it is not without Reason believed, they will, in a short Time, be larger than any of the former; for still the latter have exceeded the former in Bigness.

The Circumstance of this Relation considered or examined, at least with the Sight of her, I hope it will not readily be believed to be an Imposture, or artificial Projecting: For so grossly to impose upon his Majesty, and all his loyal Subjects, would be an unpardonable Crime, and would deserve Mens Contempt, and not their Company, and certainly expose the Party to the Violence of a rude Multitude, who discovering a Cheat, would, I believe, soon make the Old Woman *pull in* her HORNS.

[I am informed, that this very Mother Davies's Picture is now in the Possession of the Learned R. M——d, M. D.——Also Mr. Ward, Peruke-Maker, in the Strand, has a Horn, several Inches in Length, which he uses as a Snuff-Box, the which he avers to have grown on the Head of another Woman, whom he affirmed, not many Months since, in a very public Company, to be then alive, and that she had several others, at different Times; naming the Persons in whose Hands the said Horns then were: The Curious may, perhaps, think it worth their Tronble to make farther Inquiry. All this induced me to make Room for so remarkable a Singularity, as likewise to subjoin the ensuing Prodigy; and the rather because they both seem to be indisputably genuine.]

THE
WONDERFUL BATTEL
OF
STARLINGS:

Fought at the City of Cork, in Ireland, the 12th and 14th of October
1621.

As it hath been credibly informed by divers Noblemen, and others of
the said Kingdom, &c.

L O N D O N: Printed for N. B. 1622.

To the R E A D E R.

Gentle Reader,

TO report strange and admirable Accidents, is subject both to Danger and Disgrace : To danger, in that they may be held as prodigious, or ominous : To Disgrace, in that they may be reputed fabulous. There can be no Danger in reporting, so that there be no prognosticating, which by all Means I do forbear ; only I will say with the Royal Prophet, Admirabilis Deus in omnibus Operibus suis, God is wonderful in all his Works. And with St. Augustine, that, As it was not impossible for Almighty God, in his first Creation, to make what Variety of Creatures he pleased, so it is not impossible for his Divine Majesty to alter and change the ordinary Course and Disposition of the Creatures which he hath made. Which may appear in this Narration following, the like never heard or ever seen, by Testimony of any Record or History in any Country heretofore. I need not to fear Disgrace in reporting so strange an Accident to be reputed fabulous, being able to free my self from any such Suspicion of such an Imputation, by Certificate of Letters, from Right Honourable Persons in Ireland, where the Accident fell out, to Right Honourable Persons at Court, and divers in London at this present : As also by the Testimony of Right Honourable and Worshipful Persons, and others of good Reputation now in London, who were Eye-Witnesses, beholding the same, during the Time it continued. Notwithstanding so ample Proof of what I write, yet I do confess, that so many Poetical Fictions have of late passed the Print, that they have some Cause to suspect almost every extraordinary Report that is printed : But now that Abuse done to the Common-wealth is utterly taken away ; for no Currantos, or Reports of History, with the like, may now pass the Print, without strict Examination, and sufficient Approbation, as in Experience and Trial will be found hereafter. These strange News out of Ireland had been printed before this Time, but that it hath been stayed till the Truth were fully certified and examined.

The Wonderful Battel of Starlings, &c.

CORK is a City in the West of Ireland, in the Province of Munster ; for Situation, and all Commodities, which Sea or Land may afford, not inferior to any City in that Country. About the 7th of October last, Anno 1621, there gathered together, by Degrees, an unusual Multitude of Birds called *Stares*, in some Countries known by the Name of *Starlings*. These Birds are, for the Quantities of their Bodies, strong, for their Quality bold and venturous, among themselves very loving, as may appear by their Flights, keeping together all Times of the Year, excepting the Breeding-Time. It is, and hath been an old Proverb, that *Birds of a Feather bold and keep together* ; which hath ever been a common Custom in these as much as in any other Kind whatsoever : But now the old Proverb is changed, and their Custom is altered clean contrary. For at this Time, as these Birds are in Taste bitter, so they met to fight together the bitterest and sharpest Battel among themselves, the like, for the Manner of their Fight, and for the Time the Battel did continue, never heard or seen at any Time, in any Country of the World. [*I believe.*]

We read in the Histories of our own Country, that, in the twelfth Year of King *Richard II.* the *Gnats* mustered together at *Shine*, now called *Richmond*, in great Abundance, with so great a Multitude, that the Air was obscured and darkened by them. They fought so violent a Battle among themselves, that, by Estimation, two Parts of them were slain, and fell to the Ground. The Number of those which were killed was so great, that they were taken up with Shovels, and swept together with Besoms, that Bushels were filled with them, the third Part having gotten the Victory, flew away and vanished, no Man knew whither.

Now to come to the Fight of our Birds, the *Stares* or *Starlings*: They mustered together, at this above-named City of *Cork*, some four or five Days before they fought their Battels, every Day more and more increasing their Armies with greater Supplies; some came as from the East, others from the West, and so accordingly they placed themselves, and as it were incamped themselves Eastward and Westward about the City: During which Time their Noise and Tunes were strange on both Sides, to the great Admiration of the Citizens and the Inhabitants near adjoining, who had never seen, for Multitude, or ever heard, for loud Tunes which they uttered, the like before. Whereupon they more curiously observing the Courses and Passages they used, noted, that from those on the East, and from those on the West, sundry Flights, some twenty and thirty in a Company, would pass from the one Side to the other, as it should seem employed in Embassies; for they would fly and hover in the Air over the Adverse Party, with strange Tunes and Noise, and so return back again to that Side from which, as it seemed, they were sent.

And farther it was observed, that, during the Time they assembled, the *Stares* of the East fought their Meat Eastward, as the *Stares* of the West did the like Westward; no one flying in the Circuits of the other. These Courses and Customs continued with them until the 12th of *October*, which Day being *Saturday*, about Nine of the Clock in the Morning, being a very fair and a Sun-shine Day, upon a strange Sound and Noise, made as well on the one Side as the other, they forthwith, at one Instant, took Wing, and so mounting up into the Skies, encountered one another with such a terrible Shock, as the Sound amazed the whole City and the Beholders. Upon this sudden and fierce Encounter, there fell down into the City, and into the Rivers, Multitudes of *Starlings* or *Stares*, some with Wings broken, some with Legs and Necks broken, some with Eyes picked out, some their Bills thrust into the Breast and Sides of their Adversaries, in so strange a Manner, that it were incredible, except it were confirmed by Letters of Credit, and by Eye-Witnesses, with that Assurance which is without all Exception.

Upon the first Encounter they withdrew themselves backward, East and West, and with like Eagerness and Fury encountered several Times; upon which all these *Stares* fell down, in like strange and admirable Manner, as upon the first Encounter. They continued this admirable and most violent Battle till a little before Night, at which Time they seemed to vanish, so that all *Sunday*, the 13th of *October*, none appeared about the City.

Upon this *Sunday* divers Passengers came out of *Suffolk*, who sailing betwixt *Gravesend* and *Woolwich*, they heard a loud and strange Noise and Sound in the Air, whereupon casting their Eyes upward, they saw infinite Multitudes of *Stares* fighting in all violent Manner together, with a *Crow* or *Raven* flying betwixt them, for the Flight being so high, they could not perfectly discern whether it was *Crow* or *Raven*. These Birds had also several Encounters, making strange Sound and Noise; and ever as they divided and retired themselves, the *Crow* or *Raven* was seen in the Midst: But what Slaughter was made they could not observe, because the Evening was somewhat dark, and the Battle was fought over Woods more remote off; but for more assured Proof of this Fight the *Sunday* before-named, there are, at this Time,

Time, in *London*, diverse Persons of Worth and very honest Reputation, whom the Printer of this *Pamphlet* can produce, to justify what they saw, as Cause shall require, upon their Oaths.

Now to return to the last Battle fought, at *Cork*, by these *Stares*. Upon *Monday* the 14th of *October*, they made their Return again, and, at the same Time, the Day being as fair a Sun-shine Day as it was the *Saturday* before, they mounted into the Air, and encountred each other with like violent Assaults, as formerly they had done, and fell into the City upon the Houses, and into the River, wounded and slaughtered in like Manner as before is reported: But at this last Battle there was a *Kite*, a *Raven* and a *Crow*, all three found dead in the Streets, rent, torn and mangled.

IN this precedent *Narration*, one Report will cause most Admiration, and that is, the *Stares* or *Starlings*, forbearing and absenting themselves from *Cork*, upon *Sunday*, being the 13th of *October*, should that same Day be seen to fight near, or not far off from *Woolwich*; whether the same *Stares*, it may be held, in respect of the Distance of the Place by Sea and Land, improbable: But this Improbability is soon answered; for as the Fight at *Cork* may seem strange and improbable, yet being most assured that such a Battle was fought, it may be as probable, in the wonderful Works of Almighty God, that, notwithstanding the Distance of the Place, these may be the same *Stares*. Howsoever, I will dispute these Matters no farther, sithence, in the Works of Almighty God, being contrary to the ordinary Works of his Creation, all the Reason which can be alledged for them, is the Omnipotent Power of the Almighty Creator. As when, contrary to ordinary Course of Nature, in the Battle fought by Duke *Joshua*, the Sun stayed his Course the Space of a Day. So when, at the Prayer of *Hezekiah*, the Sun retired his Course ten Degrees: what other Reason can be yielded but the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God. So that, albeit we should not be curious to search out Reasons for the wonderful Works of Almighty God, yet it doth import all *Christians* not to be careless; but that they must know and consider, there is no wonderful or miraculous Work, but it doth prognosticate either God's Mercy to draw us to Repentance, or his Justice to punish our Sins and Wickedness, if we do not make Haste to repent in due Time, when his Mercy is offered, or his Justice threatened.

[*Having been thus long serious, suppose we should now be a little merry. But you will, probably say, that what bears so lugubrious a Title, as does the ensuing Piece of Oratory, cannot be a very proper Topic to excite Mirth. On Perusal you will, however, find it to be mere Irony and Banter, by Way of Anticipation, on a most memorable Personage, the Reverend Mr. Hugh Peters, who did not long survive this his Funeral Oration.—But here I, ingenuously, must own my Disingenuity in a certain Particular. In my Original, this Oration, delivered, &c. (as I call it) is named, point-blank, a Funeral Sermon, Preached, &c.—Now, the sole and only Reason why I assume this scarce-pardonable Liberty with my Author is, purely to avoid incurring the farther Displeasure of those Gentlemen who, I hear, have been so very angry with my First Number, because it begins with a Sermon; tho' a most particular one, and well approved.—As for this, under its new Name, it may possibly pass Muster.*]

PETER'S

PETER's PATTERN:

O R,

The perfect PATH to WORLDLY HAPPINESS.

As there was delivered in a FUNERAL ORATION, at the Interment
of Mr. *Hugh Peters*, lately deceased.

By I. C. Translator of *Pineda* upon *Job*, and one of the *Triers*.

Gusman, Lib. 1, 2. Vers. 4. *Amicus Plato, sed magis amica Veritas*.

L O N D O N: Printed in the Year 1659.

*After they had sung the two first Staves of the tenth Hymn of Larners twelve Songs of
Sion, to the Tune of, The Knave of Clubs, the Parson proceeded in his Text, as
followeth.*

GUSMAN, Lib. 2. Chap. 3. Vers. 26. The latter Part of the Words.

Let us, while we Live, make Use of our Time ; for a Man's Life is ended in a Day.

B E L O V E D,

THE Scope of this Reverend Divine is, in these Words, to hold forth unto us, the Excellency of Human Wit and Policy, in this self-serving and deceitful World. And indeed, I hope, I have not made a wrong Choice of my Text, not knowing any one whereon I could better ground the Praises of our Departed Brother here before us ; you all knowing how great a Disciple of our Author he was, being indeed the very Pattern and Exemplar of his godly and religious Life. But now to explain the Words aright, we shall deal with them as Joyners do with Court-Cupboards and Round Tables, first pull them asunder, and then put them together again. I use this Comparison that you may know me to be a Man of Trade ; that is to say, one who trades in the *Word* ; or, if you will have it otherwise, a Holder-forth according to the last and most sanctified Institution. First then, you have an Exhortation in these Words, *Let us*. Secondly, the Time given us to make Use thereof, *while we live*. Thirdly, the Thing to which we are exhorted, that is, *to make Use of our Time*. And, lastly, the supreme Reason of this Exhortation, *for a Man's Life is ended in a Day*. *Let us while we live, make Use of our Time, for a Man's Life is ended in a Day*. First then of the *First*, that is to say, of the Words, *Let us* : But here you must give me Leave to excuse the great Abuses which have been put upon these two poor innocent Monosyllables. I confess they have been crummed thicker than *Habbakuk's* Brown Loaf into the Porridge of the *Cavaliers*, commonly called the Common-Prayer-Book, when they cry, *Let us pray, Let us kneel*. But believe it, my
Beloved,

Beloved, I have now re-Baptized them, and washed them cleaner from that Profanation, than ever Tripes were scowred from their Filth by the nicest Huswife in *Field-Lane*. Now, being thus purified, you will find *Let us*, to signify sometimes as much as, hinder us not: *Quixot* the 12th, *Verse* 8. *Hinder me not, fair Dulcinea, from the Enjoyment of your sweet Company*. That is, *Let me enjoy your sweet Company*; sometimes as much as to say, *Suffer us*; saith the Reverend *Buscon*, *Chap.* 7. *Verse* 5. to his Master in great Affliction, *Suffer us not to be starved to Death*; that is, *Let us not be starved*, &c. Yet it is not meant here as in those Places, by way of Petition, but is a Kind of Rousing up of the Spirits, to a certain Action: As when the Carmen would heave a great Load into their Carts, they exhort one another, by crying, *Hey Boys*; or as, when the Coachman would have his Horses to go faster than ordinary, he encourages them by saying, *Stir up*: In which Sense our Learned *Gusman* uses this Expression, *Let us*, in this Place, as it were a Word of Incitement or *Stirring us up* to any Undertaking. Some, when they use these Words, in this Signification, do clap one another on the Back, which adds a greater Emphasis to them. But he goes on. *Let us*, saith he, *while we live*. And here you are to understand two Things; what is meant by *We*; and, secondly, what is meant by the Words in general, *while we live*. Note then, that *We* is a Particle of Distinction; which shews you, that there is another Sort of Men to whom our dear *Gusman* doth deny the precious Comforts held-forth in this Verse: For, my Beloved, I would not have you think, that when he spake this he had Pigs in his Belly, as *Calvin*, in his *Comments* upon this Place, doth erroneously conjecture. By *We* then, is meant, the Godly, such as I and you are, whom the Lord hath chosen to the Conjoynments of this World. The other Sort of Men here implied, are all those who profess to be our Enemies, Men who would cut off our Ears with the Paring-Shovels of their Malice, and whip our Backs with the Scourges of their Fury; for did not the Word intimate this Distinction, our Deceased Brother had not used so many pious and painful Endeavours to advance some Men, and destroy others, that is to advance his own Godly Party, and destroy his Wicked Foes; *Let us*, saith he, *while we live*, that is while we are in Power, while we live in Authority, or be in Favour with those who Govern, whether it be a Single Person or a Commonwealth, or if you will have it otherwise, while we are in a thriving Condition, while Men think us Godly and Faithful, and consequently trust us with Preferments of Profit; I say when the Lord shall put such Opportunities and Abilities into our Hands: Then my Brethren, *Let us make use of our Time*; Let us take hold of them with both Hands, and hold them as fast as a Mastiff holds a Sow by the Ear. *Let us make Use of our Time*, that is, Let us use all Endeavours, Ways, Plots, Means, Manners, Tricks and Policies, whether lawful or unlawful, to raise and advance our own Ends, whether they be only honourable, or profitable, or both. And when we have attained that which we seek, Let us use the same Inventions, that the Ungodly may not gain them from us, and thence take an Occasion to triumph over us. The Fathers of the Order of Industry at the Council held at *Biscay* in the Year 1590, made a Decree, that every one should keep his own, and get what he could from another. I speak this, that I may not leave you altogether without Authority in the Explanation of my Text; but of this more anon.

We shall now proceed to the Reason of the Words, *For a Man's Life is ended in a Day*; as much as to say, the Life of Man is very short; for whereas it was formerly above an Ell and a Nail long, it is now no longer than a Span. How vast a while did *Mesbuseleb* live to enjoy the Pains and Labours of his Youth? But no sooner had our Dear Brother, Mr. *Peters*, got an Estate, a little Chariot, and an *Onesimus* or two to wait on him, thinking to comfort himself with the Blessings of the Creature, but he was snatched away from us, even as a Boy snatches a Pippin out of an

Apple-

Apple-Woman's Basket. Some, in regard of the Shortness thereof, have compared the Life of Man unto a Lilly; but I am clearly of Opinion, that it was a Mistake; seeing that of that Flower is made a precious Oil which prolongeth the Days of Man, by curing festered Wounds, and broken Pates. Others have likened it to a Rose; but with as little Reason; for we know that of the Rose is made that excellent Conserve which is good against the Cough of the Lungs, one of the greatest Enemies to Life: I therefore rather agreeing herein with that great Light of the *Spanish Church, Lazarillo de Tormes*, shall compare our Beloved Brother unto a Marrygold, and *his Ending in a Day* unto the Fading thereof. For as the Flowers of a Marigold, swimming on the Top of a Mefs of Porridge, which is the Food of the Body, is a great Ornament thereunto, so, my Beloved, was he a great Ornament to our Religion which is the Food of the Soul; and even as that closes up at the Setting of the Sun, so did he *end in a Day*, even *in that Day*, that the Sun of our Region was forced to withdraw himself from *White-Hall*. Thus much for the Exposition: I shall now proceed to the Doctrine which creeps out of my Text, as a Fox creeps out of his Hole; *That it is the Duty of every Professor, seeing that he hath but a short While to stay in this World, to make the best Use of his Time*; The Particulars of which Doctrine I shall labour to make good unto you, by Reason and Example. First, then that there is a Duty which lies upon every Professor, we find evident by this, that there is in all Men not only a Labouring and a Panting, but also a Tie upon them, to look after Self-Preservation; for if a Child of God be in Want and woful Necessity, as many Times they are, the Law of Nature doth oblige them to seek after Maintenance, and not to destroy themselves and their Family, saith *Gusman* in his second Book, *c. 3. v. 15. Poverty is daily Death*: So that he who avoids not Poverty, seeks a daily Death, and is consequently a daily Murderer of himself; at least he intends it: Now an Intention to Sin, without Repentance, is a Sin as great as the Act itself. This it was which urged the Holy *Gusman* to undertake those many Atchievements which he performed: For saith he in another Place, *Book the 1st. c. 8. v. 12. I thought it not my Duty to live in Idleness*; therefore when Necessity, the best School-mistress of the Godly, which maketh Magpies to speak, and Spaniels to fetch and carry, had made him to consider his Duty, he was not slack in the Exercise thereof; so that, betaking himself to the religious Calling of a Thief, he stole the Cook's Silver Goblet, the Grocer's Royals, and couzened the Cardinal of his Barrels of Conserves. Moreover, my Beloved, this Duty of Self-Preservation caused our Dear Sister *Agatha*, as you may read in the first *Book* of pious *Francion*, not only to bethink her self, but to bestir her Stumps also; finding her self therefore to be of a well-shaped Body, and of comly Features, and lovely in the Eyes of Men, she became a Harlot, and was unto the Brethren a great Comfort in the frail Distresses of Human Nature; whereby she was stored with Wealth, and increased in worldly Enjoyments. This Duty it is which obligeth Butchers to preach, and Cobblers to pray, which teacheth them to make Profession of Religion, and then causeth them to take on them the gainful Function of the Ministry, whereby they may be the better enabled, after the sweet Consolations of Boiled Beef and Bag-Pudding, to sing Psalms, and rejoice in their Families. All these Things our Deceased Brother knew full well, which made him persist in the Performance of this Duty until the End. He soon found the sweet Gain of Preaching, and made such a dextrous Use of it, that he was beloved of his Rulers, and died with the Blessing of *Job*; for I may say of our Dear Brother, as the Text saith of him, That the Lord blessed his latter End more than his Beginning. The Lord reward that blessed Man who first invented this profitable and advantageous Science. Thus much for the first Part of our Doctrine, *That there is a Duty lying upon every Professor*. Now, my Beloved, I shall come to tell you what that Duty is: It is true, the Words of my Texts are so plain, that you may

may, in a manner, pick it out of the Words with as much Ease, as you can pick out the Marrow of a Leg-of-Mutton Bone with a Scewer, or the wrong End of a Spoon: For say they, *Let us, while we live, make Use of our Time, seeing the Life of Man is ended in a Day.* So that here you may see what Duty that is, *That you ought to make Use of your Time:* But perhaps you do not know what it is to make Use of your Time, which is the next Thing I shall inform you. Know ye then, my Brethren, there are Swarms of such Men as make Profession of Religion, who are not all of one Trade or Occupation, but some follow one Thing, some another, according to their several Gifts. For some are Stitchers of Cloth, some are Bodice-Makers, some are Translators, some are Soldiers, and Fight the Battels of the Lord, some are Brokers, some are Hewer of Wood, that is to say Carpenters, some are Drawers of Water, that is Victuallers, and Innkeepers, some are those who gape for State Employments, and some, though I deny not but that any of these may take the Ministry upon them in Time, are Preachers of the Word, so soon as ever they have done Playing at *Trapp*. Now that every one of these Professions may profit in their several Vocations, there are required these nine GIFTS.

The Gift of Convenient Boldness.
The Gift of Nonsense.
The Gift of Leasing.
The Gift of Accusing and Informing.

The Gift of Ignorance.
The Gift of Cozening.
The Gift of Thieving.
The Gift of Covetousness.
And the Gift of Hypocrisy.

I have placed the Gift of convenient Boldness in the Van, and the Gift of Hypocrisy in the Rear, knowing that a Professor cannot well go on upon any Enterprize without the one, nor well come off without the other. Now though a Professor ought always to have an Inward Working of these Gifts, yet the Perfection of them is required in some Sorts of Professors more than in others: For Example; the Gifts of Impudence, Lying, and Cozening, do more properly belong unto those who have Trades and Occupations of Selling and Buying. The Gifts of Ignorance, Lying, Impudence, Informing, Cozening, and Hypocrisy, belong unto such as seek Preferment, whether Civil or Military; but all of them together are required to make up a Minister of the Word. I shall not here stand to tell you, in particular, how every one of these Callings ought, according to their several Gifts, to make Use of their Time; but, in general, as a Foot-Boy skippeth over Kennels, skip over those Instructions which concern the Professors who are of my own Livery. First therefore, that a Preaching Professor may make Use of his Time; it is required that he should be stored with Impudence, even as a Wood-mongers Wharf is stored with Faggots and Sea-Coal. The Uses of it are these two; first, to encourage you to the most desperate Enterprizes; and secondly, to make you scorn the Reproaches of those who reprove ye: As for Example, my Beloved: If you see one of your Enemies seated in a Warm Living, and that your Heart pant and thirst after the same, you ought then to put on your Night-Cap of Devotion, and your Garment of Hypocrisy, and go unto your Superiors, and say: Yonder is a Man who is not of the Congregation of Professors, who is planted in a Rich Living, he is a scandalous and disaffected Person, and I am more worthy than he; pray put me into his Place: If Men therefore rebuke you, and call you Accuser and Devil, then ought you to make Use of your Gift of Impudence, and laugh at them all. Thus did Holy Nye throw out Unrighteous *Juxon* out of his Parsonage of *Fulham*. Thus our Brother *Marshall* became possessed of his Fat Living in the Land of *Essex*. This emboldned our Departed Brother to hold forth in the Pulpit of *White-hall*, where so many Learned (as the Heathens call them) had been before him. What cared they

for the Reproaches of Men? for their Hearts were seared with the hot Iron of Impudence, finding themselves at Ease and filled with Joy. This likewise emboldened the poor *Spaniard*, as we find in the Works of our dear *Gusman*, Book 1. c. 7. First to beg Money, and then, without bidding, sit down Cheek by Jowl with the Ambassador: for saith he in the last Verse, *He was carried away with Bravadoes and an impudent Behaviour.*

The next Vertue we are to make Use of is the Gift of *Nonsense*; for perhaps thou mayst not be a Scholar, nor one of the Number of the Learned, and it may concern thee to talk two Hours together: Thou oughtest therefore to be well furnished with *Nonsense*, that thou mayst be enabled to go through with thy Work; to which Purpose often Repetitions, and telling of Tales, do very much conduce; as when our Departed Brother told the Story of his being in Heaven and Hell, and the Tale of *Puss in her Majesty*.

The next Gift is that of *Lying*; which may be very profitable to thee, and whereof thou mayst make a very great Advantage: For if thou art bid to Preach for the Benefit of thy Rulers, if then thou art furnished with Soul-cozening Doctrine; if then thou hast the right Art of Lying and Wheedling the People, by telling them that the Cause thou speakest of is the only True Cause, and that God will certainly own them in their Obedience to it, then there will arise unto thee a very great Emolument. By these Arts our Deceased Brother furnished the Parliament with Basons, Rings, and Bodkins. Thus he, by telling them that *Ireland* was a Place that flowed with Milk and Honey, and where Broad-Cloth of twelve Shillings a Yard grew upon the Trees, inticed over the Soldiers against the Public Enemy. Thus, we read in the forementioned Chapter of *Gusman*, how the same *Spaniard*, by relating the Nobleness of his Family, though he were but a Cobler's Son in *Cordona*, and by boasting of the several great Actions, which he never did, got of the said Ambassador both Money and his Dinner. We find also Mr. *Sterry* practising this Gift, when, to ingratiate himself with his new Master, our late Protector, he assured him, that his Father was sitting at the Right-Hand of God, when most Divines do affirm the contrary.

The next Thing requisite for a Man who will make but Use of his Time, is the Gift of *Accusing* and *Slandering*. Knowest thou not (O Man) that Slanders are like the Defilement of Printers-Ink, easily laid on, but hard to rub off? If then thou seekest to work any one into Disfavour with his Superiors, that thou mayst obtain thy desired End, make thy first Shot at him with the Pot-guns of Slander; for the Disgrace thou throwest upon him, throws him out, and tosses thee into the Haven of thy Wishes. Thus our Deceased Brother never left accusing unsatisfied *Land*, till his Head had satisfied his Wrath, and the Benevolences which the Professors bestowed on him out of his worldly Profits had appeased the Hunger of his almost-famished Purse: Thus the Brethren likewise accused the Lord *Craven*, being of the Race of *Ishmael*, and got his Estate.

Thy next Gift is *Ignorance*: For thou must know, that there are few Wise-Men in Authority; thinkest thou then, O foolish *Galatian*, that any Man will advance such a one as is more cunning than himself? No, thou must at least pretend Ignorance; and if after such Advancement, thou dost grow Wiser than thy Brethren, then I say make Use of thy Time, saith Blessed *Machiavel*, in his *Book of the Right Path to Preferment*: Let every Man counterfeit that Humour which he finds most advantageous to his Designs. Therefore neither our Deceased Brother, nor any of his Faithful Brethren, the *Tryers*, would advance those whom the *Heatben* called the Grave, Learned, and Wise, but the Meanest of the People, who were of the simplest and weakest Capacities. There came a Learned Man, and one of the Weak Brethren, and contended for a Place: Saith our Deceased Brother to him who was Learned: What

What is Faith? Who answered him discreetly, according to the Learning of the Schools. Then he demanded the same Question of the other: Who replied; That Faith was a sweet Lullaby in the Lap of Jesus Christ. At which Words our Deceased Brother, lifting up his Hands to Heaven, cried, Blessed be the Lord who hath revealed these Things unto the Simple: Friend, thou according to thy Deserts, shalt have the Living.

The next Thing important is the Gift of *Cozening*: For you know, my Beloved, the Common People are a simple sort of Creatures, who must be deluded into their own Good. Now their Good is the Good and Safety of their Governors. Do we not deceive Children whom we would give Physic unto, by anointing the Brim of the Cup with Honey? So do we sweeten the bitter Purges, which are the Peoples Taxes and Impositions, with the delicate Allurements of Liberty and Religion. So our late Reverend Lord *Oliver*, of Blessed Memory, for whom our Dear Brother, the Lord reward his Soul, hath pimped full often, as you may read in our Dear Sister *Brisco's* Book of *Divine Truths*; so I say he, by Cozening every Body whom he dealt with, by the right Management, or the seasonable Taking and Breaking of his Oaths and Protestations, became a Monarch. Thus did the Devout *Lazarillo* cozen the Priest, his Master, of his Bread: I shall give you his own Words, *l. i. c. 3. v. 11.* I pray, my Beloved, turn to the Place and mark it, for it is a very precious Text. Saith he, As I was musing how to get Victuals, and feeding upon the Sight of the Chest wherein my Master's Bread was locked, there came a Tinker to the Door with a Bunch of Keys, who seemed to me to be an Angel in Disguise: Said I to him, have you a Key which will open this Chest? He assayed and opened it, by which Means I made many a fair Loaf invisible, which my Master never knew of.

Another Thing mainly conducing to him who would make Use of his Time, is the Gift of *Covetousness*. Therefore, saith the Text of that Blind Hermit who was *Lazarillo's* Master, *that for all his Gains, there was never a Man so wretched a Niggard.* The Reason thereof is, that there may come Changes, and that the Professors may be forced to fly, it behooves them therefore, while they may, to make Use of their Time, that is, to hoard up and save against the Day of Adversity. You have the Examples of most Professors for it, whose Doors we find continually shut, and never opening to the least Expence of a Crust, though a Poor Man should beg his Heart out. This makes us not to be content with our Livings, but to set up Lectures and Private Congregations, which bringeth in unspeakable Profit: Nor content with this, some of our Brethren sitting in the Tryers-Chair which is the Seat of Authority, have privately taken to themselves the Rewards of Well-doing, loath to spoil the Charity of Men, by receiving Tankards of Silver, Runlets of Sack, and sometimes Ready Money; the Lord of his Mercy make them Thankful. Our Deceased Brother was a mighty Admirer of Canes with Silver-Heads, and making that his Admiration known, he profited exceedingly.

The last important Gift, is the Gift of Hypocrisy. The Reason hereof is, that he who will compass a Design must go the best Way he can to do it: Now he who cannot get his Ends by Force, must seek to attain them by Cunning; but it is found, that in these Days there is no Cunning like that of seeming Godly: As Mr. *Sedgewick* hath well observed, in his Book of *Spiritual Experiences*. Therefore is this Gift very necessary. For which Cause, saith *Tiberius*, the best of *Christian* Emperors, That he who knows not to Dissemble, knows not to Rule, and with him accords our Brother *Spurstow*, in his Book of the *Privileges* of the *Saints*. All the World knows how conducing it was both to our Deceased Brother, and his Dear Master, and what Advantages they got thereby; I shall not therefore insist any more upon farther Examples.

Having thus made out, by Reason and Example, *That it is the Duty of every Professor, while he lives in this World, to make Use of his Time*, and the Means and Ways how to do it, I shall now proceed to Application. Is it so then that every Professor ought to make Use of his Time; then let this serve for a Use of Exhortation, to exhort every one of ye to make the best Use of your Time: That is to say, get Money, get Estates, get Friends at Court, and labour to enjoy the Promises. The Fat of the Land, my Beloved, is your Fee-simple, therefore let not *Canaan* be taken from you. If your Rulers would have you worship them and adore them, do so: It is their interest; and if theirs, yours also: Do not they feed ye, and cloath ye, and put ye in Fat Livings? Be therefore obedient to them in all Things. If they would have you *procure*, procure for them, as your Deceased Brother did before ye, and went down unto his Grave in Peace. Ay, but some will say, these Things are unlawful: But hear what saith our Dear Brother *Horace*, of Sacred Memory, *In vetitum nefas ruimus*, we ought to run into that from which we are forbidden. To confirm this, I shall only give you two or three Motives, and so conclude. First, from the Inconveniencies following, the Neglect of our Duty; and Secondly, from the Conveniences that hang upon it, even as Pears hang upon a Tree at the latter End of Summer. The Inconveniencies arising from the Neglect of our Duty, are Poverty and Necessity: Therefore *Gusman*, being in great Want, and finding that Brick-bats were too hard to feed on, and that the Rafters of a House were not to be roasted, thought there was no better Way to thrive, than by becoming a Church-man; for, saith he, then shall I have something to Eat, knowing well that a *Dominus vobiscum* never tasted of Hunger. Again, if thou were married, and thy Wife should see her Neighbours go finer than she, and should complain, and thou not able to supply her, would it not be a great Trouble and Vexation of Spirit to thee; to hear the Clamours of thy Dear Consort? The next Motive is the Folly and Indiscretion that Men would justly accuse ye of, that when it is in your Power to make Use of your Time, you should be such Wood-Cocks-Combs as to refuse it. The Conveniencies arising are; first, the Respect of Men; secondly, the Respect of Women, and thirdly, the certain Gain and Profit which hath always belonged unto us: For if you make Use of your Time, Men will respect ye, worship ye, and place ye uppermost at their Meetings, while you sit a-straddle upon their Consciences, as *Balaam* rid upon his Ass, without the least Wincing or Contradiction at all. The Women will feast ye, and cram not only your Bellies but your Purfes; nor shall there be a good Bit eaten at the Table of their Husbands of which you shall not partake, to the great Envy of the Wicked. When you come down sweating from your Pulpits, they will put ye into warm Beds, and rub over your weary Limbs with soft and tender Hands. Ah! my Beloved, these are precious, I say precious Enjoyments: Therefore I shall conclude in the Words of my Text, *Let us, while we live, make Use of our Time*, taking for our Pattern the Life and Manners of our Deceased Brother here before us; of whom that I may make him a short Encomium, I shall say thus much: That from his Youth he followed the Calling of the Ministry, and because then the Wicked prevailed, and he was a Sufferer, he went about giving Consolation to those who suffered for Theft, and such like Criminal Offences. Afterwards he travailed, and as he found Occasion he sowed his Seed sometimes in fruitful, sometimes in barren Soils: And I may say this of him, that, while he lived, such was his Zeal, he layed many a Whore of *Babylon* on her Back. When the Faithful began to exalt their Horns in this Nation, he was a great Fomenter of the Quarrel, and gave Occasion to the rest of his Brethren to fish in Troubled Waters. To his Prince he was a great Assistance in all his Designs, laying aside that Notional Impediment of a Statesman, called Conscience, that he might be the more serviceable to his Country. His Charity was not unknown, he giving two notable Ex-

amples

amples thereof, in his relieving our two Dear Sisters, the Butcher's Wife, and Mistress *Littleton*, in both their Afflictions. He died not without Associates to accompany him to his last Rest; for, as I am informed, on the very Night he departed, departed also a Dear Brother and Sister of ours, the *Hang-man* and *Moll Cut-purse*. He was first unwilling to die, knowing what Comforts he left behind him; but seeing there was no Remedy, he leaned his Head on the Pillow, and peaceably yielded up the Ghost. When *Tyribazus*, a noble *Persian*, was arrested at the first, he drew his Sword and defended himself, but when they charged him in the King's Name, then he yielded himself willingly: So when Death arrested our Dear Brother, at first he started and struggled, as a Man shrinks at his first putting his Feet into the cold Water; but when he recollected his Thoughts, and considering that Death was sent to him as a Messenger to bring him to Eternity, he embraced it, and he went to his Long Home as willingly as a young Bride goeth from her Friends into the Country with her new-married Spouse. And thus having tired your Patience, before which Time we never use to make an End, I shall conclude; still desiring you not to forget the Example of our Departed Brother, and the Words of my Text, *Let us, while we live, make Use of our Time; for the Life of Man is ended in a Day.*

Walk KNAVES, Walk.

A

DISCOURSE

Intended to have been spoken at

COURT,

And now published for the Satisfaction of all those who have participated of the Sweetness of Public Employments.

By HODG TURBERVIL, *Chaplain to the late Lord HEWSON.*

Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur.

LONDON: Printed in the Year, 1659.

Good

Good Counsel *against* Cold Weather.

Beloved Brethren,

THOUGH my Profession of a Cordwainer be something unfuitable to this Teaching-Calling, yet my Text is not. I have served seven Years Apprenticeship in the one, and full as many in the other; so as being a Journey-man to both, I hope my Words will deserve your Attention and Patience; for whose Sakes I have travelled many a weary Mile, and am now come hither purposely to instruct you, making Choice of these Words for my Text, *Hewson* 1. 2. *Now because the Times are bad, and the Winter draws near* (as the Old Translation hath it) *therefore buy ye Waxed Boots.*

But if we follow the New Translation, according to that of our Learned Monoculist and Noble Commander, Col. *Hewson*, who is known to be the best and the ablest Translator of our Profession now living, we shall find the fore-going Part of the Text far more agreeing with the Coherence of the Words than the other: *Now because* (saith he) *the Times are dangerous, and the Winter approaches, therefore, &c.* Or as he hath it more elegantly, in his Learned Comment upon *Crispin, De Acte Vampandi*, Chap. 18. *Now because the Times are wavering, and the Winter of Troubles steals upon us, therefore plunder ye,* [Mark that, Beloved, it is a sweet Expression, and full of Comfort] *therefore plunder ye Waxed Boots:* As if he should say: Now because the Times are fickle, because the Times are Wavering, Uncertain, Perilous, Inconstant and Changeable as the Moon: And in the second Place: Because the Winter draws near, because Cold Weather approaches (in which we are like to find Cold Comfort if we be not prepared beforehand against it) or rather (as in another Place he hath it) because the Winter of our Troubles steals hastily upon us, and the Wicked begin to domineer over us, let us be even with the Winter and the Wicked too, and steal as fast from them as they do upon us; which is warranted by these Words, in the latter Part of the Text, *Therefore plunder ye, &c.* But we will follow the Old Translation of *Crispin*, who was too honest to plunder; therefore (saith he) *Buy ye Waxed Boots.*

In which Words observe those Parts:

1. The Time present.
 2. The Condition of the Times.
 3. The Season of the Times.
 4. The Benefit or Use we should make of the Times.
1. The Time present, *Now.*
 2. The Condition of the Times, *They are Dangerous, Uncertain, Wavering, &c.*
 3. The Season of the Times, *The Winter approaches: Now because, &c.*
 4. The Benefit or Use we should make of the Times, *Therefore buy ye, &c.*

First of the Time, briefly: Now, now at present, now while it is Time, while you have an Opportunity to get Money from the Malignant Party; now (even now) before they rise up again, and force you to fly, for Refuge, to some Neighbour Nation, provide you of Materials to do it; take from them their Horses, Armour; nay, such Blessings as neither you nor your Fathers before you could either purchase or enjoy, their Waxed Boots: And this leads me to the second Thing considerable:

The

The Condition of the Times: *They are Bad, Dangerous, Uncertain and Wavering, &c.*

If the Times be bad now, what will they be hereafter? Beloved; Man is a Little World, the World is round, and so we; the World is a hollow empty Thing, so are we; the World hath his Times and Seasons, his Winters and Summers, his Days and Nights, so hath Man; he hath Times of Gettings, and his Times of Lossings; his Summers of Pleasure, and his Winters of Heaviness; his Days of Joy, and his Nights of Sorrow: Seeing then all these Sublunary Things are thus Transitory and Wavering, let us lay hold on whatsoever stands before us; let us take all Things that come in our Way, furnishing ourselves Cap-a-pied, with the Goods of the Ungodly, implied in these Words, *Therefore plunder ye, &c.* And this brings me to the third Motive which should persuade, or rather invite us to do it, *Because the Winter approaches.*

Now because the Times are bad, and the Winter approaches, therefore buy ye Waxed Boots.

Beloved: All Creatures, by Natural Instinct, are taught to provide and lay up Provision against Winter; the little Ant stacks up Corn; the laborious Bee lays up Honey against the cold Winter approaches; and will it not be a Shame, nay, a great Shame, Beloved, for Man, who is a Reasonable Creature, and hath more Strength and Discretion than ten thousand Ants or Bees, put them all together; I say, Will it not be a most abominable Shame for him to be sent to the silly Ants and Bees for Instruction, while he, like the simple Grasshopper, hops and skips away the Summer of his Days in Vanity and Idleness, and afterwards, in the Winter of Years, is forced to perish and starve for Want of Food? O Beloved, rather do any Thing than starve. The Proverb saith, *Poverty is the Mother of Misery*; therefore it is good to provide and lay up something against a Rainy Day. Now, what Season is more Rainy than the Winter Season? and what is more seasonable at that Time, what better Fence in the World for our Feet against the Rain, Wet and Cold, than a Pair of Waxed Boots? Therefore buy ye, if ye have Money; plunder ye, if you have none (for it matters not how you come by them so you have them) waxed Boots. So now I am come to the fourth and last Thing, the Benefit and Use we should make of the Times: *Buy Waxed Boots, therefore buy ye Waxed Boots.*

Where note, that the Adverb *therefore*, is an Adverb of Connection; for here it joins the Winter and the Boots together. Now, Beloved, since I have taken the Boots in Hand, give me Leave to stitch them up in few Words; telling you first, how many Sort of Boots there are; and next, what Manner of Boots those be which are required here in my Text. For the better Explanation of which Words, you are to take Notice, that there are eight several Sorts of Boots; I will run over them briefly, because I see the Time hastens. I say, Beloved, there are several Sorts of Boots: First, your *Dutch Boots*: They are People who will not put on a Boot which is not as well liquored as themselves: From whence I gather this Observation, That Drunken Men love Drunken Boots. Secondly, there are your *French Boots*; O defy them, Brethren, defy them, they are abominably contaminated with the Disease of their Country: How many whole Congregations of ours have they already infected with it! Witness that lamentable Snivelling and Snuffling which of late hath spread it self through the Bridge-fallen Noses of our ablest Teachers, for which no other Reason in the World can be given, than their riding the Sisters in these *French Pocky Boots*. Here, by the Way, give me Leave to tell you the several Names of this Disease: Some call it, *Morbus Neapolitanus*, and *Morbus Gallicus*: First, it is called the *Neapolitan Disease*, or the Disease of *Naples*; for it is observed, by our wisest Physicians, that ever since *Naples Commodities* came over into *England*, this Disease hath been very busy among us. Others say, it came by another *Italian Trick*,

Trick, and that it was brought over, by Advice of *Nich. Machiavel*, in a *Florence* Silk Petticoat, under which Device it hath continued ever since; therefore, Beloved, have a Care how you meddle with Foreign Wenches Petticoats: *Latet Anguis in Herba*: That is, that Serpent the Devil lurks in the Holes, and the Pox under their Petticoats.

Next it is called *Morbus Gallicus*, and not unfitly, for *Gallicus* signifies a Cock, and *Morbus* a Disease, that is as much as to say, the Disease of the Cock; and truly it is well known, that the Cock is the first Part which is infected with this Disease: But some will say; What do you tell us a Story of a Cock and a Bull? Why verily, Beloved, a good Cock is a good Thing; and Bull's Leather is good Leather to make Waxed Boots of; which brings me to the third sort of Leather, your *Russia* Boots. Fourthly, there are your *Spanish* Leather Boots. Fifthly, your Calves Leather *Essex* Boots. Sixthly, your flints Skin, or abortive Parchment Boots. Seventhly, there is your Hell-Cart, or Coach-Boot. Eighthly and Lastly, there is your right *English* Neat's-Leather Boot, which is the Boot intended here in my Text for the Winter Waxed Boot: *Now because the Times are bad, &c. therefore, &c.*

So now having shewn you how many several Sorts of Boots there are, give me Leave likewise to shew you how to distinguish the Good from the Bad (because I will not warrant all of our Profession to be Honest Men, since I know some who can stretch their Consciences beyond their Last or their Leather) therefore that you may not be deceived in your Choice of a perfect Winter Boot, you are to observe these four Qualities.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|----------------|
| 1. The Grain | } of the Boot. |
| 2. The Length | |
| 3. The well Joining and Sowing | |
| 4. The Waxing | |

First, the Grain of the Boot. Beloved, there are several Sorts of Grains; there are your Grains of Corn, your Grains of Mustard-seed, your Beer and Malt Grains, &c. Next, there is your good and physical Grains. Thirdly, there is your *Grannum vivens sensibile*, your living sensible Grains (of which Sort I fear here are too many in this Congregation) that is, your Knaves in Grain. And Lastly, there is your Leather Grain (the Principal here intended) which if it be close and compact, stiff and shining, you may be assured (of the first Thing observable) that your Leather is good.

The next Thing considerable, is the Joining and well-Sowing of the Boot: By joining, you are to understand the even cutting and proportioning of the Tops to the upper Part, and the Vampings to the lower Part of the Legs of the Boots. This properly belongeth to the Master; but the other, of sowing or stitching, belongs to his Servant. Now in sowing or stitching, you are to take Notice, that you are not to sow Boots as you sow Corn (in which he is accounted the best Work-man who scatters and disperses his Grain best) but you must sow your Stitches close together, first on the Inside, next on the Outside, if ever you mean to have your Boots go thorow-Stitch, and hold out Water when the Winter comes, and the Ways are heavy and dirty.

Thirdly; look to the Length of your Boots. Brethren, a long Boot hath these Commodities. First, it will keep warm, and cover that which hath covered many a Commodity. Next, it will preserve you from fretting and galling between the Legs (a Disease which many a Dear Sister is troubled with, proceeding from the same Cause, tho' in a different Manner) to the Man by hard Riding, to the Woman by being too hard Ridden.

A third Commodity belonging to long Boots is this: That if the Vampings fail, the Leather shrinks, or the Seams crack, yet they may be often mended, and the Boots still do good Service; which Reason alone (if the two former are not prevalent) are enough to persuade you to buy long Waxed Boots.

Fourthly and lastly, you must observe the waxing of the Boot; in which you are to take notice, first of the Matter, Wax; and next of the Manner, how to wax your Winter Boots.

First, Of the Matter; Wax. Beloved, there are three sorts of Wax; Hard Wax, Soft Wax, and Bees-Wax. The first is used for Letters, the second for Bonds or Indentures: But soft here; me-thinks I hear some one among you object and say; If soft Wax be commonly used for Indentures, why may it not more properly be used for such Boots as we commonly make Indentures in, when you and I (and many more here among us) come late home from Taverns and Tippling-Houses? To this I answer, that such Boots ought to be termed *Dutch-Liquored-Boots*, than Waxed Boots; since the Head and the Feet do ever sympathize, so as the one cannot properly be said to be full of Liquor, except the other bear a Share with it also. I rather believe these Boots are made of the Skin of some Horse which died of the Staggers.

The third and last sort of Wax, is Bees-Wax, the only Wax you are to use for your Winter Boots. Ah! but you will say, how shall I use this Wax which you so much approve of for Winter Boots? Why, you must know, that this Wax, in the waxing of Boots, is not to be used simply, but compounded with hard Tallow; which brings me to the last Thing you are to observe, that is, the Manner of waxing your Winter Boot. Beloved, you are first to melt hard Tallow with this Wax, then you are to anoint and chafe in these Ingredients by a good Fire, at three several Times, because once or twice will not be enough, by reason of the Dryness of the new Boot, which will soak up, the first and second Time, whatsoever you lay upon it; I say, therefore, you must do it at least three several Times, if you mean to have a perfect and sure well-waxed Winter Boot.

So having now ran, in my Boots, through all the Parts of my Text, and taken Pains to give you many weighty Reasons, why you ought all of you to be provided of Waxed Boots. First, Because of the Times, they are Bad. Secondly, Dangerous. Thirdly, Uncertain. Fourthly, The Winter approacheth, &c. Next also I have given you Observations and Instructions, that you may not be deceived in your Choice of a Winter Boot, but may easily discover it: First, by the Grain: Secondly, by the well sowing: Thirdly, by the Length: Fourthly and lastly, by the Waxing: And also taught you the several Sorts of Wax, and how and in what Manner you should wax your Winter-Boots. Give me Leave, out of the former Part of the Text, to raise this Doctrine. That,

Bad Times require good Boots. I say, bad Times require good Boots: Because the Times are bad, and the Winter, &c. therefore, &c. I shall explain my self to you, Brethren, briefly thus. I say, bad Times require good Boots; for verily, Beloved, the Times are bad, very bad; and are like, every Day, for ought I see, to grow worse and worse: So, as I fear, we must all of us, ere long, be forced to fly for our Religion. Now, Beloved, whither shall we fly? Marry it is a Question worth your answering; but I doubt there are few or none here, who know how to resolve me in it; for verily, I am as yet to seek my self, where to run or hide my Head, should the Malignant Party prevail. But perhaps, some will cry out, and say; We will fly to *New-England*; another, he is for *Geneva*; another, he is for a nearer Place than both these, he will away to *Amsterdam*. Truly, Beloved, I must confess, I cannot but approve of this Place for the best, seeing it is not only the nearest, but the safest, and hath ever, in former Times, been found to be the only Nurse and

Sanctuary for all such as are, like them, Despisers of Royal Government, and Self-Forms of Prayers.

But here will one object, and say; Is not this an Island wherein we now live (I had almost said wherein we now dwell, but, alas! if the Times change, here will be no Habitation for us) and is not this Island encompassed round with a great Sea; will not all our Shipping then be taken from us, how then shall we get over to *Amsterdam*, or what Good then will our Waxed Boots do us?

Beloved, this weak Objection is easily answered thus: It is true, that *England* is an Island encompassed with the Sea; it is true, there will be no Travelling out of it by Land; and it will likely prove as true (if the Wicked prevail) that our Navy will be taken from us: But (O thou inconsiderate Fool! whosoever thou art who raisest this idle Objection) hast thou not the more Need of Waxed Boots to pass through this Sea? hast thou not great and rough Waters to wade over, before thou canst arrive at thy Journey's End? Now, if thy Boots be long enough (which as I told you before, you must be sure to observe, before you buy them for this Purpose) and the Seams strong and well waxed, so as they will hold out Water, which you ought first to make trial of, by wading in them over the *Thames*, from the Parliament-Stairs to *Lambeth*, or from *White-Hall* to *Stangate* (for one of these Ways we must all fly if the Cavaliers prevail) you need not be afraid afterward to go over with them, to any Part beyond the Seas. So as, methinks, this also should be another strong Motive, to persuade us to buy strong and long Waxed Boots.

But here some incredulous and fearful Brother will make a Scruple, and say; Should we grant you, that it may be possible for us to pass over the Sea in Waxed Boots; yet how shall we do, now the Winter is come on, the Days short, but the Night and our Journeys very dark and long? I say, how shall we do in these dismal and obscure Nights, to find our Way through so pathless and uncertain an Element as the Sea is?

O, Beloved, be not dismayed; be not cast down with Fear! take you no Care for that. Have we not a good and glorious General gone before us, and with the Beams of his bright shining Countenance, will, like the Sun, disperse those dark Shades which doth cover the Waters. He is our Leader, our Guide by Day, and our Lamp by Night, who hath carried a living Fire, the Lantern of his Beak, which neither the highest Winds can put out, nor the greatest Waves extinguish; because it will ever continue the same, so long as the Splendor of it endureth.

But we will leave Generals, and come to Particulars; for I fear I have been too tedious in illustrating this Doctrine; wherefore I only pass to a Use or two, and so conclude.

The first is a Use of Consolation or Comfort. Is it so, that Waxed Boots will preserve us from the Cold; is it so, that with Waxed Boots we may pass through Thick and Thin, nay, through Seas of Troubles. Why, what a great Comfort and Consolation is it, for all those who have Occasion to travel through bad and sad Ways, to be provided of Waxed Boots. Beloved, there are (as I shewed you before) your Summer and your Winter Boots. In the one you may travel reasonably well, all the Year long, provided your Ways, and the Journey be accordingly. As for Example; If you have Occasion to ride your *Newmarket* Ways, your *Bansted-Downs* Ways, your *Tipry-Heath* Ways, or your *Salisbury-Plain* Ways, then these Summer Boots will carry you through; these will preserve you well enough, provided no Rain from above, or Dirt, Mire and Waters from beneath, do not offend or molest you. But should you have Occasion in the Winter Time to travel, your *Essex* Ways, your *Dunmow* Ways, your *Higb-Suffolk*, *Farningham-Castle* Ways, or those most abominably dirty, miry and watery *Wishbeech* or *Ely Fenny* Ways; O! in what a fine Case would your Summer Boots be, when they have been well washed in those

those filthy Ways? How will they shrink together like Parchment against the Fire? Therefore buy you Waxed Boots.

And this puts me in mind of a merry, but a real Story, that I have heard from a credible Person, who, I am confident, would not tell an Untruth, of a certain young Gentleman, living not far from *Newmarket*, who was a Suitor to a fair Lady, dwelling at *Colchester*, in the County of *Essex*. Now this young Gallant, having never before travelled five Miles from his Father's House, imagined the same the Citizen's Wife did, who having never in her Life-time been out of *London*, would needs persuade her Husband, that tho' she had but twenty Miles to ride, and it was a rainy Day, yet they two might ride safe and dry all the Way, under the Penthouses; so this spruce Blade, thinking all the World was Heath-Ground, though it was in the Depth of Winter, and his Man persuaded him to put on his Winter Boots, he would not go thither in any but a Pair of thin Calve's-Leather *Essex* Boots, alledging this Reason for it; That his new Mistress would love him the better, when she saw he came to court her in a Pair of her own Country Boots. Whereupon, he sets forward on his Journey; but mark, Beloved, what followed. He had not gone above half his Way, before he took such an excessive Cold on his Feet, that he was forced to alight at a poor blind Ale-House, at a Place called *Black Chappel*, within three Miles of *Dunmow*, where he had no sooner got a Fire made, and his Boots (which hung about him like Chitterlins) with much ado pulled off, but he fell into a violent Ague, and was immediately compelled to take his Bed, where he remained many Days after. But I had almost forgot to tell you, that the poor Ale-House-Keeper, where this Gentleman lay sick, did keep in his House a young Water-Spaniel, which he had newly taught to fetch and carry. This wanton unlucky Whelp, seeking about the House, in the Midst of the Night, for some Bones to eat, lights upon the Gentleman's Boots, which he no sooner meets with, but, being desirous to put in Practice what his Master had so lately taught him, he takes first one Boot, and afterwards another, and carries them into the Entry; where finding them wet and soft, instead of playing, the Cur falls to tearing them, and in short Time pulled and knawed them into many Pieces. Now it chanced, that, in the Morning early before it was light, the old Man's Wife (who also dressed Tripes for to get a Living) was called up by a Butcher, who brought her some Inwards of a Beast for the same Purpose, which she had no sooner received, but returning back through the Entry, she unhappily stumbled upon the Gentleman's mangled Boots, so as, letting fall what she had in her Hands upon them, groping in the dark, she took up all together, and carrying them into the Kitchen (without lighting a Candle) first cut, and then washed and dressed them all together, and having afterwards well boiled the Boots among the rest in a Kettle, which over Night she had set over the Fire for the same Purpose, she cast them into her Sowing-Tub, where for a while we will leave them, and tell you what became of our sick Gentleman. Beloved, this Gentleman, within few Days after, began to recover, and waxed very hungry, so as calling his Landlord, to know what Meat he had in the House: Truly Sir (quoth he) we have nothing but a Dish of Tripes of my Wife's own dressing, which if you please to have, they shall be made ready immediately. Well! Well, they are accepted of, and brought to the Gentleman, who sitting up in his Bed, did feed heartily, till such Time as taking up a Piece of thin, long, lean Tripe (as he supposed) and finding a String jagged about the Edge of one Side of it, he called up his Landlady, and desired to know what Part of the Beast that was? The poor Woman searching it, and distrusting what it was, but not dreaming how it should come there, without speaking one Word, runs down Stairs into the Kitchen, where she was no sooner come to search for the Gentleman's Boots, she finds the Puppy-Dog tearing of the Vampings, which he had lately transformed into Slippers. In the mean Time

the Gentleman would not be satisfied, but calls for her again to answer his Question: Who, as soon as she was come to him, he again demands of her, What Part of the Inside of the Beast that was, he held in his Hand? The poor Woman, tho' fearful and trembling, yet wittily replied; That she believed it to be rather a Part of the Outside than the Inside of the Beast, meaning the Hide, and begging Pardon for her Carelessness, and the Dog's Wantonness, desired his Worship to forgive them both; telling him plainly, that that Piece he shewed her, was a Piece of his Worship's Boots; and that the Threads, which looked like a Purl or Edging upon the Tripe, was nothing but the Jags of the Shoemaker's Ends which hung about it. The Gentleman, at this Accident, one while laughing, and another while fretting, caused the old Man to ride away speedily to *Chelmsford*, for a strong Pair of Waxed Boots; but what with his Delay (by reason of his Sickness, and afterwards for want of Boots) to visit his Mistress, whom he promised to have seen a Week before, she imputing his long Stay rather to a Neglect and Slighting of her than his present Misfortune, immediately contracted her self to another, who had formerly been a Servant to her, and at his coming discarded him; by which Means he lost his Mistress, his Labour, his Boots, and had like to have lost his Life too, had he not happily recovered.

O! Beloved, let this sad Example be a Caveat for all you who have Mistresses, to have a Care of wearing Tripes, when you ride a Wooing, lest you be served like this unfortunate Gentleman, who, for want of a Pair of Waxed Boots, was first cast into an Ague, next had his Boots cast into the Tripe-Tub, and lastly, was himself quite and clean cast out of his Mistress's Favour. Therefore buy ye Waxed Boots; which brings me to the second Use.

The second Use is a Use of Reproof; to reprove all those who are self-willed, and cannot fairly be persuaded to buy them Waxed Boots. But to such as these, Examples move more than Precepts; wherefore I only give you one or two more, and so I will make an End, for fear of tiring your Patience. I read of *Alexander the Great*, that, passing over a River in *Alexandria* without his Winter Boots, he took such extreme Cold in his Feet, that he suddenly fell sick of a violent Fever, and within four Days after died at *Babylon*. The like I find, in *Plutarch's* Lives, of that noble Roman *Sertorius*, and also, in *Homer*, of *Achilles*, that leaving his Boots behind him, and coming bare-foot into the Temple of *Pallas*, while he was worshipping on his Knees at her Altar, he was pierced into the Heel, with a venomous Dart by *Paris* (the Part only of him which was vulnerable) of which he suddenly died; which Accident had never happened to him (as *Alexander Ross*, that little Scotch Mythologist observes) had he not, two Days before, pawned his Boots to *Ulysses*, and so was forced to come without them to the *Trojan* Sacrifice. He also farther observes, that this *Achilles* (of whom *Homer* hath writ such Wonders) was but a Shoemaker's Boy of *Greece*, and that when *Ulysses* sought him out, he at last found him at the Distaff, spinning of Shoemaker's Thread. Now, this Boy was so beloved, that as soon as it was reported abroad, that the Oracle had chosen him to rule the *Grecians*, and conquer *Troy*, all the Journeymen in the Country listed themselves under him, and these were the Mirmydons wherewith he got all his Honour, and overcame the *Trojans*.

But what need I mention Foreign Stories, being my self an Eye-Witness of the lamentable Ends of many *Suffolk* Men, in the Siege of *Colchester*, who being forced to keep Centry in that wet and boggy Country (during which Siege, it was generally observed, for thirteen Weeks, not a Day passed in which much Rain did not fall) I say these poor Country Wretches, were forced to stand up to the Knees, Day and Night, in Cold, Dirt, Mire, and Wet; insomuch, that for want of Waxed Boots, many of them died suddenly, others had their Legs rotted off; many their Feet gan-

gangrened, and afterwards cut off; and few or none, but had Ulcers, Boils, and Inflammations breaking out upon them.

Alas! alas! what would these poor Cripples do to run away, should the Times change, and the Malignants prevail over us? How must they be forced to bestir their Stumps, for want of Legs, to escape the Enemy? This one Comfort they will have above us, that whensoever they are taken by the Wicked, they will not find them stand complimenting, or making Legs for Pardon; but they shall rather find them down upon their Knees, begging Mercy and Forgiveness of them, whose Persons they have turned out of their Possessions, and whose Houses these lame Creatures have, for these many Years, converted into Hospitals, or worse.

Thus I have shewn you what became of three great Princes, and of many poor *Englishmen*, who perished in these late Wars, for want of Waxed Boots. I should here give you an Account, how and in what Manner you should know the right Shape and Fashion of a Winter Boot; and likewise shew you, what Manner of Heels are the best, the most suitable and serviceable for you, against running or flying Times; I shall only name them at present. Beloved, your Polony Heel is good, your Wooden Heels better, but those of Cork the best of all; for then will it be needful for you to make Trial of a Pair of high Heels, and indeed you will then, and then only, have Occasion to run, as though you ran for a Wager; and for this Use, your Cork Heels are found, by Experience, to be the best and highest in the World.

Lastly, I should have taught you the Art of repairing, stitching, vamping, underlaying, and mending of your Boots, and should likewise have shewed you, how to chuse the Soles of your Boots; and also, in a Word, have applied these Things to the good Use of your Bodies; but that I see the Glass is run, and the Time hath prevented me, I must be forced to make an End, concluding with the Words of my Text, *Now, because the Times are bad, and Winter draws near, therefore buy you Waxed Boots.*

BARON TOMLINSON'S
LEARNED
S P E E C H
TO THE
SHERIFFS of LONDON and MIDDLESEX.
When they came to be Sworn at the EXCHEQUER.

L O N D O N: Printed in the Year, 1659.

Baron

Baron Tomlinson's Learned S P E E C H.

How do you, Mr. *Warner*? God save you, Mr *Love*.

Gentlemen Citizens; I observe in you three Things: First, that ye are well clad; from whence I note, that ye are no Slovens. Truly I wish I were a Sheriff, so it were not chargeable, and that I might always be in the Office; for certainly a Sheriff can never be a-cold, his Gown is so warm; and, on my Word, yours seem to be excellent good Scarlet. Some Men may ask; Why you wear Red Gowns, and not Blue or Green? As for Blue, it is a Colour which signifies Constancy: Now, Constancy cannot be attributed to Sheriffs; for a Sheriff is a Sheriff this Year and none the next. As for Green, it is *Mahomet's* Colour, and so too Heathenish for a Christian. I confess *Fuille-morte*, which signifies Decay, had been the most proper Colour for a Sheriff, because he puts off his Gown with the Fall of the Leaf; and, secondly, because it may decay his Estate, if he be too expensive in his Office. But next to that, Red is the most convenient Colour; for indeed most handsome and delectable Things are Red, as Roses, Pomgranates, Maidenheads, the Lips, the Tongue, &c. so that indeed our Ancestors did wisely to clothe Magistrates with this decent and becoming Colour. It is true I have a Gown too, but they make me wear the worst of any Baron of the Exchequer; it is plain Cloth, as ye see, without any Lining; yet my Comfort is, I am still a Baron, and I hope I shall be so as long as I live; when I am dead I care not who is Baron, or whether there be a Baron or no. The next Thing I observe is, that ye look plump and ruddy; from whence I give a shrewd Guess, that ye feed well; and truly if you do so, then you do well, which is my third and last Observation concerning ye. But do you know wherefore you come hither? I do not question but you do; however, you must give me Leave to tell ye; for in this Place I am a better Man than either of you both, or indeed both of you put together. Why, then, I will tell ye: Ye come hither to take your Oaths before me. Gentlemen, I am the Puisne Baron of the Exchequer; that is to say, the meanest Baron: For, tho' I am not guilty of interpreting many hard Words, yet this hath been so continually beaten into my Head, that I do very well understand it: However, I could brook my Meanness well enough (for some Men tell me that I deserve no better) were it not the Cause of my Life's greatest Misery; for here I am constrained, or else I must lose my Employment, to make Speeches in my old Age, and, when I have one Foot in the Grave, to stand here with the other talking in Public. Truly, Gentlemen, it is a sad Thing, you see what a forced Put I am put to; even God help me out of this sinful World; for when my Bones are at rest, my Tongue will be at quiet. I remember, Gentlemen, when I was a Child, if my Mother had asked, if I would have any Victuals that pleased me not, why then I would grow sullen, and make no Answer: Then would she say, *Sirrah, will you have it? speak!* Still not a Word from me. *Nay then* (said she) *if you won't speak you shall have nothing.* This is my Condition now, either speak, or have nothing; that is, be no Baron. I have prayed to God to mend my weak Capacity; now I speak better to Day than I used to do, you will know that he hath heard my Prayers; if not, then it is as it was. However, since it is my Misfortune, I shall talk to ye as well as I can: But, Friends, you must not expect that I should haul to you, like Fellows who cry Carrots and Turneps in the Street; for that would be troublesome to me, and, perhaps, cause the Almonds

Almonds of my Ears to fall, with over-straining my impotent Lungs. And now it comes into my Mind, I desire you, when you are in your Office, not to let those Fellows yaul so in a Morning; for, besides that they will not let the People sleep, the *Cry of Wisdom* can never be heard in your Streets for the perpetual Bauling those Carters keep; and truly, if you do not remedy it, I am afraid you will as soon hear the Lamentation of wild Nightingales, as the Voice of Wisdom in your City. Yet, though I do not baul, do not think I will whisper neither; for then it were impossible you should hear me, and I should seem to sit upon the Bench like a Madman talking to my self; besides, the Proverb says, *That where there is Whispering, there is Lying*. Truly, Gentlemen, I am an old Man, and have lived long in the World; and I can assure you, I have observed these Proverbs, and find them to be wise Sayings. I remember when I was a young Youth, it is a great while ago, Gentlemen, I warrant ye it is above five and forty Years ago, my Mother saw me fooling with a Knife; *Lay down the Knife, Boy*, said she, *it is a dangerous Thing to play with edged Tools*. Truly, Gentlemen, I believe you find the Truth of this; for had your City never meddled with *edged Tools*, they and you, I believe, had been in a more thriving Condition than now. At first you played with these *edged Tools* in your Military and Artillery Grounds, and made Sport with them before your Wives; but I think they have made Sport with you since. Truly, for my Part, I cannot tell what to do for these *edged Tools*; and I believe you are in a *Quandary* too: For my Part, I resolve never to meddle with them; and I hope God has given you so much Grace and Cowardice, as to do so too. King *James* would never meddle with them, you know: Now, if you will not take my foolish Advice, take his wise Counsel. But to return where I left; I say I will neither baul, nor speak softly, but talk in an indifferent Tone between both, that you may hear me, and I may hear my self, and so we may all hear one another: and truly there is great Reason for it; for by hearing we convey our Reason one to another. Now that I have Reason, I will prove; for every Man is a Rational Creature; now, I am a Man, therefore I am a Reasonable Creature. Gentlemen, this makes as much for you as for me; for by this do I prove you likewise to be Rational Creatures, and so fit to be Sheriffs. Thus I find ye qualified for your Office. And truly, Gentlemen, Sheriffs are Men of great Antiquity and Authority: Some are of Opinion that Sheriffs were invented in *Tyre* and *Sidon*; truly, Gentlemen, it stands with Reason, for I am sure they were the first Inventors of Scarlet. But to leave this Opinion, I do find in the Bible, how *Joseph* was, by *Pharaoh*, King of *Egypt*, made Sheriff of *Grand Cairo*; and *Daniel* also was, by *Nebuchadnezzar*, King of *Affyria*, made Sheriff of *Babylon*. In the first Place, their Habit proves this to be true, for they wore the same Badges of their Authority as you have; that is to say, *Scarlet Gowns* and *Gold Chains*. I will not dispute whether their *Gowns* were lined with *Fur* or no, neither was it material, nor indeed so requisite; the Hotness of these Countries not permitting that Formality. Secondly, we read how *Joseph* arrested his Brothers for carrying away his Plate, which he could not have done had he not had *Bailiffs* and *Serjeants* under him, Officers peculiar to a Sheriff: And to make it more evident, we do not find that he took out his Writ out of any other Office, but his own; which he could not have warranted, had he not been Sheriff himself. But you will say; Where were the *two* Sheriffs to parallel our *two* Sheriffs? To that I answer; Where was there a County of *Middlesex* belonging to either of those Cities, for the other Person to be Sheriff of? Was it requisite there should be two Sheriffs, in those Places, where there was never a County of *Middlesex*, because there are two Sheriffs of *London*, where there is a County of *Middlesex*? No; for it is the County makes the Sheriff, not the Sheriff makes the County. This, Gentlemen, is Law. Now, Gentlemen, I shall tell ye more than ever you heard before, to shew you that I have not spent my Time in Idleness, which.

which is this; That as there is an Arch-Angel, and an Arch-Bishop, and an Arch-Deacon, so is there an Arch-Sheriff, which is *Satan* or *Beelzebub*, the Prince of the Air. This is evident from the Duty of his Employment; for as it is your Duty to punish Offenders and Sinners in this World, so it is his Duty to punish Sinners and Offenders both in this World and the World to come. And now I speak of your *Employment*, I shall tell you what it is: First, you are the chief *Jaylors* of the Nation, and it is your Duty to keep those Persons who are committed to your Charge, as close as your Wives lock up their best Jewels: To this Purpose, Mr. *Warner*, are the two *Counters* at your *Disposal*; and *Newgate*, Mr. *Love*, is appointed for your *Portion*. Secondly, you are the chief Executioners of Sentences upon Malefactors, whether it be whipping, burning, or hanging. Mr. Sheriff, I shall intreat a Favour of you: I have a Kinsman at your End of the Town, a *Rope-maker*; I know you will have many Occasions before this Time Twelvemonth, and I hope I have spoken in Time; pray make Use of him, you will do the poor Man a Favour, and your self no Prejudice. Pray, Gentlemen, what have you for Dinner? for I profess I forgot to go to Market Yesterday, that I might get my Speech by-Heart. Truly, Gentlemen, I count it no Dishonour to go to Market my self; there is no trusting to Servants: Had you lived as long in the World as I have done, you would say so. When I was a young Man as you are, I thought Scorn to go to Market then as well as you; but since I went my self, I find that my Servants cheated me of, I warrant you, five Pounds in a Year. They would reckon me two Shillings for a Leg of Mutton, which I can buy as good a one now for five Groats and two Pence. One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, Seven, Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven, Twelve o'Clock; well, God-buy-to-ye Gentlemen. But stay! I have forgot the main Thing ye came for: I must give you our Oath. Lord, what a crazy Memory have I! But you must excuse me, Gentlemen, my Thoughts are not ubiquitary; they cannot be in your Kitchen and my Head both at one Time. Gentlemen, there are several Sorts of Oaths; there is the Protector's Oath, *By the Living God*; there is the Cavalier's Oath, *God damn me*; and there is the Chambermaid's Oath, *As I am honest*: Then there is an Oath which you are to swear, and which all Men swear who take upon them Employments of Trust, *So help me God*. Now some Men say this is not an Oath, but my Conscience tells me the contrary. Truly there are so many Opinions, that a Man cannot tell which to believe. However, I have sworn this Oath twenty Times, and would do twenty Times more, before I would lose my Place. But why do I use Persuasion? I see you are come with a Resolution to swear, and I am come to swear ye, and so we are agreed. Well, now you have heard what those things are which you must swear; lay your Hands on the Book, and say, *As God help us, Mr. Baron, we will perform all these Things, as well as we can*. Thus, Masters Sheriffs, you hear what you have sworn; pray be diligent and careful to observe every Particular; fear God, obey your Superiors, and rule your City with Prudence; that as you are Sheriffs, you may become Mayors; and being Mayors, may be Knighted; and being Knighted, may die full of Age and Worship, and be buried with Escocheons. Now, Mr. Sheriffs, get ye home, kiss your Wives, and by that Time the Cloth is laid I will be with ye; and so Good-buy till I see ye again.

[One more, of the same Sort; and then for a graver Subject.]

Mr.

73

Mr. JOHN IRETON's
ORATION
AT

The Chusing of the New *Lord Mayor*.

IF my Fortunes and my Desires had run equally along together, I should not now have stood here soliciting a *Plaudite* at my *Exit*: For I had the Fortune to be Lord Mayor, and to have a Horse, and Trappings for my Horse, and likewise for my self; truly I have worldly Honours; for Saints may have their Failings as well as other Men. Now you know I might have kept my Preheminence a Year longer, and for that I may thank the Parliament; but you petitioned against me, for which I am much beholding to you. Verily I never thought this City would have proved so unfaithful to me; I am sure I well remember when it was otherwise. When my Brother *Harry*, in the Behalf of the *Good Old Cause*, was mangled into Pieces by Gunshot, that very little, if any Part at all were left of him. Oh how did you the grave Men of the City wait upon and walk after his empty Coffin! what fine Verses were made upon him! how did the Heralds stretch their Wits, and tenter their Invention to emblazon his *Gentility*? It was even a hard Work, verily a hard Work, of much Time and great Labour. And do you imagine I can think of such Things without hugging of my self? it is pretty well known upon what Foundation I first raised the Fabric of my Greatness: O it is a fine Thing to have *Faith*; I had Faith and it failed me not, I trusted the *Cavaliers*, Men of Quality, Men of Estates, when their Wealth was a refining at *Goldsmith's-Hall*: They payed me, I got by it; and ever since I hated them. It is a great Eye-sore, Gentlemen, nay, it is a Heart-breaking when any Person can hit it in our Teeth, that *they* raised us. Oh those Steps must be pulled down! By such worthy Acts I thought to have endeared the City, and consequently to have merited an *everlasting* Government; and truly I must confess it was (as a worthy Alderman lately said) my own seeking; and can you blame me for such a seeking? The *Great Men*, the Governors, the *Parliament* they approved of my seeking; but you were not pleased with it, you were offended, you cried out of your *Privileges*, that you should *lose* your *Charter*. Why, Gentlemen, is it not better you should lose your Charter, than I the Reward of my good Service? If old Things are to be laid aside, you might have as well laid aside your old Charter, as refuse me, for fear I should be an old Mayor. Truly, Gentlemen, ye need not court the Mayoralty so much, for there are no Protectors to Knight yet now as soon as ye are out of your Time. I am sorry that a Roll of Parchment should stick so in your Stomachs; pray God you may be able to digest it. I am much afflicted to see you have so little Manners in you: I am sure you have chosen

a thousand Mayors; and you might have given the Parliament Leave to chuse one. I was once a Mercer, and cheated the People with false Lights; then I became Religious, and cheated them with false Lights; afterwards I was a Publican, and consequently a Public Sinner; but as I am a Sinner, did not think you would have used me so unkindly. What need you keep such a Stir with your *Charter*, suppose you had never a *Mayor*, do you think your City would perish? Pray tell me where do you find that the City which *Cain* built in the Land of *Nod* had any *Mayors*? and yet for all that, I know it was governed as well as *London*. Besides, I read no where in Scripture, that there were any *Mayors* of Cities; indeed we hear of King's of particular Towns, as of *Sodom*, and *Gomorrab*, &c. I would I were *King* of *London*, I believe I should be as great a King as *Kedor-laomet*, for all his hard Name: I have likewise heard of the *Rulers* of the City; but now I perceive a *Mayor* is no *Ruler* of your City, for if I could have ruled this City, you may be sure I would have had my Will a little better than now I have. But hang it, let it go; take your *Mayoralty* and your *Charter*, and wipe your Tails with your *Charter* and your *Mayoralty*. For when I consider what metaphorical Girds the *Mayor* is liable too, truly I cannot conceive it so great a Dignity as you imagine; for some Men call me *Swine-herd* of the People, some call me *Goat-herd* of the People, and some *Shepherd* of the People: Against the two latter, I knew not how to defend my self, considering your *Tameness* and *Wantonness*; but for the first, said I, Gentlemen, pray do not lay that Asperision upon me, for I never saw any Beast break under my Charge but what had Horns on. Well, I cannot blame ye, for Men are covetous of Novelties: Nor can I blame my self for having an ill Opinion of ye, for you were always Deserters of your Friends; *no longer Pipe no longer Dance*, with you. If the Parliament be interrupted, then *Oliver's* red Nose must be met by you with *Hosannaes*, all the Glories you can invent are too little for his *Highbness's* Entertainment; he is no sooner dead but you creep to his Son; no sooner did he, like a tame Fool, yield up his Power, but ye whirled off to the Parliament. Truly, Friends, he deserves to be whipped who pulls down his Breeches for the Lash. Oh! that *Prince* that would be, had a soft Place in his Head; and did he think we would stand up for a Fool? Nay, verily, we are otherwise taught. The *Good Old Cause* appeared; Oh, the Good Old Cause! who would but fight for the Good Old Cause? Oh, the sweet Air of a Common-wealth! It makes me rejoice to breathe in it; I played *Rex*, I *domineered* and *played the Devil*, &c. for *God's sake*; for to have played the Devil any otherwise had been profane, unsafe, and perhaps unprosperous. Yet give me Leave to tell ye, I think I acted my Part better than he: For he kept a Noise and Bustle in the World to no Purpose: I did my Business quietly, making no Noise but only with my Tongue and my Horse Heels: He only pulled up *Trees*, I rooted up *Men*, mine and your Enemies. Some have said, that the Devil's an Ass; truly I believe it; for we hear how St. *Dunstan* pulled him by the Nose: And we see how every Conjuror, with saying a hard Word or two, is able to send him on every pitiful Errand, tho' it be only to fetch a Farthing's-worth of Mustard. Some have said, that he is *honestest* *than we are*; but would they could make it out: I assure you, they are none of the Devil's Friends who say so; for then (a Thing which perhaps they little dream on) whereas he thinks to *punish* us, we ought, and it must be our Right to *punish* him. For what Reason were it that he, being more wicked than we are, should punish us who *are not so wicked* as himself? And now, I think on it, I have a just Complaint against him in this worshipful Court. I have a House near *Maribone*; for it is mine as long as I keep my Office: Now, this Rascally Devil hath had Possession of it these many Years; there he keeps open House, and ill Hours, is Tenant at Will in his own Sense, and yet denies to pay a Farthing of Rent. It is true, *Possession is nine Points of the Law*: Yet, give me Leave to tell ye, Gentlemen, *Right is Right*; the

the Loss hath been my Predecessors, is this Year mine, and will be yours, I profess. Brother, if you do not take some speedy Course with him.

But, they say, the Devil can appear in sundry Disguises to fright People; so can I too: Did not I transform my self into any Shape? I was a *Dipper*, a *Quaker*, and what not, whereby I might fright the City to perfect my Designs: How was I fain to labour to settle the *Militia* therein, and what did I leave unattempted to confirm my self in the Government, whereby you would have been for ever enslaved? But the *Ass* would not crouch, the *Jade* grew skittish, and I was forced to leave my Seat. But, Thanks to my *Great Masters*, I went not off unrewarded: It is something, I assure you, to be Commissioner of the *Excise*; to have a good *Salary*, and always to be singing, Money is a fitting Reward for a *Saint*; else why should my good Friend, Mr. *Praise-God Barebone* be made *Controul*er of the Treasury for Sequestrations, with 300 *l. per Annum* Salary? Believe it, the *Saints* ought to enjoy the Earth, although the *Wicked* repine and murmur thereat. But my *Stomach*, which now sticks to me when all my Friends are leaving me, tells me, now, there is much to be done, little more to be said: There are certain Pies and Custards, which expect my *Mistimus*, to send them down into my Belly; and therefore I must hasten home: Yet, before I go, give me Leave to justify my self, as old *Samuel* did at his *Exit* off the Stage of his Employment. What my Original was, I need not discover; yet were it never so mean, I have heard of as mean Men who have been Lord Mayors of *London*. What think you of *Whittington*, whose *Cat* was a greater Stock to him than *Dutton's* nineteen thousand and odd Sheep. Truly there seems to be something more in *Cats* than ordinary; for they are the Emblem of *Gravity* and *Formality*; which two Things are very requisite for a *Citizen* who will thrive: They keep much at home; to shew, a Shop-keeper must never be out of his Shop: They *bunt* after Mice, thereby teaching a *Citizen* to *bunt* after Money: And then they creep with Eagerness on their Prey, to shew how eager a *Citizen* must be to finger Money. O thou blessed Thing, called Money, what have not I attempted for thy Sake, if it lay within my Power! Money is that Balm of *Gilead* that healeth the Wounds of Misfortune, and cureth the Aches of your Mind; it maketh a Man a Saint, it maketh him a Devil; it plumpeth up your Wives, and enableth them for the Work of Generation: Money is the Cream of Felicity; it is better than the *Crumbs* of *Comfort*, yea, it is Comfort itself. Therefore, saith the Wise-Man, My Child, get Money in thy Purse.

Let me speak a Word for my Justice. Was not my Sword a Terror to the *Bakers*? At the *Old-Baily* I used to hang as many as I could for my Life; and would have hanged more, if the Judge would have let me: Could I have had my Will, I would have hanged up all the *Cavaliers*, Men who ride on Horse-back, to the Terror of the *Saints*. But will you say then, all Men who ride on Horse-back are *Cavaliers*? No, God forbid; for then you all should be *Cavaliers*: Besides, I can assure you, some of them are fain to go on Foot: And indeed we have made them so poor, God be thanked, that they are not able to buy Horses: Give them Horses, and they'll *ride upon our Shoulders*: But, I hope, I have taken an Order with them this Summer.

For my *Charity*, I find it very cold, and therefore dare not let it come near my Heart, by reason of its venomous and benumbing Quality.

For my *Honesty*, I shall say little; most Men know it better than my self. I shall say only this, that I have cozened the State; I have done no more than what my Companions did, and what I can justify from the Example and continual Practice of the Church.

As for my *Religion*, I have, I think, as much as any other among ye: It is true, I can change it upon any *lawful Occasion*; for there is no Reason a Man should *destroy* himself; and it is a Point of Religion to be obedient to *Superior Powers*.

If I have done any Body Wrong ; as for some of them I care not a Pin ; as for others, if they will forgive me, so ; if not, let them let it alone ; for, Thanks to our Masters, my Faults, and the Faults of all such as I am, are blotted out : And one Act of *Oblivion* is to us, as if we had tasted of so much *Lethe* : And now, I think on it, I wonder *Lethe* is not used instead of *Coffee* : Oh ! it is a *precious* Drink ; it makes us forget our *Allegiance*, our *Friends*, we can think of nothing but what is for our *present* Turn. But it was well for you that Drink was not in Fashion ; for if it had, then had the Parliament forgotten all those *Promises* in your late *Petition* mentioned : But all is well that ends well. But I have done ; for since Friends must part, better here than at the *Gallows*.

A-

C O P Y of a L E T T E R

Found in the Privy Lodgings at *White-Hall*.

Printed in the Year 1641.

THAT it is fit for the King to do something extraordinary at this present, is not only the Opinion of the wisest, but their Expectation also. Men observe him more now than at other Times : For Majesty in Eclipse, like the Sun, draws Eyes, which would not so much as have looked towards it, if it had shined out and appeared like itself. To lie still now, at least, shews but a Calmness of Mind, not a Magnanimity : Since, in Matters of Government, to think well at any Time (much more in a very active) is little better than to dream well ; nor must he stay to act till his People desire, because it is thought nothing relisheth with them less : Therefore hath nothing relished with them, because the King, for the most Part, hath stayed till they desired, and done nothing but what either they have, or were petitioning for. But that the King should *do*, will not be so much the Question, as, *what* he should *do* ? And surely, for the King to have right Counsel given him at all Times is strange, and at this Time almost impossible ; his Party, for the most Part (I would it were modestly spoken, and it were not all of them) have so much to do for their own Preservation, that they cannot, without breaking a Law in Nature, intend another's. Those who have Courage, have not, perchance, Innocency, and so dare not shew themselves in the King's Business ; and if they have Innocency, they want Parts to make themselves considerable, and so consequently the Things they undertake. Then in the Court they give such Counsel as they believe the King is inclined to, and determine of his Good by his Desire ; which is a kind of setting the Sun by the Dial. Interest, which cannot err by Passion, may, in going about to shew the King a Cure ; but a Man should first shew him the Disease. But to Kings, as to some kind of Patients, it is not always proper to shew them how ill they are ; and is too much like a Country Clown, not to shew the Way unless he know of you first, from whence you come, and discourse of Things. Kings may be mistaken, and Counsellors corrupted, but true Interest alone (said the Duke of *Rohan*) cannot err. It were not amiss therefore to find out this Interest ; for setting down right Principles before Conclusions, is weighing the Scales before we deal for the Commodities.

Certainly

Certainly the Interest of the King is the Union of the People; and whosoever hath told him otherwise (as the Scripture saith of the Devil) was a Seducer from the first. If there had been one Prince in the whole World who made Felicity in this Life, and left a fair Fame after Death, without the Love of his Subjects, there were some Colour to despise it. There was not, among all our Princes, a greater Courter of the People than *Richard III.* not so much out of Fear as out of Wisdom; and shall the worst of Kings have striven for that, and shall not the best? It being an Angelical Thing to gain Love.

There be two Things in which the People expect to be satisfied, Religion and Justice; nor can it be done by any little Acts, but by real and kingly Resolutions. If any think that by dividing the Factions (a good Rule at other Times) he shall master the rest, he will be strangely deceived; for in Beginning of Things it would do much; but when whole Kingdoms are resolved of those now who lead those Parties, if you would take off the major Number, the lesser would govern, and do the same Things still. Nay, if you could take off all, they would set up one and follow him. For, as *Cato* said of the *Romans*, they were like Sheep, and that the Way to drive them was in a Flock; for if one would be extravagant, all the rest would follow. So it will be here; it will dearly appear, that neither the Persons of the *Scottish* or *English* Actors upon the Stage are considerable to the great Body of *England*, but the Things they undertake, which done by another Hand, and so done that there remains no Jealousy, and leaves them where they were, and not much risen in Value. And of how great Consequence it is for the King to resume the Right and be Author himself, let any Body judge; since (as *Comines* saith) those who have the Art to please the People, have the Power to raise them.

To do Things so that there remain no Jealousy is very necessary, and is no more than really reforming, that is, pleasing them: For to do Things which shall grieve hereafter, and yet pretend Love among Lovers themselves, where there is the easiest Faith, will not be accepted. It will not be enough for the King to do what they desire, but he must do something more; for that will shew the Heartiness. I mean by doing more, doing something of his own, as throwing away Things they call not for, or giving that they expected not: And when they see the King doing the same Things with them, that will take away all Thought or Apprehension, that he thinks the Things they have done already ill.

Now if the King ends the Difference, and takes away the Suspicion for the Future, the Cause will fall out to be no worse than when two Duelists enter the Field, the worsted Party (the other having no ill Opinion of him) hath his Sword given him again without any farther Hurt, after he hath been in the other's Power. But otherwise it is not safe to imagine what will follow, for the People are naturally not valiant, nor not much Cavaliers. Now, it is the Nature of Cowards to hurt when they receive none, and wound even the Dead: They will not be content while they fear, and have the upper Hand, to set only Royalty, but, perchance, as timorous Spirits use, will not think themselves safe while it is at all. And possibly this is now the State of Things.

In this great Work, at least to make it appear perfect and lasting to the Kingdom, it is necessary that the Queen really join; for if she stand aloof, there will be still Suspicion; it being a received Opinion in the World, that she hath a great Interest in the King's Favour and Power. And to invite her, she is to consider with her self, whether such great Virtues and eminent Excellencies (though she be highly admired and valued by those who know her and are about her) ought to rest satisfied with so narrow a Payment, as the Estimation of a few; and whether it be not more proper for a Queen, so Great, to aim at universal Honour and Love, than private Esteem and Value. Besides, how becoming a Work of the Sweetness and Softness of her
Love,

Love, is compounding of Differences, and uniting Hearts; and how proper for a Queen, reconciling King and People.

There is but one Thing more remains, which, whispered abroad, busieth the King's Mind, if not disturbs it, in the Midst of those great Resolutions; and that is, the Preservation of some Servants, whom he thinks somewhat hardly torn from him of late; which is a Thing of so tender a Nature, I shall rather propound something about it than resolve it.

The first Quere will be, Whether (as Things now stand) Kingdoms in the Balance, the King is not to follow Nature, where the Conservation of the general Weal commands and governs the less? As Iron, in particular Sympathy, sticks to the Load-Stone, but if it be joined with a greater Body of Iron, it quits those particular Affections to the Load-Stone, and moves with the other, the greater Body, the common Country.

The second will be, Whether, if he could preserve these Ministers, they can be of any Use to him hereafter? Since no Man is served with a greater Prejudice, than he who imployes suspected Ministers, or not beloved, though able and deserving in themselves.

The third is, Whether to preserve them there be any other Way than for the King first to be right with his People; since the Rule in Philosophy must ever hold good, *Nemo dat quod non habet*; before the King have Power to preserve, he must have Power.

And lastly, Whether the Way to preserve this Power, be not to give it away? For the People of *England* have ever been like Wantons, which pull and tug as long as the Prince hath pulled with them; as you may see in King *Henry III.* King *John*, and King *Edward II.* and ended all their troublesome and unfortunate Reigns. But when the Princes have let it go, the People come and put in their Hands again, that they may play on, as in Queen *Elizabeth*.

I will conclude all with a Prayer, not that I think it needs for the present (Prayers are to keep us from what may be, as well as preserve us from what is) That the King may not be too unsensible of what is without him, nor too resolved of what is within him: To be sick of a dangerous Disease and feel no Pain, cannot be but with Loss of Understanding: It is an Aphorism of *Hypocrates*. And, on the other Side, Opinionist is a sullen Porter, and (as is witnessed of *Constans*) shuts out oftentimes better Things than it lets in.

The Character of a Prince.

Written between the Years 80 and 90.

THERE are four Virtues properly called Regal, which are *Piety*, *Prudence*, *Valour*, and *Justice*, and if a Prince hath not a Share of them, he will hardly answer the Expectations of his People, nor the Ends of Government: But he may be flattered into four Vices as like them, which will utterly undo Him and his Subjects too; and that is, if his Bigotry be called *Piety*, his timorous Cautiousness and unsteady Steering *Prudence*, his Rashness and Obstinacy *Valour*, and his Severity and inhuman Stiffness *Justice*.

True *Piety* in a Prince is a Sense of God Almighty's Providence and Justice, a Submission to the eternal Law of Equity, a Knowledge of his own mortal Con-
dition

dition and Frailties, and a Desire to keep the Bonds of Union intire between all his Subjects. As for this or that Party in Religion, he must see it be Religion and not Faction, and so far indulge it, as Conscience may be satisfied and Ambition disappointed. This can be done by none, but by one who has been bred up in some Acquaintance with Moderation, and has not sworn to advance a Party. Christian Religion has been too far clogged by Ornament, Superstition, Superstructure, Impositions, unnecessary Questions, and more unnecessary Determinations, ever to hope that any one Party shall subdue the other by Argument, or Dint of Reason, so as to bring them over: Then there remains nothing but Force, which is of such ill Consequence, that it is the only way to banish all Sense of Religion out of the World. Therefore a mutual Forbearance, an Allowance or permissive Indulgence to Mistakes or Pre-possessions, is all that is left, and more than this Man can not invent with any good Meaning to his Fellow-Creature. A Prince who has been used to this, who is not startled at Names, who desires to be a Father to his People, and not a Tool to his Priests, or Ministers, is the Prince who *England* wants.

Prudence, though of so large an Extent as to seem to include all Virtues, *Nul-lum Numen abest si sit Prudentia*, yet it properly means in a Prince, that admirable Forecast of Events, that dexterous Rencountering of Accidents, that sagacious Discovery of secret Machinations both at Home and Abroad, so as to prevent them in their Birth, and above all, the understanding of the Interest that his People is engaged in by their Circumstances. A Nation is composed of private Men, all brought up very near in the same Customs, and instructed much by the same Sort of Teachers: the Prince must take them as he finds them. He who would introduce Monarchy into *Holland* (which will drown for Liberty at any time) or settle a Republic in *France*, which will and does as eagerly fight for Slavery, will have a Task of no small Performance. *England* has always been the Trimmer between these Extreams; and tho' that be a troublesome Office, and sometimes may be unable to keep all steady, yet the Inconvenience is soon felt on either Side, and as soon remedied by the Weight of Interest. But a wise Prince will easily keep the Contenders quiet, if he reflects, he can only be safe by preventing the Excess: They who would make him Absolute would kill him with Kindness, make him debase Human Nature, divest his Subjects of their Reason, by which alone Men can obey sweetly, and at last expose him to all the Rage and insolent Infidelity of mercenary Guards and senseless Slaves: And they who would disrobe him of necessary Power, would make him a restless Tool to ambitious Projects, incapable of protecting his People, a perpetual Martyr to Fears and Jealousies, while he would be endeavouring to perform his Office; all his Actions liable to Misconstructions, and, in short, put him into so regular a Diet, that the least good Meal of Fruition in Power would prove a Surfeit. Therefore the Prince we want, is one accustomed to the ambitious Projects of others, used to preside in Popular Assemblies, that so fathoming the Depth of Human Combinations, he may see the Danger of giving colourable Pretexts by arbitrary Proceedings, and likewise avoid splitting upon the Sand of too much Confidence in his own Judgment and Management. In short, he who has managed great Councils will never be managed by little ones, and so never be drawn aside from his People.

Valour is so essential a Quality in a Prince, that it is Part of his Being. *Omnia sunt Gladii pedissequa*; and the Sword is delivered to him by a more Divine Commis-sion than any other of his Attributes. God allowed the Plea in his own People, when they rejected the Government of the Priesthood, to demand one to lead them in and out to Battel. Since the peaceable Principles of Christianity, which endeavoured to tame the Ferocity of Heathenism, have not been able intirely to banish Arms and War, and that at least defensively, it must be allowed, it is most certain, that a Prince without *Valour* is not to be relied upon for Protection: and though of late per-haps

haps some have troubled the World without that personal Quality, yet our Nation will always have a profound Veneration for one who shall Head it in glorious Actions. What will they have then for a Hero, who from his first Manhood has withstood the Torrent of impetuous Invasion? who has, in the Midst of Fire and Smoak, preserved all the Security and Calmness that Men have at leisure Hours, and yet shewed all the Spirit and Conduct that Danger required. There goes a great deal to the making of a General, but much more to have a Sovereign be eminent in Generalship; and when such a Prince falls to a Nation's Lot, they may boldly hope to find Respect in the remotest Parts of this habitable World, particularly having Fleets to carry the Glory of their Prince to the Antipodes.

Justice is the Finishing of that true Picture of God Almighty, a Prince; that which makes him look lovely in the Eyes of all his Subjects, from the highest to the lowest; but it must be tempered with *Mercy*, which is properly the Justice of his own Nature, the other is the utmost Result of human Reason into Rules called Laws, of which the Prince is the Guardian, and ought particularly to watch the Administration of them; for they cannot be strained or slackened without a Jarring in the Harmony of Government. At this most admirable Qualification are levelled all the Batteries of the Rapacious or the Flattering: Here they place Infallibility, and would have the Prince believe that his Will is the Fountain-Head, that all the Streams may take what Channel he pleases, and this that some of them may be diverted to their Use. Few Men trust to Merit, most to Favour; that makes them strive for Power, and make it uphold its own Extravagancies, even with the Hazard of the Prince's Safety and the People's Quiet: And so unhappily fertile are unjust Acts, that they beget one another, and, like the Plagues of *Egypt*, do but harden Hearts. Nothing can so soon overturn a Government as the Want of Justice. Politic Bodies are never dissolved till they are in a State of War, and they are never so, till every Man is his own Carver, for want of an equal distributive Power.

A Prince, therefore, whose Birth and Education has been in a Country where Laws flourish, and Property is Sacred, whose Nature is Just, and Temper Merciful, who has refused Sovereign Power because he would be true to his Trust, who has overworn Fears and Jealousies, where they were supported with specious Pretences and foreign Assurances, who has gained his Enemies, reconciled his Opposers, and powerfully protected his Friends, that Prince, if we are wise, may make us happy.

The *True*

C H A R A C T E R

Of an *Untrue*

B I S H O P.

With a *Recipe* at the End, how to Recover a BISHOP if he were Lost.

L O N D O N: Printed in the Year, 1641.

The *true* Character of an *Untrue* Bishop, &c.

IF you ask me of what Calling he is, I answer, I know not; for sometimes I find him *in Tribunali*, in a Court of Justice; sometimes *in Suggesto*, in a Pulpit: In the first, so much against God's Will; in the second, so much against his own Will; that as he hath not a Right to the one, he prizeth not a Right to the other. And what can I call this Man?

2. If you demand of what Religion he is, I know not. He doth protest he is not a Papist, and I would willingly believe him; yet he persecutes Protestants, and so I must necessarily doubt him. He is to me like the Pictures, which, by several Lights, hold forth a several Representation: on the one Side you see a pleasant Angel, on the other Side a grim Satyr.

3. He always either acteth or commandeth Contradictions: For he calls a Puritan a Hypocrite, because he useth long Prayers; and yet placeth all his Religion in a daily Service of two Hours long.

4. He disclaims Popery, and yet challenges his Function by Succession from the Pope, who lineally descends from *Peter*; though (like the Pope) he succeeds *Peter* in nothing but denying his Master.

5. He crieth, No Bishop, no King; thereby professing Episcopacy the chief Hand-maid of Monarchy; and yet exerciseth, contrary to Law, Regal Jurisdiction in his own Name, and his own Courts. Is not this slyly to supplant Monarchy?

6. He is a true Pattern of *Judas*, who, of all the Apostles, is stiled a Bishop; for he crieth, *Hail Master, King of the Jews*, and then kisseth him with a treacherous Design. Just as an Elephant, who croucheth to his Master, till the youthful Blood doth begin, *ebullire*, to boil in his Veins, and then he trampleth upon him.

7. He saith, that Miracles are ceased long ago, though he worketh Miracles every Day: For he maintaineth universal Grace, and yet forbiddeth Preaching, the Means of Grace.

8. He institutes (*quo Jure* I know not) Saints Days, or Holy Days, and yet will not permit any Holiness that Day, either in our general or particular Calling: For work, Men may not; and hear Sermons they cannot, there being none.

9. He exceedingly magnifieth that sweet and holy Prayer, that Prayer which is most full of Strength and Affection, which is the Pattern of Prayer, the Lord's Prayer; and yet maketh this the Means whereby he would take away all Use of Prayer, while he wrappeth up all in that, and maketh that a Pillar to uphold his No-Prayer, his Bidding-Prayer.

10. He feareth and shunneth Crosses as much as another Man, and yet maketh the Cross a main (*medium*) Means of all his Devotions.

11. He contendeth with the two Witnesses, *Rev. 11. 10.* as the Magicians of *Egypt* did with *Moses* and *Aaron*, who should be most powerful in Miracles: They, during the Time of their Prophecy, shut up Heaven that it rained not; He, during the Time of his Dominion, commandeth the Malignant Intelligences, that Plagues, Murders, Famines, new Diseases fall down no less frequently than Hail, Rain, or Snow.

12. And as he worketh Miracles, so Miracles are wrought upon him; for he is all this while, *Talpæ Cæcior*, blinder than a Mole; and seeth not, that all his Efforts are but that Rage which the Prince of the Air must express, as his Time hasteneth, are but the Bishop's last Thrusts: For *Rome's* Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny,

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with

with all the Dependencies thereof, are falling, like a Millstone into the Sea; God being now ready to pour, or is pouring out the fifth Vial. But all this he seeth not, else (as *Solomon* saith, *Go to the Ant thou Sluggard*) he would learn, even with Rats and Mice, to withdraw from the tottering House of this his Hierarchy, unwarranted in Scripture. He hath Eyes and seeth not, Ears and heareth not, and so is it with all those who listen to him. But Light is coming, and (which is the greatest Miracle of all) they who are the main Enemies shall be chief Authors of a most glorious Reformation, and that by opposing it.

15. He thought, with his Predecessor the Pope, not to have left Laymen other Helps in Divinity than Imagery, calling Images Laymens Books. But Laymen have of late so outstripped him in that Study, that all Episcopal Theology, centered in one, will be but the Image of the true Divinity, which may be found among Laymen. Witness, those mighty Comments made by some worthy Members of the most honourable Assembly of the House of Commons, upon those Monstrous, *Babylonish*, Menstrous Canons of theirs; which have nothing good in them but this, that, by their Eminency in their Kind, they have not left Posterity a Possibility of exceeding them.

14. He, by his Consecration, makes holy that which God hath made common; as Bells, Bell-Ropes, Candles, Corporals and Altars. *Orpheus* could advance from vegetative to sensitive; for Plants and Trees were ravished by the sweet and charming Touch of his Instrument: But a Bishop can do more; that which is common, he maketh holy.

15. He again can abase that which God hath exalted: For by Execration he doth anathematize the Souls of most precious Saints. By his Consecration he doth advance: By his Execration he doth abase: And who may controule him?

Divisum Imperium cum Jove Papa tenet.

The Pope reigns as God.

16. He puteth Holiness into the Stones of the Temple; and it is he who rendereth unholy; who maketh stony his own Heart and the Hearts of his Followers, which Men call the Visible Temples of the Holy Ghost: Witness, his many Sparrowish, Wren-like, wanton Extravagancies, which we meet with from Men of that Coat in our Committees, and have known complained of in the High Commission.

Divisum Imperium cum Jove Præsul habet.

The Bishop reigns as God.

17. He is learned in almost all Arts and Sciences: He is an excellent Judicial Astrologer; for whereas *Picus Mirandula*, *Julius Caesar*, *Cornelius à Lapide*, cum multis aliis, deny any certain Knowledge of our Condition, by the Influence of Celestial Bodies, he saith boldly and truly, Let him be but under the gracious Aspect of *Charles's* Wain, and he is confident all will do well.

18. He is no less skilful in the Metaphysics; for while he holds Unity, Verity and Bonity, *Termini convertibiles*, divers Names expressing the same Thing, finding Unity in the Papal Hierarchy, he concludes, that we must go to

* *These Words,*
He dissents, &c.
to the End of the
18 Staff, *are to be*
read at the End of
the 19 Staff.

Rome for Truth and Goodness. * He dissents not much from the *Jesuits*, who are altogether *Paracelsians*, in as much as they make famous those three Principles, *Sal*, *Mercury*, and *Sulphur*: *Salt*, they make the Principal of all Christianity in their Baptism; *Mercury*, the Father of Lies and Equivocation, is to them the Principle of all Doctrine and Practice: They laid *Sulphur*, or *Gunpowder*, under the Parliament-House, for a Principle of Reformation in *England*.

19. He

19. He is a rare Physician: While some contend for *Hippocrates* and *Galen*, their Way, some for *Paracelsus*, he concludes, that *Paracelsus* is better; and so deals wholly in Spirits, leaving none who come within his Courts any Thing more than Skin and Bone. Yea, by this his Art, he can turn any Thing into Gold, making Money of every Body who comes within his Reach.

20. He is well versed in Moral Philosophy: While the Moralist doth dispute, *Utrum Prudentia sit Virtus Moralis, an Intellectualis*, he denies any such Virtue at all; else sure he would never have ventured his Glorious Calling for his Vote in Parliament: For by striving to keep the one, he is like to lose both.

21. He knows, that what is *ultimum in Executione*, is *primum in Intentione*, last in Execution, first in Intention: And so he being, by a Cure of Souls, invested into *Officium & Beneficium*, Office and Benefice, his Mind is wholly bent upon the last.

22. He knows very well the Weight of a Circumstance; knows that that which is in one Art a Ceremony, in another is a Substance: And therefore punishes the Breach of a Ceremony with Suspension, Excommunication, Deprivation; while Fornication and Adultery are committed many Times for four Shillings.

23. He is a good Mathematician; he hath found out *Quadraturam Circuli*, Squaring of a Circle: For our Island and Crown were *tantum non*, almost wholly, with the whole World, reduced in Obedience to his Square Cap.

24. In the Midst of all this Learning, he is of a very tender Conscience: In observing that some thoughtless Christians did neglect their particular Calling by Sermon-hunting, and so began to idolize Preaching, he imitateth good *Hezekiab*, and taketh away the Brazen Serpent, taketh away Sermons.

25. He observeth the Scripture in the Spirit of it; useth his greatest Adversaries with most Meekness: I mean, the Separation and the Non-conformists: Concluding, that Diversity of Opinions will beget their Ruin, and establish him in his Station.

26. He is a great Imitator of St. *Paul*; he becomes all to all, that he may, if possible, win some: For he is something of a *Lutheran* in the Ceremonies, something of a *Calvinist* in Doctrine: a *Popish Disciplinarian* in all Things, but Self-whipping.

27. He is half a *Precisian* in the Outward Man: He loveth little Bands, short Hair, grave Looks; but had rather be slain at *Tyburn* than preach in a Cloak (though *Paul* sent for his, on some such Occasion, from *Troas*) or stand at the End of a Table; he is so unacquainted with preaching either there, or elsewhere.

28. He is half a *Precisian* in the Inward Man, abstaineth from Blood (by the Canon Law he may not vote in Blood) and Meat offered to Idols; for there is no such in the Shambles. But what his Judgment is for Things strangled, our Prisons can tell, where many a good Minister hath been pined and starved. And for Fornication, you may judge by his Commutation; which should go to the Poor, but serveth his Wife for Pins.

29. He is half a *Jew*; he contends for Priests and Altars, though he will not use the Word *Sabbath*, lest he should Judaize throughout.

30. In all these, complying like a wise Man, he is true to himself. For though he saith the fourth Commandment is *Jure Humano*, yet he saith, Bishops are *Jure Divino*.

31. He standeth at the Belief, yet he hardly believeth what he standeth to; else he would not be so severe to the Members of Christ.

32. If he be a *Heretic* in any Thing, it is in Re-baptization, which he calleth Bishoping, and yet stileth an *Anabaptist* a *Heretic*.

33. He doth, with the Spirit, conclude, that bodily Exercise profiteth nothing; and therefore limiteth both Prayer and Preaching before Sermon, precisely to an Hour.

34. He hateth his Enthusiastic Fumatics, who talk so much of the Spirit; and professeth his Skill of the Spirit in Philosophy, to be confined to natural, vital, and animal; past animal he cannot go: In Divinity, to the third Person in the Trinity, to the Soul of good and bad Men, to good and bad Angels; farther he doth not know.

35. God is no Regarder of Persons, but requireth Holiness on his Days. He is a Respector of Men, but holdeth all Days alike.

36. Nay, he is not so great an Enemy to Reformation as some think: For he stormeth at the Tyranny of the *English* Church Government, which forceth a Man, against his Conscience, to swear or to vow; and that three Times, *Nolo Episcopari*, I will not be a Bishop; when (note the Text) the Spirit saith, *He who desireth the Office of a Bishop, desireth a good Thing*. He heartily wisheth that the Word *Lollard*, in the Statute, were turned into the Word *Puritan*; for he would then make quick Work.

37. In short, he is a great Divine. By his acute Wit and deep Learning he hath much facilitated the Work of a Divine. For as *Lewis XI.* reduceth all his King-Learning to this, *Qui nescit dissimulare, nescit regnare*; he who cannot dissemble, cannot be a King: So hath he epitomized the necessary Work of a Divine to this, *Qui novit bene legere, novit bene predicare*, a good Reader is a good Preacher; and indeed, that is of greater Consequence than some think for: For if a Man be come but to that Height of Learning, that the Ordinary can say, *Legit ut Clericus*; he reads like a Clerk, he shall never see the Gallows. And here I think it will be high Time to leave the Bishop, lest he should say, with the Slave in the Poet, *Ego vapulando, ille verborando*, I with hearing, and you with relating the Truth, are weary: And so I conclude the Bishop's Character.

38. But lest After-ages should desire to recal what we labour to reject, and so our Posterity should, with the *Romans*, be forced to *Solon* and *Athens* for Laws, should be forced to run to *Rome* for a Bishop; give me Leave to present you with a *Recipe*, which if you administer to the right Party, you shall never want a Bishop while the World standeth.

The R E C I P E.

Recipe 1. **I**Nstead of the Magistral of Pearl, the Magistral of some of those consecrated Stones, which are to be found under the high Altar in *St. Paul's*. Secondly, The Scales of a consecrated Chapter, almost mouldered to nothing by the Peevishness of a *Scottish* Puritan, which would not let the Bells ring upon their *Sabbath*: Of these two, an equal Quantity.

2. Two Ounces of the Pointing of the old Crucifix, found in *Christ's* Church three Years ago. Secondly, all that Quantity which remaineth of the Scull of *Bradford*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, and others of those *Heretics* who suffered under *Bonner* and *Gardiner*, with half a Pound of Powder, which *Faux* laid treasured up under the Parliament House.

3. Put all these, with a sufficient Quantity of Puritans Ears, and the greasy Cover of a Singing-man's Common-Prayer-Book, used by him in some great Cathedral these seven last Years, into the Mitre sent out of *Italy* lately, as a Harbinger of what must have followed.

4. Be careful to lute this Mitre with three Spoonfuls of a Pluralist's fasting-Spittle, with a Salt, chymically extracted by a skilful Hand, out of the first Square Cap that was worn by our Archbishop after the Reformation.

5. Set it on the Fire at a Canonical Hour, and so double the Heat at every Canonical Time, till these be boiled up to a perfect Decoction.

6. Dry

6. Then beat it only at an Eastern Sun, and when it is dry enough, then beat it to Powder, and left any bigger Pieces should remain, searce it in three several Linnen Cloths.

7. Rub it that Lawn with which *Flora*, the famous *Roman* Strumpet, adorned her self in her greatest Glory. Secondly, in that which *Cleopatra*, a Queen and Strumpet of *Egypt*, dressed her self when she entertained *Anthony*. Thirdly, and lastly, in a Piece of the Lawn of a Bishop's Sleeve, as famous for Spiritual Whoredom, as they for Outward and Bodily.

8. When this Powder is thus perfect, make it up into several Doses, and wrap up every one in a Piece of *Apocrypha* Scripture. Administer it upon *All-Saints* Day, or at least upon some Holy-Day.

9. Then give it to some young Man who hath read more *Postils* than other Commentators; of either as few as may be: Who holdeth the Master of the Sentences, with *Scorus* and *Thomas*, the only Learning; though he rather know their Names than their Parts: Who reads *Calvin* to confute him, and commends *Luther's* Violence far above his Conscience: Who deemeth *Orthodox Divinity* the Learning of Fools, but *Arminianism*, *Socinianism*, *Pelagianism* a fit Study for Wits: Who thinketh Doctrine and Use the Way indeed to save Souls, but strong Lines the Encomium of a rare Preacher: Who commendeth Tenderness of Conscience in him which refuseth two Livings, and yet keepeth three himself: Who calleth for Obedience to the Church, and knoweth not what the Church is, neither careth to know what she commandeth: Lastly, who weareth a little Band, a long Caslock, a little longer than his Cloak, a fine Hollioke for the Knot of his Girdle.

10. Let this Man but take, for three Mornings together, three Doses of this Powder, after he hath made three Legs to the East, or to the Altar, and if he swallow not three Bishopricks, with three *Commendams* to every one of them, I am grossly mistaken.

ROGER the CANTERBURIAN:

Who cannot say GRACE, for his Meat, with a low-crown'd HAT
before his FACE:

OR, THE

CHARACTER

OF A

PRELATICAL MAN

Affecting great HEIGHTS.

Newly written, by G. T.

LONDON: Printed for William Larmar. 1642.

 R O G E R the C A N T E R B U R I A N, &c.

RO G E R the *Canterburian*, is a Man made up of a Soul and a Body, like *Ananias* the *Puritan*, only he worships God with both. He has learned, out of the Bible, to make a Leg to the Authority of *Church* and *State*; and doth the same to *Heaven*, the Ordainer and Dispenser of that Authority. He has read the whole Story of *Christian Religion*, from *Christ-Cross* to *Es per se*, and; and yet cannot find *Ananias* the *Puritan* neither in *A*, nor *B*, nor *C*, nor any Age of the *Christ-Cross-Row*, but quite beside it. The Pox and the Plague have frighted him out of *Oxford*, and Mr. *Pym* out of his *Leg-Religion*, and almost his *Wit*. Notwithstanding his Distractions, he has so much Wit yet left, that *Ananias* could not see his *Grace* through it.

The Apprentices give him a Broad-side as he walks the Streets, by crying, *No Bishops, no Bishops*; and never leave him till he cries *No Bishops* too: For which, when he is safely housed, he repents, crosses and blesses himself, and curses them as Things never Christened, or never Bishoped.

To make him cry, *No Bishop*, he says, is to boil a Kid in the Mother's Milk, against the Law of God and Nature. When he is abroad, he dares not speak Sense aloud, for fear he would be knocked on the Head for it; but *hums* and *haas* in Good-Morrow and Good-Even, and What o'Clock is it? His Fear leads his Judgment by the Nose, as Religion leads *Ananias*. All the Sciences he has Skill in, but the *Arithmetic* of *Sects*; which Ignorance the Bishops, he hopes, will curse, when they become *Arithmetic-Lecturers*. His greatest Fear, next the Loss of one of his Parsonages, is that the City Gentlemen will put Gussets and Gours into the *Canonical Prayer*, to make it as much too wide for his Faith as his Memory. He is so extremely given to short Prayers, as if he were sure the Kingdom of *Heaven* might be surprised and taken with a Squib: And his Wife thinks him short in all, as he is in his Orisons; and so (though she seem religious in his Way) Cuckolds her Beads and him. He dares take it upon his Death, that there has not been a Sermon Preached since *Eighty-eight*, which has had any Theology or Religion in it, but by Dr. *Andrews*, and the Learned Pupils, after the Order of St. *William* of *Canterbury*: All Catechisms, but that of the Church he counts Libels against Heaven, and esteems them as the People do Articles of *Pym*. When a zealous *Woman* goes to St. *Anselm's*, with her Bible under her Arm, he says she looks like a *Goose* with the *Gyzzard* thrust under her Wing. It grieves him to hear every Coxcomb crow new Divinity, able to startle the *Lion* of the Tribe of *Judah*. A Priest after the Order of my Lord Mayor he never liked, till now that the *Brownists* have created him *Papist*. It astonishes him to think that his Censurer, *Ananias*, should esteem the Bread, after his Consecration, no better than that which baits a Mouse-Trap. When he enters a Church, especially where there is an Altar and Organs, he mutters to himself that of *Jacob*; *How dreadful is this Place! this is the House of God, and the very Gate of Heaven*; and wonders why he should be condemned for a *Formalist*, because he shews but so much reverential Fear as a *Turk* entering a *Moschit*. If the Expression of such a religious Fear in God's House be not commanded and established, he thinks that Religion and himself shall not be beholding to the Synod for a Courtesy Six-penny broad. Except he, and many more of his Order be elected Synoders, he resolves to esteem their Determination no more than the Apprentices do *Proclamations*. He smells like a Piece of *Russian Leather* of *Arminius*, and for that is suspected of *Poper*y;

pery; although he lies *perdu* upon his own Wife to catch the *Roman* Priest in an Error of superstitious Chastity. He wishes that we may at length strut into some Religion, that he may eat Tythe-Pig in Peace. But one Thing he desires above all; That the *Christian* Sacrifice, as the *Jewish* always was, may be seasoned with Salt, the Symbol of Judgment and Wit; and not with *Puritan* Long-pepper Talk. Rosemary and Bays he abhors more than *Bel* and the *Dragon*, and will have none of it in his House this *Christmas*, because it was prophaned in the Triumph of those holy Martyrs, *Burton*, *Prinne* and *Bastwick*, whom he accounts the Schismatical Sectaries of *Martin Mar-Prelate*. He thinks it impossible, that a Man should give a better Character of this Age, and the Religion of us Zealots, than the Church-Warden has already done, who took down the Picture of *Jesus*, and let the *Ass* upon which he rode stand still in the Church. Besides all this, he has another scurvy Fault; he deliberates what and how he should speak to God Almighty in his Prayers, because he knows not why Deliberation, which is the Counsel of Reason, should be shuffled out of God's Service only, and be received and praised in all Things else. The *Scotch* Business lies still upon his Stomach, like a Sow's Baby upon the Stomach of a *Scot*; and Dr. *Bastwick* can see no Reason why that should make him so sick. Might he have had his Will, the *Scots* should have had 3,000,000 *l.* bestowed upon them, to have sent them home sooner: But now he thinks, it were better bestowed upon the Building of *Paul's*; such is the Superstition of the Man. He is not a Man of many *Graces*; those he uses before and after *Meat* are stolen out of the *Primmer*. The *Eyes of all Things* is his *Grace* before *Meat*; and after it, from the same Book, an old devout *Rhime*.

As thou hast fed our Bodies, Lord, | And make us mindful of the Poor,
So feed our Souls likewise; | As Riches doth arise.

Increase thy Flock, preserve our Kings, That we may lead a faithful Life,
 Thy Grace and Peace down send; And make a Godly End.

This *Grace* is set to a Whistle which his Wife has, for that Purpose, in the Hest of her Knife, that it may be, like the Man, Liturgic and Cathedral. He is so very much addicted to *Set-Forms* of Prayer, that, in a suddain and dangerous Fire, he has nothing to say to God Almighty, but that Collect of our Church which calls for Rain, in the Time of fiery Drought. He is a Creature of doubtful Interpretation; no Man knows well what he is. Thus much more I think I may say of him: If there be an Insurrection of *Papists*, you shall meet him with two Leaves of *Thomas Aquinas*, set cross in his Hat, because he resolves never to have his Throat cut for a *Puritan*. His Pride has swoln him too big for the Church of *England*, and now he must die like an *Hydroptic* Man. Nothing but a *Cardinal's Cap* could keep his Wit and Learning warm: But God has punished the Pride of that Wit with a plain Northern *Blue-Cap*. He is so clearly resolved that the Clergy ought to be preferred to the bravest Heights, that his Spirit will not give him Leave to say *Grace* for his *Meat* with a low-crown'd *Hat* before his Face; because it is not *Gloria in Excelsis*, Glory to God in the Highest. Most of his Discourse is about that old Devotion which richly endowed the Church, and enabled the Clergy to tip their Staves with unvalued Unicorn's Horn. You shall hear him tell you, with a great deal of Affectation, out of the Historian *Boisardus*; That the *French* Clergy possesses 8000 Lordships, in which they have the chief Power in exercising Political Justice; and besides those, 240,000 Country Villages: That they possess 7000 Acres of Vineyard, besides the Tythes which they receive from other Vineyards: That to them are belonging 125,000 Fish-Ponds; of Meadow-Ground 90,000 Acres. Out of the same Author he can shew you the following Account of Annual Provision of Meat for Ecclesiastical Men; *viz.*

Of

Of pure Wheat 4 Millions, 500,000 Measures; every such Measures containing 600 Pounds.

Of Oats, 900,000; of Barley, 800,000; of Pease, 860,000; of fat Capons, 180,000; of Hens, 560,000; of Partridges, 600,000; of fat Oxen, 12,500; of fat Weathers, 12,000; of Eggs, 7 Millions.

And, to be short, such like Proportions in other Necessaries, for a temperate Priestly Life. Moreover, out of *Boterus*, he can tell you; That in *Saxony* there are certain Bishops, of which every one has his Jurisdiction, his Towns and Subjects, as Princes have.

Certainly he would be a brave Fellow if he could but retrieve the Old Religion, with its Circumstances. Yet, for all this, he hopes to see the Gentlewomen of *London* come to *Auricular Confession*; which if they do, he will lie with some of them for pure Spite; except four or five Acts of *Parliament* button up his Codpiece. He has a kind of humorous Charity towards the *Scots* still left in him, which he thus bestows.

LET US PRAY.

THAT the SCOTCH Kirk,
Which has eaten Perk,
And with that is run stark-
Mad 'gainst Priest and Clerk,
'Cause he is dumb and does not berk,
But will not believe, and werk,
May leave her Schism, which has cost her
Her Credo in Deum and Pater Noster.

[To fill up this Blank, take these ingenious Lines, written by a Spectator of HUGH PETERS's Execution. By Mistake they were omitted at the End of his Funeral Oration, where I designed to have brought them in.]

SEE here the Last, and Best Edition
Of *Hugh*, the Author of Sedition;
So full of Errors, 'twas not fit
To read, 'till *Dun* h'd corrected it.
But now 'tis perfect; nay, far more:
'Tis better bound than 'twas before.
And now, I hope, it is no Sin
To say, *Rebellion*, take thy Swing:
For who shall say't, says much amiss,
Hugh now an Independent is.



Phoenix Britannicus.

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M.DCC.XXXI.

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NUMBER IV.

A
 DECLARATION
 OF THE
 LIFE and DEATH
 OF

J O H N S T O R Y,

Late a *Romish* Canonical Doctor, by Profession.

Imprinted at London, by *Thomas Colwell*. 1571.

The special Contents of this DECLARATION.

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>First, wherefore John Story was imprisoned in the Queen's-Bench.</i> | <i>The Cause and Manner of his Conveyance from thence into England.</i> |
| <i>His breaking of that Prison and flying into Flanders.</i> | <i>The Manner of his Arraignment, and Judgment.</i> |
| <i>His trayterous and naughty Dealing there.</i> | <i>The Manner of his Death and Execution.</i> |
| | <i>An Epilogue, or short Conclusion of his Life.</i> |

GEntle Reader: In this short Declaration, I purpose briefly to note unto thee Part of the Life and Manner of the Death of *John Story*, late a *Romish* and Canonical Doctor by Profession. If I should discourse the Common Places of Description of Persons, his Parents, his Education and Bringing-up, his sundry outrageous Doings executed by him in the persecuting of the Members of Christ, and the Manner of his Life from time to time, namely in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth, when the Statute of six Articles was first set forth, and all his Cruelty used since, to the Day of his Death, it would ask a Volume as great as the Book of *Martyrs*: a great Part of which Book is stuffed with tyrannous and cruel Tragedies, executed against God and his poor Members.

As for the wilful and wicked Course of his younger Years, a great Part whereof he spent in the Univerfity of *Oxford*, to report all the Parts, it would require a long Story. One Prank may stand instead of many: And although Christian Charity requires us alway, and of all Men, to report the best, especially of them who be departed;

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O o

parted; yet no Charity forbiddeth a Man, with Sobriety and Modesty, to report the Truth for the Benefit and good Example to other: Or else all writing of Histories after the Parties Death (when they be most truly written) should be condemned, and the Bridle of just Infamy perilously taken away from wicked Men.

About the Year of our Lord 1529. *Story*, being a Student of the Civil Law in *Hinksey-Hall* in *Oxford*, and on a Time lodging abroad alone, as often times his Manner was to do, in the Company of a Woman whom he had at his Commandment, was set home from thence late at Night, and carried aloft through the open Streets, with a solemn Procession of the whole Company of his House, every Man carrying a Candle burning before him, as a Token of his Virginity, and singing merrily together,

*Qui pius, prudens, humilis, pudicus,
Sobrius, castus fuit, & quietus,
Vita dum presens. &c.*

as if they had been *S. Nicholas* Clerks.

After that, about the Year of our Lord, 1538. the said *Story*, being then Doctor and Principal of *Broadgates*, in the said University of *Oxford*, and mistrusting a young Gentleman for over-familiar resorting to his Acquaintance in the Town, gave him earnest Charge, with terrible Threats, as he loved his Life, to come there no more, for Love and Lordship can brook no Fellowship.

Therefore on a certain Time for his good chaste Purpose, taking Occasion to walk abroad, and having his Man with his Sword waiting upon him, and passing through the Church-yard of *St. Olaves*, he met the said young Gentleman returning home from the Town, being utterly without Weapon, and having only his Study-Gown cast upon him; and he imagining that he came from such Places as he had so often forbidden him, in great Fury and Heat of Mind, being also fired with Jealousy towards his Love, he went back suddenly unto his Man and drew his Sword, and having the Gentleman at Advantage in the Corner of two Walls, ran him through both Sides, and left him for Dead.

Immediately a Cry was raised, the People assembled, Doctor *Story* was apprehended by the Officers, and laid in Bocardo; where he continued until it was perfectly known, that the young Gentleman so wounded was past all Danger. For God by his gracious Providence so directed the Sword, that notwithstanding it pierced thro' both Sides, yet it perished not one Part of all the Entrails.

He who writeth these Words is a Witness hereof, and saw the Party dressed, and the Towels drawn thro' his Body. The Party so wounded is named *N. Brierton*, and is yet alive.

These are the first Fruits of Doctor *Story's* good Doctorly Doings, agreeable with his Life that followed afterward.

A kindly Bear will bite by Time.

Now I will begin the rest of this Declaration, at the Beginning of the Reign of the most virtuous, godly, learned and hopeful Prince, King *Edward* the Sixth; who after the Death of the most noble and famous Prince, King *Henry* the Eighth, his Father, took upon him, as of Right appertained unto him, the Regal State and Government of this Realm. And first, and before all other Things, he, seeking the high Advancement of God's Honour, restored unto us the sincere Doctrine of the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and made most godly Laws for the abolishing of all Superstition and Idolatry. At which Time, *John Story*, being then of the Parliament House, and a great Enemy to the glorious Light of Christ's Gospel, did vehemently envy against the godly Doings of that virtuous Prince, namely, for setting forth the Book of Common-Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments in *English*; where he did not only slanderously speak of the Doctrine, but also maliciously and

and seditiously spake of that godly Prince, alledging the Sentence of *Ecclesiastes*, *That woe is to that Realm whose King is but a Child*, wresting the same Text against that noble Prince, even to the same Sense that gave chief Occasion to the Rebellion in the same King's Time, and meaning that both the Prince and the Realm did they wist not what.

And shortly after that he had thus declared his rebellious Heart and cankered Judgment, he then fled this Realm into the Parties beyond the Seas, and obtained of Queen *Mary*, by the Help of Bishop *Bonner*, that he became a Commissioner, and a cruel Persecutor of Christ's Members, wherein he travelled with such Vehemency and in such a tyrannous Manner, as never was there any before him did, and in that State he continued all the Days of Queen *Mary's* Life.

After the Death of Queen *Mary*, so soon as our most dear Sovereign Lady came to the Possession of the Crown, and that she had called a Parliament, chiefly for the Restitution of God's blessed Word, and the true Administration of the Sacraments to God's high Honour, and also for the Amendment of the decayed State of this Realm; he, the said *Story*, being of the Parliament House, who was an Enemy to all godly Reformation, did with great Vehemency speak against the Bill that was there exhibited for the Restitution of the Book of Common-Prayer, and said these Words: I did often-times, in Queen *Mary's* Time, say to the Bishops, that they were too busy with *Pecora campi* (for so it pleased him to term the poor Commons of *England*) chopping at Twiggs, but I wished to have chopped at the Root; which if they had done, this Gere had not come now in Question: and herein most traiterously he meant the Destruction of our Dear and Sovereign Lady Queen *Elizabeth*. For which Words spoken, in such an Audience and in such vehement Manner, there was no honest nor true Heart that heard him but did utterly abhor him.

And soon after that he had declared his traiterous Heart to the Queen's Highness, and his Conscience accusing him, he fled and lurked about in sundry Corners, as did *Cain* when he had murdered his Brother *Abel*. But at the last he was taken in the *West-Country*, riding before a Mail in a Freize Coat like a Serving-Man, and was apprehended in the Highway by one Mr. *Ayleworth*, a Gentleman, one of the Queen's Servants, and brought before the Council, and after sent to Prison to the Queen's-Bench (for more than Suspicion of Treason) in the first Year of her Highness's Reign.

And after the said *Story* had remained there a while, he espying his Time and by the Help of his Friends (as commonly such lewd Papiſts lack none) he broke the said Prison and fled again beyond the Seas, namely into *Flanders*, and there not only practised divers wicked and traiterous Enterprizes towards our Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty and the State of this Realm, by sundry Conferences that he had with such as have of late rebelled and conspired the Destruction of the same; but also he became an open and common Enemy to every good Subject of this Realm of *England*, and obtained in *Flanders*, of the Duke of *Alva*, a Commission and Authority to practise his old Cruelty, and to arrest and apprehend all such *Englishmen's* Goods as should arrive in those Countries, or who did traffique out of *England* into those Parts, or from thence into *England*, and to confiscate the same, by reason of which Authority he used there such Extremity, that he was the Spoiler and Undoer of divers Merchants, and of more would have been, if he had longer continued; wherefore the said Merchants were enforced to study and devise some Remedy, and to practise some Way or Means how to remove this cumbersome Man from them.

And among other Devises, they having Experience of him to be a greedy and ravenous Wolf, put into his Head (by such as he suspected not) that there was a Prey for him of *English* Goods, in a Ship that lay in a certain Place which was named unto him, where he should find such a Treasure of Goods to be confiscated, as would be sufficient for him during his Life. The Wolf being hungry and desirous

of this great Prey, set forward, and came into a Ship that promised to bring him to the Place where the Prey was. But, to be short, as soon as he was entered the Ship, the same brought him clear away out of *Flanders* into *England*, and landed him at *Harwich*, in the Month of *August* last past.

And soon after, Knowledge being given to the Queen's Honourable Council of his Landing, he was brought to *London*, and there he was committed to Prison to the *Lollards Tower*, in *Powles*, where he continued a while, that he might well peruse that Place wherein he had most cruelly tormented many a good Christian. But he lacked there one Thing, which was the monitrous and huge Stocks, that he and *Bonner*, his old faithful Friend, had used to turmoil and persecute the poor and innocent Christians in, hanging some therein by the Heels so high, that only their Heads lay on the Ground: Some were stocked in both Feet and Arms; some also were stocked by both their Feet and by both their Thumbs, and so did hang in the Stocks: And some also were stocked by both their Feet, and chained by the Neck, with Collars of Iron made fast behind them to a Post in the Wall, and such other devilish and tyrannous Engines and Devices by him practised. These at his being in the *Lollards Tower* he missed, and great Pity it was that he had not tasted of them: But alack, the good Bishop *Grindel*, late Bishop of *London*, had burned and consumed them with Fire.

But to return where I left: After that *Story* had continued a certain of Time in the *Lollards Tower*, and had been divers Times examined, he was from thence removed to the Tower of *London*, where he remained until the 26th Day of *May* 1571. And then was he brought from thence into *Westminster-Hall*, before the Judges of the Queen's-Bench, and there arraigned: And after the Indictment had been read unto him, the Effect whereof was: That whereas, *Richard Norton*, *Thomas Markenfield*, *Christopher Nevill*, *Francis Norton* and *Thomas Jenny*, alias *Jennings*, with other Traytors, after their Offences committed in the North, and being thereof indicted in the Twelfth Year of the Queen's Highnesses Reign, before the Right Honourable *Thomas* Earl of *Suffex*, Lord President of the Queen's Council in the North Parts, *John* Lord *Darcy*, &c. they after their Indictment did the 23d of *June*, in the Year aforesaid, imbarke themselves in sundry Ships and fled this Realm, unto *Antwerp* in *Brabant*, which is under the Government of King *Philip*, and there, contrary to their Allegiance, did lead their Lives; and the aforesaid *John Story*, *D. W. P.* and *J. P.* being born in *England* and the Queen's Subjects, did with them conspire, compass, and imagine the Queen's Death, and her Highness to depose and deprive.

And by divers Persuasions and Letters did also procure Strangers to invade this Realm of *England*, did receive comfort and help them at *Antwerp* aforesaid, against their Allegiance, &c.

And after the Indictment read, he being called upon by the Court to answer to the same, pleaded that he was not the Queen's Subject, nor had not been these seven Years, but was the Subject of the Most Catholic and Mighty Prince King *Philip*, King of *Spain*, to whom he was sworn, and had in Fee of him one Hundred Pounds by the Year; therefore, said he, I am not bound to answer to that Indictment, neither will I answer unto it.

And here he used many pretty Taunts, as well to the Judges as also pleasing himself with giving of pretty Nips and Girds.

And very stoutly he maintains his former Plea, affirming also, that they were not his lawful Judges, neither that they had Law to proceed against him, being none of the Queen's Subjects.

And then, being demanded where he was Born? he answered in *England*.

Then, said they, it followeth that you are subject to the Laws of this Realm, and should be so to our Queen.

Whereunto

Whereunto he replied, and said, That God commanded *Abraham* to go forth from the Land and Country where he was born, from his Friends and Kinsfolk into another Country; and so he following his Example, for Conscience-sake in Religion, did forsake his Country and the Laws of this Realm, and the Prince also, and had wholly given himself to the Service of a Foreign Governor, King *Philip*, King of *Spain*.

And hereupon he stood very stoutly, but to small Purpose.

Then when he perceived that they would proceed in Judgment against him, he said, They had no Law so to do. And with that he turned him about to the People, and said, Good People, I trust ye see how violently I am used; and how unjustly, and contrary to all Justice and Equity they use me.

And he added, That he had good Hope, that he was not destitute of some Friends there, who would give Notice and Knowledge to the most Catholic Prince his Master, how cruelly they dealt with him.

And then again, being called upon to answer, one said unto him, Master *Story*, because you think it Violence that is shewed unto you, instead of Law and Justice; you shall know that we do nothing but that we may do, both by Law and Equity.

And then one of the Judges said, This is *Scarborough's* Case. Nay, said *Story*, my Case is not *Scarborough's* Case, but indeed I had *Scarborough's* Warning to come to this Arraignment; for I knew nothing thereof until Seven of the Clock in the Morning.

Then there was a Book delivered him to read, wherein he might see what they might do by Law: and after he had read it, the Judge demanded of him how he liked it? and he answered, God have Mercy upon me. Then the Lord Chief-Justice gave him Judgment, to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; and so was he again sent unto the Tower.

And as he went by the way, certain Persons in several Places met with him, and One said, O *Story*, *Story*, thou art a strange *Story*: Remember Master *Bradford*, that godly Man; his Blood asketh Vengeance on thee, *Story*; repent in Time. Another cried on him and said, *Story*, call to mind the Rigour thou shewedst upon Master *Read*, a Gentleman, whom thou didst utterly destroy: Ask God Forgiveness, *Story*, for that wicked Deed.

Another cried unto him and said, Blessed be God, *Story*, who hath made thee Partaker of such Bread as thou wast wont to deal to the innocent Members of Jesus Christ.

Another also cried out upon him, and said, *Story*, *Story*, the abominable Cup of Fornication and Filthiness, that thou hast given others to drink, be heaped up topful, that thy Plagues may be the greater at the terrible Day of God's Wrath and Vengeance, unless thou ask Mercy for thy filthy, corrupt and stinking Life. And yet again, another cried out unto him and said, I pray God that thy Heart be not hardened, as was *Pharoah's*, and made harder than the Adamant-stone, or the Steel; that when he would he could not repent and call for Grace.

And among all the rest, One came to him, at *London-Stone*, and saluted him with this Metre, saying;

Master Doctor *Story*,
For you they are right sorry,
The Court of *Lovaine* and *Rome*:
Your Holy Father, the Pope,
Cannot save you from Rope,
The Hangman must have your Gown.

To whom he answered not one Word.

The

The first Day of *June*, the said Mr. *Story* was drawn upon a Hurdle from the Tower of *London* unto *Tyburn*; where was prepared for him a new Pair of Gallows, made in Triangle Manner. And by the Way, as he went, many People spake unto him, and called unto him to repent his Tyranny and Wickedness; and willed him to call upon God for Mercy: But he lay as though he had been asleep, and would not speak to any Person.

And when he was taken from the Hurdle, and set in a Cart, he made there a Solemn Protestation, and said;

I am come hither to die: and truly, if this Death were ten Times more fierce and sharp than it is, I have deserved it:

I have lived the Space of threescore and seven Years; and now my Body must abide this temporal Pain and Punishment, provided for me here in this Life, by Means whereof, my Days shall be cut off. But, where at the first I stood in Fear of Death, I thank God, this Night passed I have been so comforted with God and godly Men, that the Fear of Death is taken from my Sight. And now I appeal to God the Father, trusting in the Passion of his Son Jesus Christ, and hoping, by the Shedding of his Blood only to be saved. And although of a long Time I could not apply the Virtue of his Passion and Death to the Use and Benefit of my Soul, because of my long hovering in Fear; yet now, I thank God, I know how to apply this Medicine; as for Example:

An *Apothecary* may have a Medicine in his Shop seven Years, that may help a sick or diseased Man, by the Counsel of a Physician; but if this Medicine be not applied to the Patient, but still remaineth in the *Apothecary's* Shop, it profiteth nothing.

No more, *said he*, could the Benefit of Christ's Death help me; because, though I knew the Medicine good, I did not apply it unto my Soul's Health: But now that it hath pleased Almighty God to call me to Account of my 67 Years, which now must have an

End, and this corrupt Body must feel a temporal Punishment, for my Sins have deserved it (as I said before) I am now come to the Proof of this Medicine.

David, when he had committed Adultery with *Beersheba*, the Wife of *Uriah*, (whose Husband also he caused to be put into the Front of the Battle, and so was murdered:) he for that Trespas felt a temporal Punishment, by the Loss of his Son, which he loved tenderly.

Also, when he numbred his People, he greatly displeased God: And for his Offence and Transgression, he felt a temporal Pain: and Choice was given unto him from above, to chuse one of these three temporal and bodily Punishments:

That is to say; Three Days Pestilence: The Sword; that is to say, Bloody Battle seven Years; or Famine seven Years.

And he thought to chuse the least; and he chose three Days Pestilence: But this Scourge took away an infinite Number of his Subjects. So now as my Sins deserve a temporal Pain, which here have an End, even in this Flesh; I am of the same Mind that the Prophet *David* was: And with him I agree, saying,

Invoco te Domine, &c. Lord, I call upon thee in this Day of my Trouble, hear me, O Lord, out of thy Dwelling Place, &c.

But now to speak a little of my Arraignment: When I was at *Westminster*, I alledged in my Plea, That I was no Subject of this Realm; as I did likewise before the Queen's Commissioners, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Mr. *Thomas Wilbraham*, late Recorder of the City of *London*, M. *Peter Osborne*, Mr. *Marjbe*, and M. Doctor *Wattes*; where the Recorder of

London made the like Demand as was demanded of me at *Westminster*: And that was, whither I was born in *England*, or no? whereunto I answered, I was.

Then

Then said he, it followeth that you are and ought to continue the Queen's faithful Subject. Whereunto I replied then, as I do now, saying; I am sworn to the noble King, Defender of the ancient Callick Faith, King *Philip*, King of *Spain*: And he is sworn again by a solemn and corporal Oath, to maintain and defend the University of *Lovaine*, whereof I am a Member; and therefore no Subject of this Realm, nor yet subject to any Laws thereof:

For it is well known, that I departed this Realm being freely licensed thereunto by the Queen, who accounted me an Abje& and Cast-away; and I came not hither again of my own Accord, but I was betrayed.

And although I had an Incling given me before of such a Thing pretended towards me, yet I could not shun nor escape it: For sure it was God who made dim my Understanding, and blinded mine Eyes, so that I could not perceive it. But Holy Writ commandeth me to love my Enemies; and here I forgive them freely with all my Heart; beseeching God that they take no Harm for me in another Country; I would be right sorry they should, although they betrayed me.

I travelled with them from Ship to Ship, by the Space of eight Days, and mistrusted no Peril to be at hand, until I was clapped fast under the Hatches.

But sure, sure, it was God who wrought it: Yea, and although I was accounted a Poller of the *Englishment* of your Country, I stand now here before God, and by the Death I shall die, I had never out of any Ship more than two Pieces of Gold, and forty Dollars that were laid in my Hand.

But once again, to my Arraignment; where there were certain Letters laid to my Charge, wherein I should go about to provoke the *Nortons*, the *Nevills*, and others to rebel; I never meant it: Yet will I discharge my Conscience freely and frankly, and tell you Truth. There was a Commission for like Matter sent into *Scotland*, which I wrote with mine own Hand: But it contained a Proviso, wherein the Queen of *England* and her Dominions were excepted.

There are yet two Things that I purpose to talk of: Namely, for that there are here present a great number of Youth; and I would to God I might say or speak that which might bring all Men to the Unity of the Church; for there is but one Church, one Flock, and one Shepherd: if I could this do, I would think myself to have wrought a good Work.

The first Point toucheth my Cruelty, wherewith I am sore burthened: And the second concerneth my Religion.

As touching the first: There were three in Commission, of which I was one who might do least, for I was the last of the three. And though I might, by Persuasion, assay to cause them to revoke the Articles which they had maintained, and to confess the Presence, wherein I stand: Ye know that he who chideth, is not worthy to be condemned for Fighting; no more am I worthy to be counted cruel for Chiding. It was the Bishop who pronounced the Sentence (*Excommunicamus*) and against that I could not do, for I was One of the Laity.

Yet oftentimes the Bishop, to whom I was a Servant, was bold with me, when he had so many Prisoners that he could not well bestow them. For at one Time the Lord *Kische* sent him out of *Essex* 28, and at another Time 16, and 14, and some of them were sent to me, whom I kept in my House with such Fare as I had provided for myself and my Family, at mine own Cost and Charge.

A Lie before the Commissioners.

Story's Hand is to the contrary of his voluntary Confession.

Story was not betrayed, but by God's Provision delivered to be cut off as a naughty and corrupt Member.

Here Story before he was aware, hath told you that he was a rank Traytor.

And

And to prove that I was not so cruel as I am reported to be, let this one Tale suffice: There were at one Time 28 condemned to the Fire; and I moved the Dean of *Powles* to tender their State, who after was Abbot of *Westminster*, a very pitiful minded Man, I think most of you know him; it is *M. Feckman*, and we went by and persuaded with them, and we found them very tractable; and Master *Feckman* and I laboured to the Lord Cardinal *Poole*, shewing that they were *NESCIENTES QUID FECERUNT*.

The Cardinal and we did sue together to the Queen, and laid both the Swords together, and so we obtained Pardon for them all, saving an old Woman who dwelt about *Powles* Church-yard; she would not convert, and therefore she was burned. The rest of them received Absolution, and that with all Reverence. Search the Register and you shall find it.

Yea, and it was my Procurement that there should be no more burned in *London*; for I saw well that it would not prevail, and therefore we sent them into odd Corners into the Country.

Wherefore, I pray ye, name me not cruel; I would be loth to have any such Slander run on me: But sith I die in Charity, I pray you all of Charity to pray for me, that God may strengthen me with Patience to suffer my Death: to the which I yield most willingly.

And here I make a Petition to you my Friends, who would have bestowed any thing on me: I beseech you, for Charity-sake, bestow it yearly on my Wife, who hath four small Children, and God hath now taken me away who was her Staff and Stay: And now my Daughter *Weston* and her three Children are gone over to her, and I know not how they shall do for Food, unless they go a Begging from Door to Door for it: Although, indeed, no *English* Persons do beg but of *English*, being helped by the Lady *Dorm*, and Sir *Francisco*. I have good Hope that you will be good unto her, for she is the faithfulest Wife, the lovingest and constantest that ever Man had: And twice we have lost all that ever we had, and now she hath lost me, to her great Grief, I know.

The second Point that I thought to speak of is concerning my Religion, for that I know many are desirous to know what Faith I will die in; the which I will briefly touch: I say with Saint *Jerome*, that ancient Father and Pillar of the old Ancient, Catholic, and Apostolic Church, grounded upon the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, that in the same Faith that I was born in, I purpose to die in. And as the Ark that *Noah* and his Family did possess, figured the Ship of Christ's Church, out of which Ship whosoever is cannot be saved, in that Ship am I: Example, A Ship that is tossed on the Floods is often in Danger of Loss on the Sands, and sometimes on the Rocks: But when the Men who are in the Ship espy present Peril at Hand, there is a Cockboat at the Tail of the Ship, whereunto they fly for Succour: So likewise, I being in the Ship of Christ, once fell out of the same Ship and was in present Peril and great Danger; but then I, following the Example of a good Mariner, took the Cockboat, thinking for to land; and at the last, being in the Boat, I espied three Oars, that is *to wit*, Contrition, Confession, and Absolution; and I held all these fast, and ever since I have continued in the Ship of Christ, of which the Apostle *Peter* is the Guide and Principal, and in the Faith Catholic of my King I die.

Then said the Earl of *Bedford*; Are you not the Queen's Subject? No, said *Story*, yet I do not exclude the Queen, but I pray for her, her Council, and the Nobility of this Realm long to continue. Then said the Lord *Honsdon*, Are you not the Queen's Subject? You was born in *England*. Then said *Story*; every Man is free-born, and he hath the whole Face of the Earth before him to dwell and abide in where he liketh best; and if he cannot live here, he may go elsewhere. Then was there (as I think, one of the Ministers) hearing him to make so light of our noble Queen and Country,

try, demanded of him ; Whether She were not next, and immediately under God, Supreme Head of the Churches of *England* and *Ireland* ? whereunto he answered ; I come not hither to dispute, but if she be, she is : My Nay will not prevail to prove it otherwise.

And then they cried, *Away with the Cart.* And so he was hanged according to his Judgment.

A N

E P I L O G U E,

Or a brief Conclusion of the *Life* of the aforesaid JOHN STORY.

THE aforesaid *John Story*, beside that he was an obstinate *Papist* and a rank Traytor, he was also in Queen *Mary's* Time, the cruellest Tyrant and Persecutor of the innocent Members and blessed Professors of Christ that ever was, to his Power, sithen that cruel Tyrant *Nero* : For his whole Delectation and Pleasure was in Racking, Stocking, Whipping, Manacling, and Burning of Innocents, without Respect either of Age, Virtue, Learning, Weakness of Wit, or of a simple Boy, or childish Wench ; and all was Fish as came to the Net.

And he often and openly said (in the Hearing of many) in the Time of Queen *Mary* ; That the Burying of *Heretiques* (as he termed them) was too gentle a Death, for they had too much Scope to prate and talk what they list : But, said he, if I live, I will have a close Cage of Iron made for them, with a Door in the Side, like to the Brazen Bull of *Perillus*, where they shall be inclosed, and the Door made fast, and the Fire to be made under them. And then, said he, they shall know what Frying is ; and their Mouths shall be stopped from bellowing out their Pestilent Doctrine. So that by the Premises, it may manifestly appear, that there hath not been a wickeder Man toward God, his Prince and Country, than he hath been.

God save the Queen ; and confound her Enemies.

Seen and Allowed, &c. 1598.

[In a notable little Book (bearing Title, A Declaration of Edmonde Bonner's ARTICLES, concerning the Clergie of London Dyocese ; wherein that Execrable *Antychrist* is, in his righte Colours reueled, &c.) Printed at Basil, in Swisserland, A. D. 1554, the Author J. Bale (that dear Friend to Popery) among other Remarkables, whereof some Use may be made hereafter, I meet with a Biographical Fragment relating to another noted Doctor, who, in pious Queen *Mary's* Days, made a very conspicuous Figure, and was no Way Dr. Story's Inferior in true Catholic Zeal ; for which Reason it may, not improperly, accompany the foregoing Narrative. —The Original is Latin, for which I refer the Curious to the Book itself : But the English follows, in a manner literatim, from John Bale's own Version. Viz.]

A

T E S T I M O N Y

Geuen forth

By FRAUNCES BALDWIN ATREBATIUS,

A Doctor of Ciuil Law, and publike Reader at *Biturus*, a Vniuersity in *Fraunce*, concerning the Baudy Behaviour, and lecherous Life of

Doctor THOMAS MARTYN,

Such Time as he studied in the same Vniuersity.

DOCTOR *Martyn*, being an *Englisbman*, did sojourne or dwel in the Uniuersitye of *Bourges*, in the House of one called *Boius*, being a most filthy Priest, blynde of one Eye, and all his Body full of lothesome Leprosye, and stynkinge *Frenche* Poxe; but the moſte vyle Whoremonger, that was in all that whole Towne: For, he kepte at Home, at his House, and that openly, a most abominable Harlot. Yea, hys House was nothinge elles but a common Stewe, and a Schoole of all kynde of Impudencye and fylthy Unclenlynesse. There did the sayde *Martyn* lyve swetely and pleasauntely, eatynge and drynkinge every Daye, at one Borde with the same Harlot. And (which is more shamefull) he kept in that broderell Howse, or Stewe, certain yonge *Englyshe* Gentilmen, committed to his Charge, whom how myserably this Bawde, and rather a Marrer or Destroyer of Children, then an Instructour, dyd by suche Example and Company corrupte those yonge Gentylnen, let his chiefe Disciple and Scholare, the Nephew of Sir *Thomas More*, beare Wytnesse; who folowinge the Example of his Hoste, and of his Scholemaster, dyd walow himselfe in all kynde of fylthy Abomination, hauntinge all the Harlots Howses that were in the Citye of *Bourges*, and abidinge continuallye in such Scholes of Unclenlynesse: Although many honest Men, and Doctours of that Uniuersitye, did take greuouſlye this abominable Filthinesse, and did therfore blame the same *Martyn* very fore.

This *Martyn*, for to excuse himselfe, was wonte greatly to blame the Lawe of the Bishop of *Rome*, which did rather beare with such Stealths of the Preasts than graunt vnto them honest Wiues, and said that there was great Fault in both these Doings of the Pope. And this did he affirme openly in the middest of Papisterye. In the meane whils he had lieffer stil remain and abide with the stynking Whormonger, than to sojourn with some honest Citezyn. Wherefore it is no Meruail that he hath now taken upon him the Defence of Whoredome against honest Matrimony. Wheras if he were not altogether past Shame, he wold be ashamed to haue forgot the Ciuil Law, whereof he professeth himself to be a Doctour, in the which *Iustinianus* doth highly commende *Ephiphanus*, Archbishop and Patriarch of *Constantinople*, because he had honest married

Bishops

Bishops to his Grandfather, and to his Father. But it can not rightly be said, that *Martine* did forget that Law, sith he can not reade that Tong: For it is written in *Greke*.

The Second Praise of *Martin* is, that in his Conclusions, which he did propound and set fourth to be disputed upon the Scholes of *Bourges*, he did openly affirme, that he knewe not the true Religion that sweare by the Saints, or otherwise than by the Name of the one Living God. Yea, he durste take upon him to reprove openly the Imperial Lawes, because they did not find fawt with that Fourme of Swearing or Othe-taking, whyche was set fourthe otherwise than bi the Name of God; how be it least this miserable *Martyne* shoulde beare any paryl for it, he hath an Excuse. First, that although he did boast those Conclusions to be his owne, yet he had receyued them of an other, which had endytted them. Secondly, because that he dyd not well understand what he dyd wryte, as he hymselfe, doth well remember that he understode nothing in the whole Disputacion, if he hath not yet forgotten those Argumentes that were objected unto him first, and unto the which, because he could not, he woulde in no wyse aunswer, yea not one worde would he aunswer, thought he was of the Auditorye, therefore shamefully hysled at; in so much that all the *Frenchemen* were for that Cause ashamed, because of the Oppropriousnesse that shoulde therof redound unto the *English* Nation, which they sawe in this newe Doctoure to be derided and laughte to Scorne of manye, as thoughte they had ben all like unto him. And this Infamye and Oppropriousnesse was so greate, that he, by and by, fled oute of the Universitye, although he hadde first bought priuely a Bull of Doctourshyp, wherein, notwithstanding he might be accused of the Papistes, because he did not solemplye, after the Custome, sweare unto the Pope, and bynde himselfe unto him by an Othe. Which thing afore he affirmed to be unlawful. Thirde, when he harde, in the same Universitye, bothe Doctours and Learned Scholars commend and praise King *Edward*, and maruayl, that ther wer yet some in *England* that woulde repugne against so Godly a Kinge, sith that the verye Straungers did also reverence him: Maister *Martyne* was wont to say, that there was a certain heade Papist Prisoner in *England*, who was Bishoppe of *Winchestre quondam*, but that he was not to be feared, sith that in King *Henry* the Eyght Dayes, he had deseruyngly receyued of the Erle of *Warwycke* a Blow on the Eare. And when manye dyd aske him, whether it was not the same *Winchester* whych had so solyshely set out a Hotche Potche, touchinge the Marriage of Priestes? He laughing did aunswere, that it was even he; but that no Man ought to meruele at it, because that the sayed *Wynchester* was more mete for Warely Matters, than for Ecclesiastical Disputations, and that he had written those *Gugas* in the Campe; and that somtimes he was a furious Man.

And when the Boke of the Bishop of *Cantorbury*, touching the Sacrament, being translated into *Frenche*, was brought vnto *Martyne*, in the which Booke the sounde Opinion of *Wynchester* is reproved, he aunswered, that *Wynchester* was wont to speake what soeuer came into his foolish Brayne, and that he was an Atheiste or Godlesse Man; howbeit in courtelye Matters, he was very crafty. But in the mean Season he sayd, that the Idolatrie of the Sacrament was so manifest, that it coulde be excused by no Colour, as the Tyrannye of the Bishop of *Rome*, against whom (as he did affirme) both the sayed *Wynchester*, and he hymselfe did write. Moreouer he did say, that all *Englishmen* had sworn from their Youth, that thei wold be alwayes Enemies vnto the Antichristiane Tyrannie: And that therefore whatsoever should happen after the Death of King *Edward*, it was impossible, that eyther the Idole of the Sacraments, or the Authoritie of the Bishop of *Rome*, should come again into *Englond*. And with this Communication was he wont to comforte the good Men in *Fraunce*; which thynkyng vpon the Death of King *Edward*, were affrayed lest any Miserie shoulde happen vnto *Englond*, &c.

A
DECLARATION

Of the *Causes* moving the
QUEEN of ENGLAND

To give Aid to the Defense of the People, Afflicted and Oppressed,
in the *LOW COUNTRIES*.

Imprinted at LONDON, by Christopher Barker, Printer to the Queen's
Most Excellent Majesty. 1585.

Kings, and Princes Sovereigns are to yield Account of their Actions to Almighty God, the King of Kings.

ALTHOUGH Kings and Princes Sovereigns, owing their Homage and Service only unto the Almighty God, the King of all Kings, are in that Respect not bound to yield Account, or render the Reasons of their Actions to any Others, but to God, their only Sovereign Lord: Yet (though among the most Ancient and Christian Monarchies, the same Lord God having committed to us the Sovereignty of this Realm of *England*, and other our Dominions, which we hold immediately of the same Almighty Lord, and so thereby accountable only to his Divine Majesty) we are, notwithstanding this our Prerogative at this Time, specially moved, for divers Reasons, hereafter briefly remembered, to publish not only to our own natural loving Subjects, but also to all Others our Neighbours, especially to such Princes and States as are our Confederates, or have for their Subjects Cause of Commerce with our Countries and People, what our Intention is at this Time; and upon what just and reasonable Grounds we are moved to give Aid to our next Neighbours, the natural People of the Low Countries; being by long Wars and Persecutions of strange Nations there lamentably afflicted, and in present Danger to be brought into a perpetual Servitude.

Natural Causes of the ancient continual Traffic betwixt the People of England and them of the Low Countries.

First it is to be understood (which percase is not perfectly known to a great Number of Persons) that there hath been, Time out of Mind, even by too natural Situation of those Low Countries, and our Realm of *England*, one directly opposite to the other, and by Reason of the ready crossing of the Seas, and multitude of large and commodious Havens respectively on both Sides, a continual Traffic and Commerce betwixt the People of *England*, and the natural People of these Low Countries, and so continued in all ancient Times, when the several Provinces thereof, as *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them adjoining, were ruled and possessed by several Lords, and not united together, as of late Years they have been by Inter-marriages; and at length, by Concurrences of many and sundry Titles, have also been reduced to be under the Government of their Lords who succeeded to the Dukedom of *Burgundy*; whereby there hath

hath been, in former Ages, many special Alliances and Confederations, not only betwixt the Kings of *England*, our Progenitors, and Lords of the said Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and their Adherents; but also betwixt the very natural Subjects of both Countries, as the Prelates, Noblemen, Citizens, Burgesies, and other Commonalities of the great Cities, and Port-Towns of either Country reciprocal, by special Obligations and Stipulations, under their Seals interchangeably, for Maintenance both of Commerce and Intercourse of Merchants; and also of special mutual Amity, to be observed betwixt the People and Inhabitants of both Parties, as well Ecclesiastical as Secular: And very expresse Provision in such Treaties contained, for mutual Favours, Affections, and all other friendly Offices to be used and prosecuted by the People of one Nation to the other. By which mutual Bonds, there hath continued perpetually Unions of the Peoples Hearts together; and so by Way of continual Entercourses, from Age to Age, the same mutual Love hath been inviolably kept and exercised, as it had been by the Work of Nature; and never utterly dissolved; nor yet, for any long Time, discontinued: Howsoever, the Kings and the Lords of the Countries, sometimes (though very rarely) have been at Difference, by sinister Ends of some other Princes, their Neighbours, envying the Felicity of these two Countries.

the Kings of England and Lords of the Low Countries, and also the Subjects of both Countries. The People of both the Countries bound by special Obligations, interchangeably, for mutual Favours, and friendly Offices.

And, for Maintenance and Testimony of these natural Unions of the Peoples of the Kingdoms and Countries in perpetual Amity, there are extant sundry authentique Treaties and Transactions, for mutual Commerce, Intercourse, and streight Amity of ancient Times: As for Example; Some very solemnly accorded in the Times of King *Henry* the sixth, our Progenitor, and *Philip* the second, Duke of *Burgundy*, and Inheritor to the County of *Flanders*, by the Lady *Margaret*, his Grandmother, which was above one hundred and forty Years past; and the same also renewed by the noble Duke *Charles*, his Son, Father to the King of *Spain's* Grandmother, and Husband to the Lady *Margaret*, Sister to our great Grandfather, King *Edward* the fourth: And after that, of new, often-times renewed by our most noble and sage Grandfather, King *Henry* the seventh, and the Archduke, *Philip*, Grandfather to the King of *Spain*, now being: And in later Times, often renewed betwixt our Father, of noble Memory, King *Henry* the eighth, and *Charles* the fifth, Emperor of *Almaigne*, Father also to the present King of *Spain*.

Treaties extant of ancient Time, betwixt the Kings of England and the Dukes of Burgundy, for the Commerce betwixt their Countries.

In all which Treaties, Transactions, and Confederations of Amity, and mutual Commerce, it was also, at all Times, specially and principally contained, in expresse Words, by Conventions, Concords and Conclusions, that the natural People, and Subjects of either Side, should shew mutual Favours and Duties one to the other; and should safely, freely, and securely commerce together, in every their Countries; and so hath the same mutual and natural Concourse and Commerce been, without Interruption, continued in many Ages, far above the like Example of any other Country in *Christendome*, to the Honour and Strength of the Princes, and to the singular great Benefit, and Inriching of their People; until of late Years, that the King of *Spain* departed out of his Low Countries into *Spain*, hath been (as it is to be thought) counselled by his Counsellors of *Spain*, to appoint *Spaniards*, Foreigners, and Strangers of strange Blood, Men more exercised in Wars than

Conventions for the Subjects of either Side, to shew mutual Favours one to the other.

Spaniards and Strangers lately in.

appointed Governors in the Low Countries, to the Violation of the Liberties of the Country.

in peaceable Government; and some of them notably delighted in Blood, as hath appeared by their Actions, to be the chiefest Governors of all his said Low Countries; contrary to the ancient Laws and Customs thereof, having great Plenty of noble, valiant and faithful Persons, naturally born; and such as the Emperor *Charles*, and the King himself had, to their great Honours, used in their Service, able to have been employed in the Rule of those Countries: But these *Spaniards*, being mere Strangers, having no natural Regard, in their Government, to the Maintenance of those Countries and People in their ancient and natural Manner of peaceable Living, as the most noble and wise Emperor *Charles*; yea, and as his Son, King *Philip* himself had, while he remained in those Countries, and used the Counsels of the States, and Naturals of the Countries, not violating the ancient Liberties of the Countries. But, contrarywise, these *Spaniards*, being exalted to absolute Government, by Ambition, and for private

The Destruction of the Nobility, and the People of the Low Countries, by the Spanish Government.

The lamentable violent Death of the Count of Egmond, the Glory of those Countries.

The rich Towns and Strengths, with the vast Wealth thereof, possessed by the Spaniards.

Lucre, have violently broken the ancient Laws and Liberties of all the Countries; and, in a tyrannous Sort, have banished, killed and destroyed, without Order of Law, within the Space of a few Months, many of the most ancient and principal Persons, of the natural Nobility, who were most worthy of Government. And howsoever, in the Beginning of these cruel Persecutions, the Pretence thereof was for Maintenance of the *Romish* Religion; yet they spared not to deprive very many *Catholics*, and Ecclesiastical Persons, of their Franchises and Privileges: And, of the chiefest who were executed, none were, in the whole Country, more affected to that Religion than was the noble and valiant Count of *Egmond*, the very Glory of that Country, who, neither for his singular Victories, in the Service of the King of *Spain*, can be forgotten in the true Histories, nor yet, for the Cruelty used for his Destruction, to be but ever lamented in the Hearts of the natural People of that Country. And furthermore, to bring these whole Countries in Servitude to *Spain*, these foreign Governors have, by long intestine War, with multitude of *Spaniards*, and some few *Italians* and *Almains*, made the greater Part of the said Countries (which with their Riches, by common Estimation, answered the Emperor *Charles* equally to his *Indies*) in a Manner desolate, and have also lamentably destroyed by Sword, Famine, and other cruel Manners of Death, a great Part of the natural People; and now the rich Towns and strong Places, being desolate of their natural Inhabitants, are held and kept chiefly with Force by the *Spaniards*.

The French

All which pitiful Miseries, and horrible Calamities of these most rich Countries and People, are of all their Neighbours at this Day, even of such as in ancient Time have been at frequent Discord with them, through natural Compassion, very greatly pitied; which appeared specially this present Year, when the *French* King pretended to have received them to his Protection, had not (as the States of the Country and their Deputies were answered) that certain untimely and unlooked for Complots of the House of *Guise*, stirred and maintained by Money out of *Spain*, disturbed the good and general Peace of *France*, and thereby urged the King to forbear from the Resolution he had made, not only to aid the oppressed People of the Low Countries against the *Spaniards*, but also to have accepted them as his own Subjects. But, in very Truth, howsoever they were pitied, and in a Sort, for a Time, comforted and kept in Hope, in *France*, by the *French* King, who also hath oftentimes,

times earnestly solicited the Queen of *England*, both by Message and Writing, to be careful of their Defense: Yet in Respect that they were otherwise more streightly knit in ancient Friendship to this Realm than to any other Country, we are sure they could be pitied of none, for this long Time, with more Cause and Grief, generally, than of our Subjects of this our Realm of *England*, being their ancient Allies, and familiar Neighbours; and that in such Manner, as this our Realm of *England* and those Countries have been, by common Language, of long Time, resembled and termed as Man and Wife.

And for these urgent Causes, and many others, we have, by many friendly Messages and Embassadors, by many Letters and Writings to the said King of *Spain*, our Brother and Ally, declared our Compassion of this so evil and cruel Usage of his natural and loyal People, by sundry his martial Governors, and other his Men of War, all Strangers to these his Countries. And farthermore, as a good loving Sister to him, and a natural good Neighbour to his Low Countries and People, we have often, and often again, most friendly warned him, that if he did not otherwise, by his Wisdom and princely Clemency, restrain the Tyranny of his Governors, and Cruelty of his Men of War, we feared that the People of his Countries should be forced; for Safety of their Lives, and for Continuance of their native Countries, in their former State of their Liberties, to seek the Protection of some other Foreign Lord: or rather to yield themselves wholly to the Sovereignty of some mighty Prince, as by the ancient Laws of their Countries, and by special Privileges granted, by some of the Lords and Dukes of the Countries to the People, they do pretend and affirm, that in such Cases of general Injustice, and upon such violent Breaking of their Privileges, they are free from their former Homages, and at Liberty to make Choice of any other Prince to be their Prince and Head. The Proof whereof, by Examples past, is to be seen and read in the ancient Histories of divers Alterations of the Lords and Ladies of the Countries of *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland* and *Zeland*, and other Countries to them united by the States and People of the Countries; and that by some such Alteration as the Stories do testify *Philip*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, came to his Title, from which the King of *Spain's* Interest is derived; but the further Discussion hereof, we leave to the View of the Monuments and Records of the Countries. And now for the Purposes to stay them from yielding themselves, in any like sort, to the Sovereignty of any other strange Prince; certain Years past, upon the earnest Request of sundry of the greatest Persons of Degree in those Countries, and most obedient Subjects to the King, such as were the Duke of *Ascot*, and the Marques of *Haucry*, yet living, and of such others as had principal Offices in those Countries, in the Time of the Emperor *Charles*, we yielded at their importunate Requests, to grant them Prests of Money, only to continue them as his Subjects, and to maintain themselves in their just Defense against the Violence and Cruelties of the *Spaniards*, their Oppressors, thereby staying them from yielding their Subjection to any other Prince, from the said King of *Spain*. And during the Time of that our Aid given to them, and their Stay in their Obedience to the King of *Spain*, we did freely acquaint the same King with our Actions, and did still continue our friendly Advices to him, to move him to command his Governors, and Men of War, not to use such insolent Cruelties against his People, as might make them to despair of his Favours, and seek some other Lord.

King offers to have aided and received to his Subjection, the oppressed People of the Low Countries.

Man and Wife.

The Queen of England's continual friendly Advices to the King of Spain, for restraining the Tyranny of his Governors.

The Queen of England's Means used to stay the States of the Low Countries from yielding their Subjection to any other Foreign Prince.

And

And in these kind of Persuasions and Actions we continued many Years, not only for Compassion of the miserable State of the Countries, but of a natural Disposition to have the ancient Conditions of streight Amity and Commerce for our Kingdoms and People to continue with the States and the People of the said Dukedom of *Burgundy* and the Appendants, and namely, with our next Neighbours, the Countries of *Flanders*, *Holland*, and *Zeland*. For we did manifestly see, if the Nation of *Spain* should make a Conquest of those Countries, as was, and yet is, apparently intended, and plant themselves there, as they have done in *Naples* and

The Enterprize of the Spaniards in Ireland, sent by the King of Spain and the Pope.

other Countries, adding thereto, the late Examples of the violent hostile Enterprize of a Power of *Spaniards*, being sent, within these few Years, by the King of *Spain* and the *Pope*, into our Realm of *Ireland*, with an Intent, manifestly confessed by the Captains, that those Numbers were sent afore-hand to seize upon some Strength there; to the Intent, with other great Forces, to pursue a Conquest thereof: We did, we say again, manifestly see in what Danger Ourself, our Countries, and People might shortly be, if in convenient

Time we did not speedily otherwise regard to prevent or stay the same. And yet, notwithstanding our said often Requests and Advices given to the King of *Spain*, manifestly for his own Weal and Honour, we found him, by his Council of *Spain*, so unwilling, in any sort, to incline to our friendly Counsel, that his Governors and Chieftains, in his Low-Countries, increased their Cruelties towards his own afflicted People; and his Officers, in *Spain*, offered daily greater Injuries to ours, resorting thither for Traffique: Yea, they of his Council in

The Refusal of the Queen's Messenger, and her Letters to the King of Spain.

Spain, would not permit our express Messenger, with our Letters, to the King their Master's Presence: A Matter very strange, and against the Law of Nations.

The just Causes of Dismission of Bernardino Mendosa out of England.

And the Cause of this our writing, and sending to the King, proceeded of Matter that was worthy to be known to the King, and not unmeet, now also, to be declared to the World, to shew both our good Disposition towards the King, in imparting to him our Grievs, and to let it appear how evil we have been used by his Ministers; as in some Part may appear by this that followeth.

Although we could not have, these many Years past, any of our Servants, whom we sent, at sundry Times, as our Embassadors to the King, our good Brother, as was meet, suffered to continue there without many Injuries and Indignities offered to their Families, and divers Times to their own Persons, by the greatest of his Counsellors, so as they were constrained to leave their Places, and some expelled, and in a sort banished the Country, without Cause given by them, or notified to us: Yet we, minding to continue very good Friendship with the King, as his good Sister, did of long Time and Years, give favourable Allowance to all who came as his Embassadors to us, saving only, upon manifest dangerous Practices, attempted by two of them to trouble our Estate, whereof the one was *Girald Despes*, a very turbulent-spirited Person, and altogether unskilful and unapt to deal in Princes Affairs, being in Amity; as at his Return into *Spain*, he was so there also reputed: The other, and last, was *Bernardin de Mendoza*, one whom we did accept and use with great Favour, a long Time, as was manifestly seen in our Court, and, we think, cannot be denied by himself; but yet, of late Years (we know not by what Direction) we found him to be a secret great Favourer to sundry our evil disposed and seditious Subjects, not only to such as lurked in our Realm, but also to such as fled the same, being notoriously condemned as open Rebels and Traitors; with whom, by his Letters, Messages, and secret Counsels, he did in the End devise how, with

a Power of Men, partly to come out of *Spain*, partly out of the Low-Countries, whereof he gave them great Comfort, in the King's Name, an Invasion might be made into our Realm, setting down, in Writing, the Manner how the same should be done; with what Numbers of Men and Ships, and upon what Coasts, Ports, and Places of our Realm, by special Name; and who the Persons should be in our Realm, of no small Account, who should favour this Invasion, and take Part with the Invaders; with many other Circumstances, declaring his full-set Purpose, and Labours taken, to trouble us, and our Realm, very dangerously; as hath been most clearly proved and confessed, by such as were in that Confederacy with him; whereof some are fled, and now do frequent his Company in *France*, and some were taken, who confessed, at great length, by Writing, the whole Course herein held by the said Embassador, as was manifestly, of late Time, published to the World, upon *Francis Throgmorton's*, a principal Traytor's, Examination. And when we found manifestly this Embassador so dangerous an Instrument, or rather a Head to a Rebellion and Invasion, and that for a Year, or more, together, he never brought to us any Letter from the King, his Master, notwithstanding our often Request made to him, that he would, by some Letter from the King to us, let it appear, that it was the King's Will that he should deal with us in his Master's Name, in sundry things which he propounded to us as his Embassador, which we did judge to be contrary to the King his Master's Will. We did finally cause him to be charged with these dangerous Practices, and made it patent to him how, and by whom, with many other Circumstances, we knew it, and therefore caused him, in very gentle sort, to be content, within some reasonable Time, to depart out of our Realm, the rather for his own Safety, as one, in very deed, mortally hated of our People: for the which, we granted him favourable Conduct, both to the Sea, and over the Sea; and thereupon we did speedily send a Servant of ours into *Spain*, with our Letters to the King, only to certify him of this Accident, and to make the whole Matter apparent unto him; and this was the Messenger aforementioned, who might not be suffered to deliver our Message, or our Letters, to the King.

And beside these Indignities, it is most manifest, how his Ministers also have, both heretofore many Times and now lately, practised here in *England*, by means of certain Rebels, to have procured sundry Invasions of our Realm, by their Forces out of *Spain*, and the Low-Countries: Very hard Recompences (we may say) for so many our good Offices! Hereupon we hope no reasonable Person can blame us, if we have disposed ourselves to change this our former Course, and more carefully to look to the Safety of ourself and our People; and finding our own Dangers indeed very great and imminent, we have been the more urgently provoked to attempt and accelerate some good Remedy; for that, besides many other Advices given us, both at Home and Abroad, in due Time to withstand these Dangers, we have found the general Disposition of all our own faithful People very ready in this Case, and earnest in offering to us, both in Parliaments and otherwise, their Services, with their Bodies and Blood, and their Aids, with their Lands and Goods, to withstand and prevent this common Danger to our Realm and themselves, evidently seen and feared by the subverting and rooting up of the ancient Nation of these Low-Countries, and by planting the *Spanish* Nation, and Men of War, Enemies to our Countries, there so near unto us. And beside these Occasions and Considerations, we did also call to our Remembrance, our former fortunate Proceeding, by God's special Favour, in the Beginning of our Reign, in remedying of a like Mischief, which was intended against us in *Scotland*, by certain *Frenchmen*, who then were directed only by the House of *Guise*, by

*The Queen of
England's Pro-
ceeding for the
Colour*

Delivery of Scotland from the Servitude wherein the House of Guise meant to have brought it.

Colour of the Marriage of their Neice, the Queen of *Scots*, with the *Dauphin* of *France*; in like manner as the Offspring of the said House have, even now lately sought to attain to the like unordinate Power in *France*: A Matter of some Consequence for our selves to consider; although we hope the King, our good Brother, professing sincere Friendship towards us, as we profess the like to him, will moderate this aspiring Greatness of that House, that neither himself, nor the Princes of his Blood, be over-ruled; nor we (minding to continue perfect Friendship with the King, and his Blood) be, by the said House of *Guise*, and their Faction, disquieted, or disturbed in our Countries. But now to return to this like Example of *Scotland*, aforesaid; when the *French* had, in like manner (as the *Spaniards* have now, of long time, attempted in the Low-Countries) sought, by Force, to have subdued the People there, and brought them into a Servitude to the Crown of *France*; and also, by the ambitious Desires of the said House of *Guise*, to have proceeded to a War, by Way of *Scotland*, for the Conquest of our Crown for their Neice the Queen of *Scots* (a Matter most manifest to the common Knowledge of the World) it pleased Almighty God (as it remaineth in good Memory to our Honour and Comfort) to farther our Intention, and honourable and just Actions, at that Time, in such sort, as by our Aiding then of the Nation of *Scotland*, being sore oppressed with the *French*, and universally requiring our Aid, we procured to that Realm (though to our great Cost) a full Deliverance of the Force of Strangers, and Danger of Servitude, and restored Peace to the whole Country, which hath continued there ever since many Years, saving that at some Time of Partialities of certain of the Noblemen, as hath been usual in that Country, in the Minority of the young King, there hath risen some inward Troubles,

The Realm of Scotland restored to the ancient Freedom, and so possessed by the present King, by the Means only of the Queen of England.

which, for the most part, we have, in favour of the King and his Governors, used Means to pacify. So as at this Day, such is the Quietness in *Scotland*, as the King, our dear Brother and Cousin, by Name, *James* the Sixth, a Prince of great Hope, for many good Princely Respects, reigneth there in Honour and Love of his People, and in very good and perfect Amity with us, and our Country. And so our Actions, at that Time, came to so good Success, by the Goodness of God, as both our own Realm, and that of *Scotland*, have ever since remained in better Amity and Peace, than can be remembred these many Hundred Years before; and yet nothing hereby done by us, nor any Cause justly given; but that also the *French* Kings, who have since succeeded, which have been three in

Number, and all Brethren, have made and concluded divers Treaties, for good Peace with us, which presently continue in Force on both Parties, notwithstanding our foresaid Actions attempted for removing out of *Scotland* of the said *French* Forces, so transported by the only Direction of the House of *Guise*.

And therefore, to conclude for the Declaration of our present Intention at this Time, we hope it shall, of all Persons abroad, be well interpreted, as we know it will be of such as are not led by Partiality, that upon the often and continual lamentable Requests made to us, by the universal States of the Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Guelders*, and other Provinces with them united (being desperate of the King of *Spain's* Favours) for our Succours to be yielded to them, only for their Defence against the *Spaniards*, and other Strangers; and therewith finding manifestly, by our often and importunate Requests, and Advices given

The Conclusion of the Causes of sending of certain Companies of English Soldiers to the Defence of the op-

given to the King of *Spain*, no Hope of Relief of these their Miseries, but rather an Increase thereof, by daily Conquests of their Towns, Slaughter of their People; Though, in very truth, we cannot impute the Increase of any late Cruelties to the Person of him who now hath the Title of General Governor, shewing his natural Disposition more inclinable to Mercy and Clemency, than it seemeth he can direct the Hearts of the *Spaniards* under him, that have been so long trained in shedding of Blood under the former *Spanish* Governors: And joining thereunto our own Danger at hand, by the Overthrow and Destruction of our Neighbours, and Access and Planting of the great Forces of the *Spaniards* so near to our Countries, with precedent Arguments of many troublesome Attempts against our Realm. We did therefore, by good Advice, and after long Deliberation, determine, to send certain Companies of Soldiers, to aid the Natural People of those Countries, only to defend them and their Towns from Sacking and Desolation, and thereby to procure them Safety, to the Honour of God, whom they desire to serve sincerely, as Christian People, according to his Holy Word, and to enjoy their ancient Liberties for them and their Posterity; and so consequently to preserve and continue the lawful and ancient Commerce betwixt our People and those Countries and ours.

And so we hope our Intention herein, and our subsequent Actions, will be, by God's Favour, both honourably and charitably interpreted of all Persons (saving of the Oppressors themselves, and their Partisans) in that we mean not hereby, either for Ambition, or Malice (the two Roots of all Injustice) to make any particular Profit hereof to Ourselves, or to our People; only desiring, at this Time, to obtain, by God's Favour, for the Countries, A Deliverance of them from War, by the *Spaniards* and Foreigners; A Restitution of their ancient Liberties and Government, by some Christian Peace, and thereby, a Surety for Ourselves and our Realm, to be free from invading Neighbours; And our People to enjoy, in those Countries, their lawful Commerce, and Intercourse of Friendship and Merchandise, according to the ancient Usage, and Treaties of Intercourse, made betwixt our Progenitors and the Lords and Earls of those Countries, and betwixt our People and the People of those Countries.

And though our farther Intention also is, or may be, to take into our Guard some few Towns, upon the Sea-side, next opposite to our Realm, which otherwise might be in Danger to be taken by the Strangers, Enemies of the Country; yet therein considering, we have no Meaning, at this Time, to take and retain the same to our own proper Use, we hope, that all Persons will think it agreeable with good Reason, and princely Policy, that should have the Guard and Use of some such Places, for sure Access and Recess of our People and Soldiers in Safety, and for Furniture of them with Victuals, and other Things requisite and necessary, while it shall be needful for them to continue in those Countries, for the Aiding thereof in these their great Calamities, Miseries, and imminent Danger; and until the Countries may be delivered of such strange Forces as do now oppress them; and recover their ancient, lawful Liberties, and Manner of Government; to live in Peace, as they have heretofore done, and do now most earnestly, in lamentable Manner, desire to do; which are the very only true Ends of all our Actions now intended, howsoever malicious Tongues may

pressed People of the Low Countries, and to withstand the Attempts against this Realm.

Three special Things, reasonably desired by the Queen of England. 1. The End of Wars, with Restitution of the Low Countries to their ancient Liberties. 2. Surety from Invasion of her own Realm. 3. And renewing of the mutual Traffique of the Countries.

The Causes of taking some Towns into her Majesty's Custody.

utter their cankered Conceits to the contrary, as at this Day the World aboundeth with such blasphemous Reports in Writings, and infamous Libels, as in no Age the Devil hath more abounded with notable Spirits, replenished with all Wickedness, to utter his Rage against Professors of Christian Religion. But thereof we leave the Revenge to God, the Searcher of Hearts, hoping that he, beholding the Sincerity of our Heart, will grant good Success to our Intentions, whereby a Christian Peace may ensue, to his Divine Honour, and Comfort to all those who love Peace truly, and will seek it sincerely.

*An Addition to the DECLARATION, touching the Slanders published
of Her MAJESTY.*

AFTER we had finished our Declaration, there came to our Hands a Pamphlet, written in *Italian*, printed at *Milan*, intituled, *Nuovo Avviso*, directed to the Archbishop of *Milan*, containing a Report of the Expugnation of *Antwerp* by the Prince of *Parma*; by the which we found our self most maliciously charged with two notable Crimes, no less hateful to the World, than most repugnant, and contrary to our own natural Inclination. The one, with Ingratitude towards the King of *Spain*, who (as the Author saith) saved our Life, being justly, by Sentence, adjudged to Death, in our Sister's Time. The other, that there were some Persons procured to be corrupted with great Promises, and that, with our Intelligence, as the Reporter addeth, in a Parenthesis, in these Words (*as it was said*) that the Life of the Prince of *Parma* should be taken away; and for the better proving and countenancing of this horrible Lie, it is farther added in the said Pamphlet, that it pleased the Lord God to discover this, and bring two of the wicked Persons to Justice. Now, knowing how Men are maliciously bent, in this declining Age of the World, both to judge, speak and write maliciously, falsely and unreverently of Princes: And holding nothing so dear unto us, as the Conservation of our Reputation and Honour to be blameless, we found it very expedient not to suffer two such horrible Imputations to pass under Silence, lest, for Lack of Answer, it might argue a Kind of Guiltiness; and did therefore think, that what might be alledged by us, for our Justification in that Behalf, might most aptly be joined unto this former Declaration, now to be published, to lay open, before the World, the Manner and Ground of our Proceeding in the Causes of the Low-Countries.

And for Answer of the first Point wherewith we are charged, touching our Ingratitude towards the King of *Spain*, as we do most willingly acknowledge, that we were beholden to him in the Time of our late Sister, which we then did acknowledge very thankfully, and have sought many Ways since, in like Sort, to requite, as in our former Declaration by our Actions may appear: So do we utterly deny, as a most manifest Untruth, that ever he was the Cause of the saving of our Life, as a Person by Course of Justice sentenced unto Death, whoever carried ourself towards our said Sister in dutiful Sort, as our Loyalty was never called in Question, much less any Sentence of Death pronounced against us: A Matter such, as in respect of the ordinary Course of Proceeding, as by Process in Law, by Place of Tryal, by the Judge who should pronounce such Sentence, and other necessary Circumstances, in like Cases usual, especially against one of our Quality, as it could not but have

have been publickly known, if any such Thing had been put in Execution. This then being true, we leave to the World to judge how maliciously and injuriously the Author of the said Pamphlet dealeth with us, in charging us, by so notable an Untruth, with a Vice that of all others we do most utterly abhor. And therefore, by the manifest Untruth of this Imputation, Men, not transported with Passion, may easily discern what Untruth is contained in the second, by which we are charged to have been acquainted with an intended Attempt against the Life of the said Prince: A Matter, if any such Thing should have been by us intended, must have proceeded from either of a Mislking we had of his Person, or that the Prosecution of the Wars in the Low-Countries was so committed unto him, as no other might prosecute the same but he.

And first for his Person, we could never learn, that he hath any Time, by Act or Speech, done any thing that might justly breed a Mislking in us towards him, much less a Hatred against his Person in so high a Degree, as to be either privy or assenting to the taking away of his Life: Besides, he is one of whom we have ever had an honourable Conceit, in respect of those singular rare Parts we always have noted in him, which have won unto as great Reputation as any Man this Day living carrieth of his Degree and Quality: And so have we always delivered out by Speech unto the World, when any Occasion hath been offered to make Mention of him.

Now, touching the Prosecution committed unto him of the Wars in the Low-Countries: As all Men of Judgment know, that the taking away of his Life carrieth no Likelihood that the same shall work any End of the said Prosecution, so it is manifestly known, that no Man hath dealt more honourably than the said Prince, either in duly observing of his Promise, or extending Grace and Mercy where Merit and Desert hath craved the same: And therefore, no greater Impiety by any could be wrought, nor nothing more prejudicial to ourself (so long as the King shall continue the Prosecution of the Cause in that forcible Sort he now doth) than to be an Instrument to take him away from thence, by such violent Means, who hath dealt in a more honourable and gracious Sort, in the Charge committed unto him, than any other who hath ever gone before him, or is likely to succeed after him.

Now therefore, how unlikely it is, that we, having neither Cause to mislike of his Person, nor that the Prosecution of the Wars should cease by Loss of him, should be either Author, or any way assenting to so horrible a Fact, we refer to the Judgment of such as look into Causes, not with the Eyes of their Affection, but do measure and weigh Things according to Honour and Reason. Besides, it is likely, if it had been true that we had been any way chargeable (as the Author reporteth) the Confessions of the Parties executed (importing such Matter, as by him is alledged) would have been both produced and published: For Malice leaveth nothing unsearched, that may nourish the Venom of that Humour.

The best Course, therefore, that both we and all other Princes can hold, in this unfortunate Age, which overfloweth with Numbers of Malignant Spirits, is, through the Grace and Goodness of Almighty God, to direct our Course in such Sort, as they may rather shew their Wills, through Malice, than with just Cause, by Desert, to say Ill, or deface Princes, either by Speech or Writing; assuring ourselves, that besides the Punishment which such wicked and infamous Libellers shall receive at the Hands of the Almighty, for depraving of Princes and lawful Magistrates, who are God's Ministers, they both are, and always shall be thought, by all good Men, unworthy to live upon the Face of the Earth.

*Given at Richmond, the first of October, 1585, and the
27th Year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lady the
Queen, to be published.*

P.R.O.

PROSOPOPOEIA.

Sir WALTER RAWLEIGH'S Ghost.

[From the Original Manuscript.] *Anno Domini* 1622.

C. GONDOMAR. FRYER. JESUIT. RAWLEIGH.

Gondomar.] REVEREND Fathers: Seeing all Circumstances give Way to our last purposed Conference and Business, and that the Secrecy of the Place, with Conveniency of Time, take Hand in Hand, as it were to set us down in the Chair of Confidence and good Success; let us remember ourselves as Instruments of our King's Honour, and *Spain's* Glory; let us remember the Proverbs in Hand to be of no less Weight than that Burthen which presents *Atlas* and *Hercules*; let us remember the End, to register our Renown in the Court of Fame, and expose us, to Posterity, for worthy Patriots.

For if there were no more than the saving of our Souls to propagate the Catholic Religion, that were a meritorious Work, and a Key to open the Doors of Heaven; but being now a hammered Piece, on the Anvil of Policy and national Wisdom, incident to us above all other People, that must needs procure Admiration, and effect a Happiness in the Over-flowings of so good Deserving.

For my Part, therefore, I will not spare that Freedom which makes Honour and Industry proud to swell up high the Hearts of their own Creatures, though the silent Night, and our Presumption of Secrecy, should be affrighted with the Fear of Discovery, or the Lavishes of a wanton Tongue.

Fryer.] My Lord, you say well, and you have made my Blood warm with Encouragement, considering two such Anchors are cast to keep us stedfast in the Ocean of Turbulency, as Religion and Policy, the main Props of Supportation to our Holy Father and Catholic King. But yet we have no School-Liberty to make a slender Bark bear up a Head against Wind and Tide, by Force of Oars, or thrust an Argument of Contradiction, by strong Hand, into a Conference which tendeth to the Reputation of the Cause of Religion, and Dignity of our King: We only run on even Course without Deception, or casting Blocks in the smoother Walks to enlarge their Glories, as either the Holy Father will have it, or *Spain's* Monarchy deserveth.

Jesuit.] Why (quoth the *Jesuit*) if there be but one Truth, one Faith, one Baptism, one Universal Church, one Universal Pope, and one Universal King, what need any contrary Gusts, more than a smooth Wind, to drive all to the Port of Security, and Assurance that we are in the Right.

Fryer.] Yes, (quoth the *Fryer*) to warm the Hands without Rubbing will scorch, burn, or swell them up rather than heat them, or bring them to a moderate Temperature; but then the Blood is pleasantly dispersed when it is orderly chafed.

Gondomar.] I aim at your Meaning (replied the Ambassador) therefore, by my Hopes of *Paradise*, as we are remote from the prying Eyes of the *Inquisition*, so will I be as remote from any Apprehension of Mislike: Nay, I will now betray myself to my own Senses, and will endure whatsoever you can oppose. For Wounds that
have

have always gentle Cataplasme may ranckle; whereas many Times cutting, searing and cauterizing finish the Cure: And as broken Bones, well set, make that Place the stronger which was snapped in Pieces, so Contradiction, well placed, searches the unswept Corners of Presumption and Self-Love, to bring Truth and Understanding into a more eminent Prospect, both to be seen and regarded: Nor am I of *England's* Mind, to play with that wanton *Coluber* of Flattery, which shall endanger more, with ticklish Praise and Soothings of Imperfections, than a mortiferous Poison or *Lethal* Aconite. For Poisons may have Antidotes, but Flatterers, like the *Asps* of *Aethiopia*, who steal on a Man with Delight, some licking and breaking certain Bladders in their Gums, which will itch at first, and excite a kind of Titillation, but at last it ranckles and exesuates more rageingly than *Dejaneiras* Shirt upon *Hercules*. Therefore speak again and again, and, as I said, I now swear by the Holy Things of God, they shall not be discovered by Torture.

Thus answered the *Fryer*, thus answered the *Jesuit*, and by reciprocal Combination, as if they were, with *St. Catherine*, to bargain with *Jesus Christ* for his Heart, they laid open their naked Breasts to shew them transparent, that neither Hypocrisy nor Mistrust should cast a Veil before the Eyes of Truth, but purest Demonstration should present herself in her purest Robes.

Jesuit] Why then (quoth Father *Baldwin*) the Services you have done to our Master are like so many Oars to drive you forwards to the Haven of Happiness: For as passing about the Channel of good Success and Prosperity is carried to the Port of Security by a strong Hand, and good Guiding, so have your Affairs thrived by cautelous Behaviour and worthy Endeavours; but now first at the Haven's Mouth you split upon a Rock, and find more Danger in Admission home than your Endurance abroad: *Hinc ille Lachrymæ*: I am *English* by Birth, and Your's by Education, and God's by the Satisfaction of my Conscience; the one shall not cast a Mist in the others Eyes, but they shall see the right Way. You have, I confess, treated with the King of *England* about serious Affairs, and *Gond Services*. so pleased him with quaint Devises: You have (as you conceive) lulled him in Security with formal Protestations that our Master means Good Faith in all his Treaties; when you know he can do nothing without the Clergy. You have, peradventure, played *Hippomanes* with *Atalanta*, who threw golden Apples in her Face to couzen her of her Swiftnes; so a kind of Apparition of Treasure, or Apprehensions of Promises, hath made him believe he shall this Way supply his Wants: You have played the *Siren* with the young Prince, as if you meant to bring before *Paris* not only one Deity, but the three Goddesses in one; so that if he tied not himself faster to the Mast of true Religion than national Policy, he might be circumvented: You have warranted some Nobles to go into the Temple of *Rhimmon*, and not to be disparaged or polluted: You have tampered with some Bishops, to moderate that High Commission against *Catholics*, and stay the Pursuivants from too narrow Searches: You have boasted of wonderful Entertainment among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and Graciousness with the Ladies: You have delighted yourself with the Confluence of People at your private Mafs, and that without Inhibition or Restraint: You have stayed the Survey of the Navies, or setting out of a Fleet (but for your own Purpose) not to ease them of Trouble, but out of Observation to deliver Princes from reciprocal Jealousy, by hearkening after foreign Preparations: You have smiled at their Multers, and that sometimes in the Midst of a Frost, as if they were fitter for Make-games than any solid Expedition: You have stopped the public Mouth of Defamation, and you have kept in their Hate, within their own Mouths, to inflame them the more. But, alas! what says *Tacitus* of such Proclamations? *Nota*, That a State gains little thereby, but that hey, who of themselves, would have reported nothing but Truth, being thus forbidden,

Rog. North. bidden, take notice of less than there is, and give out more than they know. You have prevented the narrow Search of the *West-Indies*, by bringing an old Enemy's Head to the Block, and a new start-up Adversary within the Compass of a Proclamation. You have cast a Bone between two Dogs, in the *East*, that while they snarl at one another, yea, tear one another's Flesh, a third, upon Advantage, shall take it from them. You have inferred to both their Majesties (I mean of *Spain* and *England*) that there is no such Enemy to State and Royalty of Kings, as Popular Government, and a Democracy of Mechanics, urging this against the *States*, as if they were thieving Rebels against their own Lords. A pretty Trick, I confess, to stir the Suspicion of Neighbour Princes, who merely out of Emulation at Inferiors Glory, might pull them back by the Sleeve for running too fast to Greatness. In a Word, What have you not done (according to the Poet, *Propter fidem & taciturnitatem*) which deserveth not the Character of a faithful Servant, and Wisdom of a Counsellor and Embassador? And yet you see, for all this, there is a Parliament proclaimed in *England*: A Parliament (after your Confidence and Report) that the great King doth utterly mislike; abandoning the Presumption of the Nether House, who are still opposite to the Prerogatives of Princes; and they repining against the Upper for envying nothing which his Majesty proposed: A Parliament after many Devices to supply the King's Want without troubling or being beholden to the Subject: A Parliament after a strange Discovery of the ill Affection of many Nobles towards Inferiors, and dangerous stomaching that proud and great City, which is thus enlarged to her own Renown, and Admiration of all Ages and Nations. In a Word, a Parliament against all Expectation, and which cannot chuse but hang Heaviness on the Shoulders of his Holiness, and shuffle up some Jealousy in the Heart of the *Catholic* King.

Fryer.] I think not so, (quoth the *Fryer*) for *Spain* is more confident of itself against the World than to shew any Vexation or Abatement; but if that were otherwise of Greatness, What can a Parliament effect to our Prejudice, or their Exaltation?

Jesuit.] I must now be free (replied Father *Baldwin*) my Experience doth a little transcend your Observation. You have only, like the Dogs of *Nylus*, snatched and lapped the Water in the running; I have bathed myself in their Streams, and know their Floods, their Channels, and their Stoppings. A

Effects of a Parliament in Eng- Parliament, in *England*, can do any thing to the knitting the Knot of Preservation or Establishment of the Kingdom's Glory. A Parliament, in *England*, can be so provident on the Blessings and Welfare of the Country, that they shall be kept close from the griping

Arms of Unruliness, which would else usurp the Plenty of the Nation, or tie the Subjects to many slavish Inconveniences. A Parliament, in *England*, can keep the Majesty of Kings in their fair moving Order, that they look with sweet Aspect upon the Subject, yielding a Splendor and gracious Lustre all over the Kingdom. A Parliament, in *England*, can call private Officers in Question, whose Injustice is spread abroad like stinking Burrs, prejudicial to all the sweet Flowers, and green Grass round about, and in their own Existence unsavory and noisome. A Parliament, in *England*, can debar a potent Stranger from sitting his Head to the Diadem, who is not lineally descended; as was apparent in King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, and yet could not obtain that Prerogative to be crowned King of *England*. A Parliament, in *England*, can keep Foreigners from griping to hoard the Offices of the Common-Wealth; and very seldom shall you see them at the Helm of Authority. A Parliament, in *England*, can suppress all prejudicial Monopolies, which, like *Prometheus's* Vultur, gnaw upon the Hearts of the People, who murmur against

gainst the Pride and Lasciviousness of high-looking Men, maintained out of their Sweats and toilsome Endeavours. A Parliament, in *England*, can call home the Ships out of the *East-Indies*, and tell the World, it is an over-reaching Policy of State to deal by such private Factories for the enriching certain Persons, who, (with *Midas*) wish every Thing they touch converted into Gold; though (with *Midas*) they are ready to starve for want of good Sustenance indeed; when yet, without Exportation of Treasure, Loss of Ships, extraordinary Expense of Provision, Decay of Men, falling out with Friends, and many other Inconveniences depending on these tedious Journeys and dangerous Places (I might say unwholesome People) the *Levant* would be filled with glorious Navies, and the same Merchandize brought us in at easier Rates, with greater Assurance. Then shall *Spain* itself behold the Glory of their Nation, when so many Ships muster within their own Strength. Then shall the Princes of *Italy* wonder at their Potency, and our Holy Father be terrified lest *Rome* should be set on Fire: Indeed, then shall the *Turks* retreat, not presuming to make farther Incursions into *Europe*, for fear they lose that beautiful City which was once *Europe's* Glory: Then shall no such Scorn be put upon the Majesty of *Great-Britain*, as the King of *Achens* demanding of Captain *Best*, Whether the King of *England* or *Holland* was the mightier Prince? Then shall *Fesi*, *Morocco* and all *Barbary* confess the Exaltation of their Mightiness, and Riches come in an hundred Ways unlooked for. In a Word, if our *Indian* Ships were in the *Mediterranean* Sea, then shall the Robberies of Pirates cease, and all tumultuous Spirits be taught a Lesson of honest and safer Endeavours. A Parliament, in *England*, can humble the Subjects to the King, for proclaiming his Son-in-Law King of *Bohemia*, that so his Well-wishers may be induced to more profuse Contribution, and the Prince of the Union consoled to take his Part; whereas now they are amazed what Character to afford him, not knowing how to bestow their Obedience, considering his Majesty is resolved to correspond with the House of *Austria*. As for these hard Beginnings on this Part, I have heard some of their own *Heretics* maintain, that the Works of God have ever been such troublesome Inchoations, and such poor Thrivings, like a Grain of *Mustard Seed*, which at last grows a great Tree, have yet had successful Progresses, and the small Ends concurred with Prosperity, to the Admiration of the whole World. A Parliament, in *England*, can be more powerful than those Edicts of *France*, interdicting Great Men for having two great Offices at once in their Hands: A Parliament, in *England*, can bring the Clergy, or Officers, in other peculiar Indications, within a *Premunire* and manifest Inflammation, if they transcend their own Limits: A Parliament, in *England*, can restrain the Subject from giving or receiving Foreign Contributions, especially to or from their near Opposites; howsoever the Men flock unto our devout Priests on their Knees, the Ladies hang about their Necks to convert them. In a Word, a Parliament in *England* can open their Laps, and bid his Majesty take out Treasure by Handfuls, by Carts-full, by Bowls-full; nay, what will they not give (as I have heard some of them say) to prevent this pretended Marriage with *Spain*, and divert both King and Prince from *Spain* to some other Aspect, which shall look more pleasing on the Subject, and make them more alacrious than thus to be tied to Those, they inwardly hate?

Fryer.] But, alas! (answered the Confessor) where is the Wealth? or from whence shall come such Treasure to answer the Proportions of the King's Occasions, or assist him, like a Prince, to wade out of the Mire of Debts and Poverty?

Jesuit.] O, be not deceived (said *Baldwin*) Experience goes beyond Opinion, or outward Rebufrances. *England* is rich, and their Subjects generally exceed other Nations; this, this hath wrought all the Disturbance of *Europe*; this hath saddened the Heart of his Holiness, and made *Rome* bleed inwardly for their Desertion; O this hath caused our Priests to hunt in every Corner to convert them, and from a dissembled Sanctity (as I must needs confess) what weak and ragged Persons (not worthy scarce of a Crust in other Countries) have been welcomed in *England* to the pleasant Accates and plentiful Banquets of honourable Persons! O the Happiness of *England*! the Riches of *England*! the Pleasures of *England*! the Glory of *England*! the Abundance of *England*! as if the Horn of *Abelans* hung over their Heads, in the Point Vertical. I cannot speak it without Tears, by reason of their hard Hearts and surfeiting of Ease; what Cathedrals and famous Structures still holding up their magnificent Heads, that *Europe* cannot parallel such Monasteries, such Universities, such Revenues, such opulent Maintenance, such Alter-clothes in these Days, such Portraitsures, such Pictures, such Chappels, such Incense, such Music, such Organs, such Ornaments as shall never be seen again in these Days, such Palaces for Noblemen, such Villages, such Towns, such Gentlemens Houses, such Utensils, such Decorum that the World cannot truly compare with King's many Houses and Diversity of rich Furniture, with the Bravery of the Court, and the Beauty of the Ladies, with the Cost of the Gentles, and the Pride of the Citizens. Why? The *Peasant* hath a handsome Dwelling, and Plenty of Fare, sweet Linnen, and good Welcome; the Mechanic-man sits not down without drinking in Silver, and the meanest Artificer goes with Store of Money too; such Store of Meat in the Shambles, that Strangers lift up their Hands with Admiration! This caused that Book called *The Conversion of England*, to be written; this disbursed 400*l.* for one Survey, to know in whose Possession the *Abbey-Lands* were, and how transfered to Collateral Rights; this cost 1000*l.* in Search of their Harbours and Havens, and as much to understand who were well-affected to our Religion and Projects: I dare say no more, for fear of being guilty of an Ecstasy in the Transition; but let the Prince please the Subject, though that may be counted a Humiliation, yet it is such a glorious Affability, that they will not give their Wealth, but the very Eyes out of their Heads.

I confess it was a brave Motive to conquer it, and an *Alexandrian* Work, if it had an *Alexandrian* Success; but you see it is of a greater Consequence than to uncut a *Gordian* Knot, or obtain a *Darian* Victory; nay, believe it, the Diadem of *Britain* hangs not so loose; the *Cidaris* of *Persia*, and all that Fry of *Mahometans*, nay, the *Turk's* Turbant will sooner tumble under Foot than the Crown of *England* lose her Splendor and Lustre; for except Heaven determine some strange Thing against their Pride and Heresy, the Stars will fight for them, as they did against *Sisera*; the Angels defend them, as once the *Jews* against the Host of *Senacharib*; the Earth open for their Sakes, as to swallow up *Corab*, *Dathan*, and *Abiram*, and the very Sea swell against their Adversaries, as once against the *Egyptians*.

All this While was *Gondomar* silent, whether as attentive to what was spoken, or fearing some Aspersions to light upon him for his former Security and assumed Presumption in *Spain*, that he had so charmed the King against a Parliament, or flattered himself with certain adulterate Collections, as confident of the Success of his Employment, whereby he might return with the Servant, who had made his five Talents ten: But on a Sudden he clapped his Hand on the Board, and cried, There will be a Parliament in *England*. When instantly, as if the Hand-writing on the Wall should knock *Belpazzar's* Knees together, a strange Apparition affrighted them, a Ghost, a fearful ugly Ghost; yet were the Circumstances of their Fear more terrible

rible than the Substance; for though he came in a gentle Manner, yet *Gondomar* cried Guilty, and was tormented as if he felt a Punishment indeed. Besides, the Oration he made left them more astonished than the Ugliness he affronted them with; but what should I dwell on Circumstances? he thus acted his Part.

Rawleigh.] I could (saith he) begin with the Poet, *Cresce Crnor Sanguis satiatur Sanguine Cresce, vindicta*. But sit you down and be quiet, I will neither distemper the Conscience, nor divert you from Designs; and yet I am *Rawleigh*, Headless *Rawleigh*! for whose Destruction (if I might call it a Levity) this great Majesty of *England* hath kept Promise with thee (*Gondomar*) and thou hast made *Spain* believe that he did it merely for the Love of thy King; but my Tongue is past whispering a Mislike of so Dread a Sovereign; and my Heart hath neither Blood nor Passion: Nay, sit you still! I say, be not amazed! thou didst but thy Duty, and if I had been imployed by my King, in the same Kind, I would have done the like by thee. I come for no such Purpose as Revenge; nor mean I to flatter you in your Resolutions; for I have the Hand of you all, and can resemble you to the *Adder* that putteth his Tail to his Ear, and will not hear the Voice of the Charmer. Nay, I think you have heard (though I know you dare not read it) of the Story of *Pharoah*, who, though he saw the Hand of God's Mercy and Providence in the Peoples Deliverance, and of his Judgment in his own Disturbance, yet would not let the People go; but, like a refractory Delinquent, persisted in his Willfulness, and, worse than *Gigantomachia*, cast up the Mountains against Heaven: With *Typhon's* Blasphemy, go on therefore in your Courses till you precipitate yourselves into more irrecoverable Mischief than *Curtius* did, by leaping into the gaping Cave. For though I should advise you by Presages, making you conjecture, the Dead know more than the Living, yet you, who will not believe the Scriptures nor the Word of God, will not believe me though raised from the Dead. Once again (I say) be quiet, leave your Thumping, your Duckings, your Crossings, your Censings, your Mumblings, and all your apish Tricks, for I must and will tell you my Message, though to another Purpose than to give my Country Cause of Laughter and Rejoycing, when they shall see all your Devises frustrated, and dissimuled Policies annihilated: Mark them in plain Terms: The *Pope's* Directions, the *Emperor's* Resolutions, your *Master's* Commission, the *Inquisition's* Charge, the *Jesuits* Devises, the *Priests* Dissimulation, and all your formal Attendants consist in these five Things: 1. The Propagation of the *Catholic* Religion; 2. The Exaltation of the *Pope's* Supremacy; 3. The Glorification of the *Spanish* Monarchy; 4. The Extenuation of the *Low-Countries* Greatness; and lastly, the abusing of *England's* Simplicity; of all which, as briefly and orderly as I can, according to the Time of my Limitation.

First then, concerning Religion, continue as you have begun, I warrant you will do well enough. Keep the People in Ignorance, and cast a Mist of Superstition before their Eyes: Make them believe a Piece of Gold, bestowed upon an Indulgence, shall release them, a *Pená & Culpá*: Let them know no more than you are willing to learn them; proclaim it a Point of Heresy, to read the Scriptures, or Doctrine of Apostles by the Touch-stone of the Word, and (no Question) this Policy will send more Souls to the Devil, than their own Sins can procure. I will put you in Remembrance of some delicate Passages whereby this Cause hath so thrived. After *Stephen Gardiner* had raged in many bloody Executions against the Church of God, a hasty Summons to Death was but a Preparative to a farther Judgment, yet, desperate in all Villany, he would needs dye the *Pope's* Champion, leaving this Caution behind him, That if such a Gap were open, to the Church and People, as acknowledging

the Merits of Christ's only Satisfaction for Sins, the Apostolical Hierarchy would fall asunder, and there was no Hope of ending the Pontifical Glory.

Mark but the Persecutions in the Primitive Church, you will all confess them bloody and cruel; yet *Sanguis Martyrum Semen Ecclesie*. But when *Julian* the Apostate came to play his Part, he took another Course: He debarred the Intercourse of Christians, shut up their Schools, prohibited their Preachings, and interdicted their Assemblies. O! this, this proved more advantageous to the Devil, than all his Tortures, and Vexation of Souls. You had once a Trick, when Princes were at Leisure to examine the Enormities of your Lives, and Abuses of Cloysterers, either to raise particular Quarrels, out of the Circle of Disturbance against other Kings, as you did by *Henry* the 5th, who resolved to trace after you in his Father's Steps, by setting on foot a Bill which was preferred against you, the 11th of *Hen.* 4th. but, to divert him, you sent him into *France*, and the Bishop of *Winchester* lent him 20,000*l.* Or incite them generally to recover the *Holy-Land*, as you did *Rich.* 1. *Ed.* 1. and *Hen.* 4. when yet you knew you had cursed the same, and charmed the Stones never to admit of any tempered Morter again; inso-much, that when, at several Times, the *Jews* had made them Trowels, Spades, and Silver Instruments, nay, many of them were of Gold, as they had bought out their Commissions from covetous Emperors at dear Rates, to re-edify their Temple, and restore their pristine Glory. But what followed? The Day, and fair Calms gave them leave to set forward their Work; but the Night, and tempestuous Weather washed all away, and dissipated the Stuff like Water spilled out of a Bowl, never to be gathered up again.

By these Devises, and many more, you put on *Esau's* hairy Neck, and rough Hands, to deceive blind *Isaac*; and so, for the Time, went away with the Blessing. And thus you dealt with *Christendom*, in the Propagation of your Religion, till, at last, your Hypocrisy and Impiety were discovered. And, what did you then? When you saw Things did not concur with your Policies, and unhallowed Practices, you imitated the Sea, running between two Shoars, which losing Ground in one Place, gets it in another. And so you hurried on into *America*, where the Saying of our Saviour is verified, that in going about by Sea and Land to make a Profelyte, you cause him to be ten times worse the Child of the Devil than he was before.

Nay, in *England*, and remoter Kingdoms, you have played the Emperics with Mens Souls, as they do with their Bodies; when they find them cold and phlegmatic, they make their Waters stronger, till at last there is none efficacious, but of greater Violence, and Operation indeed. Thus, at first, you began with poor and ignorant *Priests*, then with doating and superstitious *Fryers*; next you had sophisticate Learning from *Sorbonists* and *Schoolmen*; and, last of all, you ended with politic and devout *Jesuits*; confounding the Simplicity of Men and Women with Distinction of Character, and Exaltation of Titles, committing yet this Error, this strange and gross Error, that, with a devouring Grave, you cry, Give, Give; persuading others to Perfection of Poverty, when yourselves are insatiably covetous, and have your Monasteries exceeding the Palaces of Princes. I must confess, *Erasmus* hath a Saying, *Romæ omnia vendibilia*; and you have an Inveſtive, That in *England*, as well as other Countries, Offices are sold for Money. But where, among all the Enormities of Worldlings, did you ever find, that the Grace of the Spirit and Salvation could be bought for Riches? Nay, you know rather how *Simon* was apprehended for offering the Apostles Money; and yet this Way you hope to propagate your Religion.

O ye Fools! Why go ye not into *Turky*, *Persia*, and among the *Mahometans* and *Jews* with this Doctrine? Why do you not attempt their Conversion? Oh, they cannot abide Images; they hate Idolatry, protest against Propination, observe the Sabbath,

Sabbath, and such like, which you cannot endure ; or, at least, would put off your Trumperies with the Ordinance of the Church, the Voice of Authority, and the Sweetness of Good Order : There is not one Word to maintain the same out of Scripture ; but go on, go on still ; *the Blind lead the Blind, and both fall in the Ditch* : For you have one Trick more, especially when you deal with understanding Men, and the Settled Government of *England*, the Fear of Diminution of your Authority, makes you cautelous and politic, whereby you serve up your Admiration to the highest, persuading our Clergy, that the *Puritans* would suppress their Ambition, abate their Pomp, take away their Wealth, and give away their Lands to the King ; yea, diminish the Prerogative of the King himself ; inciting the *Puritans* to be factious against Government ; I mean the State, as it now stands under Colour of Despection of the World, imitating of Christ and his Apostles, in their Poverty ; and that Religion cannot endure Ceremonies ; but God (being a Spirit) must be worshipped in Spirit, without outward Formality. And running to the *Protestant*, with indifferent Courses and Moderation of Life, as being most worthy to be counted Fools, or incorrigibly hard-headed ; when yet (you know) to be neither hot nor cold, will not be endured in a Spiritual Womb without vomiting. Nay, rather than fail, you spare neither King nor Council, Lord nor Lady, Gentleman nor Soldier ; but tell them all, Conscience is a Coward, and to make but a Shew of true Religion incurs the Branding with Simplicity ; dejecting the Heart, and hanging the Head down like a Bull-rush. As for Government, that must be maintained rather by Policy than Piety. Thus shall you prevail even against Heavenly Wisdom, and Satan will be glad to have such Fire-brands to set the World in Combustion.

2. Secondly, Concerning the Exaltation of Papacy. This is the Way to raise up your Buildings of Greatness as high as Heaven, and exalt you with the Tower of *Babel*, though it end with Confusion. This hath led you many Years up to the Mountain of Security ; and all the while with Presumption dare acknowledge the Pope a God on Earth, who will make you believe you shall be advanced as Saints in Heaven. Keep the Strings in this Tune, and it will sound a *Diapason* of ambitious Music, making harsh all other Songs of Humiliation and Obedience to Princes themselves.

But why come you to infect *England* with this Contagion ? You have had such Experience of their annihilating these Trumperies ? This flourishing Tree hath been blasted long since among us ; and the Temporal Laws of the Realm, being Fundamental from the Word of God, have condemned, many Years ago, the Pope's Authority. Nor could those traitorous and ambitious Intrusions of *Gregory* and *Hildebrand*, against the 4th and 5th Emperors ; or other Popes against *Frederick 1. Lewis* of *Bavaria*, and some of the rest, terrify us, or *France* ; but we have run upon this impregnable Wall, with forcible Rams, and Engines of Battery.

The Records of *England* are apparent, that the Kings, and their Barons, have been sensible of such Perfidiousness and Impiety. The Name of a *Præmunire* hath, in ancient Times, terrified your Protectors, and punished your Prelates. *Hen. 8.* discovered the double Oath of Bishops, and taught his boasting Cardinal a lower Note of Humiliation. And yet, for all this, you will be comparing the Pope to the Sun, and the Emperor to the Moon. Nay, what did your Emperor, *Charles* the 5th, to *Rome* ? I hope he was not afraid of the Pope's Curses, or Fulminations, when he sacked and besieged the City, imprisoned *Clement*, and shut up 33 Cardinals ; who, after seven Months, were ransom'd at 200,000 Ducats, the Pope himself disburfing as much as all the rest. The Overseers of which Business were, Don *Diego de Moncada*, a *Spaniard*, and the Marquess of *Gnasto*. Nor were the Families of the *Colonnas*, being mere Imperialists, afraid to perform as much : Nor *Henry 2.* of *France*, diverted from making Edicts against *Rome* : Nor, in these Days, could *Philip* the 2. bear with the

the Pope's excommunicating him ; but the Duke of *Alva* called that only a Scarecrow, and wrote Letters himself to the Holy Father against such Intrusion.

Nay, our Queen *Mary* (no mean Devotress to your Religion) was yet a main Opposite to your Supremacy, and would not condescend to such a Division ; but in her Kinsman's Behalf, Cardinal *Poole*, by the Judges Consent of her Realm, absolutely interdicted *Fryer Peto* (an Observant) for taking upon him the Dignity of a Cardinal in her Realm, though the *Pope* had sent him a Hat for the Purpose ; and yet still you proclaim the *Pope's* Supremacy ! As for my Mistress,

Queen Eliza-
beth.

Wonder of the Age, how dare you think of her Excommunication by *Pius Quintus*, with the Wars, the Treasons, the Rebellions, the Attempts, and the exorbitant Actions against her, when she stood like an impregnable Rock, and all these Mischiefs fell from her, quite defeated, according to the *Motto* of that Impress, *Conantia frangere franguntur* ? And do you not blush for Shame ! or are amazed with Astonishment ! Leave off, therefore, this Foolery in *England*, and meddle no farther than your Beads and Crucifixes, with which, peradventure, you may play with the Ladies, or ignorant and wilful Women, as *Monkeys* do with Nut-shells, pick out the Kernel and make a Noise with the broken Pieces : Nay, peradventure, you may deceive some Lords with Dispensations and wanton Pardons for Sinners, who will never yet be induced to endure your Supremacy ; considering as Ulcers and Boils break out of a corrupt Body, so many Treasons, Rebellions, Disobedience, Foreign Invasion, Attempts of Murther, Intrusion of Princes, encouraging with one Voice, interdicting with another, and such-like, proceed from this Dunghill of Supremacy, which again, like filthy tettering Sores, shall make his Holiness loathsome to be looked upon ; and you his Agents, like so many *Lepers*, fit for nothing but a *Lazer-House*, or to be thrown out of the Camp.

Nay, mark it among yourselves, what a Stream of foolish Ambition is raised by this Means ; the *Pope's* Nuncio must sit Paramount above all Princes Embassadors, and such a Quoil of Observation and Ceremony is used, that the Embassy is sooner dispatched and answered than the *Nuncio* settled in his Place : The Room must stink with Perfumes, the Ground be spread with Carpets, the Guard give their Attendance, and the Nobility be tortured with Expectation of a Man who hath neither Wit, Learning, Birth, Comeliness, Honesty nor Good-Manners, but only a Title of the *Pope's* Nuncio ; so that by reason of his aspiring Name of *Universal Bishop*, all the Princes of the World must be disesteemed, and their Embassadors disgraced ; yea, most commonly, the Business of *Europe*, by such foppish Means, is mightily neglected, or not at all brought into Fashion.

3. Thirdly, concerning the *Spanish* Monarchy, who must be a *Catholic* and Universal King, as well as his Holiness a Universal Bishop. I remember I have seen the Portraiture of *Europe* made like an Empress, whose Head was *Spain* crowned with an Imperial Diadem ; the Neck the green Mountains, as if it were *Syrmosa*, with great Bunches like the Women of *Helvetia* ; the Breast *France* and *Savoy* ; the long Robe and Skirts down to her Feet, *Germany* and *Grecia* ; between her Arms the two Seas, the *British* and *Adriatic* ; the right Hand and Arm was *Italy* holding up *Sicilia* in a *Monde* ; the left Arm was covered with a Mantle, but a Hand appeared under the Water of *Great-Britain*, which because it seemed she was not able to grasp, for the Greatness, as the other Hand did *Sicilia*, they made her to play with it under Water, as a Swimming-hand, with Supposition that her own Strength bare it up, when indeed the Water itself did support it.

From this *Hieroglyphic* comes all this Tumour ; and because the Picture seemed to be so, your King thinks to have it so : But, as *Barnard* says to our Lady, when the cozening Priests had caused her to bid him *Good-morrow*, that it was not law-
ful

ful for Women to speak in the Church; so they cry, Peace, talk not at all of this Matter. For as the Universal Bishop is the Forerunner of *Antichrist* (by your own Confession, and *Gregory's* Letters to *John, Patriarch of Constantinople*) and so subject to Defamation and Destruction; so this Character of Universal King is but *Nebuchadnezzar's* Presumption, when he said, *Is not this Babel the City I have built?* and the same Night he was cast out among the Beasts!

I confess I have read of four Monarchies in *Daniel*, and of their Inchoation, Passages, Progression, Exaltation, Diminution, and utter Dissolution; but except you can shew me another *Daniel*, I will not believe another Monarchy: For although it were a glorious Project to act a Part of such Sovereignty, yet it should seem you are like summer-fallen Fruit, or that which is beaten off with Cudgels before the Time. I make this Comparison because you have failed in the Enterprize, and are both discovered and prevented for growing ripe in such an ambitious Conjecture.

I suppose therefore it were better for you to maintain the Cause bravely by confessing as much unto the State Honour, than to disclaim the Retraction, or abuse the Heroicness of the Motive with Policies, Extenuation, Equivocation, or affrighting the Enterprize into the Conceit of its Possibility. For what could the *Romans* do more with their Colonies and Provincial Territories, orderly garisoned, than you have done by dangerous Attempts against all *Europe*? only there is the Difference, God had ordained the Thriving of their Monarchy by forcible and active Employment; you lack a *Roman* Success, *Roman* Spirits, *Roman* Discipline, *Roman* Manfuetude, and *Roman* Ability to your Attempts. Notwithstanding, do not play the *Ostridge*, who, by hiding her Head, supposeth her great Body obscured; but (as I said) confess, you had a Determination to tamper with, and hammer out a Sovereignty over *Europe* upon the Anvil of Ambition and *Pope's* Flattery; or that you still lie in wait to catch hold of Opportunity's Fore-top, and upon Advantage of the Weakness of dissentious Princes, set upon their own Countries unawares, as by all your Actions is apparent.

But if it should be so, will it not fare with you as with *Haman*, to whom all his Honours did no Good, as long as *Mordichai* would not bow the Knee? so, in my Conscience, if you might prevail over *Europe*, yet you would go home sad, and tell *Tereph*, your Wife, of your Melancholy, because *England* will not submit unto you, and means to hold it out against any Intrusion?

I confess, your Voyage to the *West-Indies* was a worthy Exploration, and a royal Conquest; I blame only our Masters of *England*, who offered them by *Columbus*, and was afraid of Shadows, or incredulous of the Blessing: I pass by your Invasion in 88; you will say *Fortune* gave *Venus* the Check, and I must say it was an unvaluable Bravado; but a stronger Arm put out the strong Man's: I will not name your Landings many Times in *Ireland*, nor that fatal Day against you at *Kinsale*; for they were Times of Hostility, reciprocal Damages passed between us: But what had you to do in *France*, to set up the Leaguers Obligarchy; to raise the Wars of *Britagne*; to pretend the Protectorship of Religion; to swell up the *Guises* with Wind of impossible Hopes, till like full-charged Ordnance, in the Discharging, they burst themselves; to torment *Picardy* with Uproars; to cozen *Byron* with Impossibilities; and to terrify the whole Country with your *Spanish* Callocks? How came *Savoy* to be disturbed? or to attempt the Marquisate of *Salust*, till, at last, it was possessed by your Garrisons, or, at least, entertained your Guards? What hath *Italy* suffered, even to the Delacerating her Principalities? For herein you hold *Sicily*, *Naples*, *Parma*, *Milan*, *Genoa*, and other Fortifications. Nay, it is well known you have endeavoured *Venice* in Conceit, and been a secret Enemy to their Importunities, and Leagues with Foreign Princes. The *Alps* have been transpassed by you; and, where you thought advantageous, you have stored new Ramparts with Garrisons,

sons, and built the Fort *Furnt* among the *Grifons*. *Hungary* hath had your Soldiers, with the Confines of *Poland*. *Bohemia* wavered by your Promises, and *Budwis* possessed. *Austria* keeps your Armies; the *Low-Countries*, your Lieutenants; the *Palatinate*, your General; and the whole Empire your Subjects; and wherefore is all this? You make the Majesty of *England* believe, to support the House of *Austria*; to chace the rebellious States; to overlook other Princes, lest their Neighbours grow to your Sides, like an unnatural Wen of Deformity; to keep *France* from a Union, and claiming *Navarre*; and, in a word, to maintain the Cause of Religion. And he takes all in good Part; or, at least, keeps Correspondency with that Fraternity, whereby Kings stile one another God's Vicegerents. So that, for your Sake, he neither doth acknowledge his Son-in-law King of *Bohemia*, nor will assist him in this his formidable Enterprize. But, for all this, be not too presumptuous; the *Lamia* had certain Eyes, which they delivered one another by Turns, till, at last, they were stolen away in the Conveyance. — You know the Story. So is Policy counter-changed among Princes, and, as it were, lent to one another (fair advantageous Respects) till, at last, Truth and true Religion either meets with them, that they shall meet no more; or puts them clean out, and so your Monarchy may be obscured.

4. Fourthly, Concerning the Extenuation of the *Low-Countries* Greatness. O! (that ever I could speak it) to have a King of the same Religion, to slight their Protection; let go so fair a Hold in such foul Times of Hypocrisy! Was it for Want of Money, to deliver up those Cautionary Towns into the Hands of the States, who better know how to keep them than ever (as the Dragon did the Golden Apples of *Hesperides*) and will do what they can to put in Practice their Knowledge? Well, it is done, and you would now depress their Greatness! Take Heed; some Flowers smell the sweeter for being trod upon; and, when you come into a delicate Garden, by stirring the Herbs, you make the Scent the pleasanter. So hath it fared between you and the *Low-Countries*; Nature, and your great Tyrannies, have so taught them the Way of Preservation, that they who were (as you say) the Subjects of the Duke of *Burgundy*, are now, I think, the Masters of the King of *Spain's* Pretences. Nay, in these Times, they set little by the Emperor's Greatness, and will now less regard a *Viceroy's* Greatness; for, without Controversy, they think of nothing but the Sweetness of Liberty, which they entertain as a Donation from Heaven; the Progress of the Gospel; the Amplification of their Renown; the Enlarging of their Territories; the Maintenance of their Shipping; the Munition of their Towns; the Raising of Bulwarks and Sconces; and the Increasing of their Armies, and Auxiliary Forces; and yet you will extenuate their Greatness where the Gate is open to be as Great as you.

What then do you mean to do? Will you trample upon the Bodies of Men, and Carcasses of Horses? Will you come over Pikes and Halberds? Will you climb Walls, and strong Towers? Will you straddle Fortifications, Ramparts, and Palisadoes? In a Word, can you stop the Mouth of Cannons, and cast so many Soldiers on a sudden to their Graves? Nay, can you cross the Ocean with a Chain, and prevent their Navies from their Voyages? You cannot; your Forces are too weak, and your Policies too trivial; your Malice too great, and your Employments too many. Besides, most Part of the Year, and most Part of the Way you must tread upon Ice; and Ice, you know, hath slippery Footing, and unstedfast Turnings.

But you will say, that if *England* Match with *Spain*, the Combination will open the Narrow Seas, and so you shall pass and repass at your Pleasure; and so you may step into *England* by the Way, upon Advantage of their Security, doing as the Fellow said by his Son, *He would make him proud*, which when he was reprehended for, O (replied he) it may be he is not capable of so high a Matter; but if he meet with Cleanliness and Handsome-

Handfomeness by the Way, it is as much as I desire. So you may step into *Sussex* or *Norfolk*, under Colour of supplying the Archduke's Wants. O! they be pleasant Shores, and yield other Manner of Things than the *Lemons* and *Oranges* of *Sevil*. But take Heed, deceive not yourselves! do not land without *Nota*.

Leave! for then *St. George's* Dragon revives, and *St. James's* Staff will do no Good without *St. George's* Lance; yet, which Way soever it go, if you should presume on such License, all, and more than ever we shall get by you must be spent in Rigging out a Navy, to overlook your Intercourses and provide, that you keep the Channel against your Hearts Wishes.

But, deceive not yourselves: How the Women of *England* doat on you, I cannot tell; but there is never a *Catholic* Gentleman, in our Country, will give you Leave to tread upon the Ground, by way of Invasion; not affording so much Footing, when they shall hear of Conquest, Usurpation, Ambition, Insulting with such-like, as shall serve you to stand upright in. They will surely do by you as that good Viscount *Mountague* protested; "That if his Holy Father, the *Pope*, came with *Peter's* Keys to "convert his Soul, and reconcile him to Salvation, he would run, and kneel and pray, "and, as far as he durst, even to kiss his Feet; but if he came with *Peter's* Sword and "Colours displayed, to depress the Renown of *England*, he would raise up himself, "mount on Horse-back, and be the first Man should tumble his triple Crown in the "Dirt:" Yet I believe, for all your Marriage, the King will not be so lavish of his Confidence, as to trust you with his Seas, much less with his Shores; but deal with you as *Henry* the fourth, of *France*, did with *Byron*, when he denied him the keeping of *St. Catherine's-Fort*; saying, A King of his Years must not commit so great Sollicism in Government, as to leave the strongest Fortrefs of his Country in the Hands of a Commander in chief. And of this you have Experience in *Naples*, *Millan*, and other Places, where Viceroy's do not command the Castles. And Count *Furnt* himself observed the Ceremony of the Guard, when *Don Diego de Pimentel* entertained him within the Cittadel of *Millan*: Nay, what need you go any farther than the Place you reside in? where the *Tower* of *London* prohibits the Mayor from coming within her Precincts. If then it be so in Matters of less Consequence, What is it in the Royal Authority, and Supreme Government of such a Majesty? Marry, therefore, when you will, the *British* Seas will play with you, as the *Venetian Gulph* did with the Duke; for all he espoused it on *Affection-Day*, in the *Bucentoro*, casting a Wedding-Ring therein, yet dares he not adventure into the Roughness, nor trust the boisterous Waves, or tempestuous Rages. Believe it then, the *British-Ocean* hath a rougher Head than the *Venetian-Gulph*, and *England's* Navy cannot endure the Competition of another *Armada*. Now if *England* will serve you thus, in her best Embraces and smoothest Calms; What will it do in turbulent Times and Disgusts of Affronting, whether by Deceit, Policy, Equivocation, Hostility, Defiance, or any other Way offered?

As for the *Low-Countries*, they will keep Time with their Neighbours Proceedings, and stand upon a Guard of Circumspection, if Suspicion do but whisper, there is any Thing pretended against them: Thus you shall see their Guards doubled, their Watches increased, their Shipping enlarged, their Camps continued, their Wages and Travels advanced; and being without all Fear of *Regicides*, will come whither you would not have them; yea, according to the Proverb (*Præmonitus præmunitus*) will, out of Stubbornness, neither care for you, nor us, if we care not for them. So that this Marriage will not weaken them, but lead them to the Preventings of all the Mischiefs which may be threatened, and, peradventure, fly to some other Refuge, who will better respect them; and teach you this Trick, that they will not have Superiors to overlook their Plenty of Treasure (the Seas open formidable Ways, Men to furnish them, Subjects with honest Hearts, and a Country free from Traitors,

with raising an Army) will neither regard dissembling Friends, nor open Enemies. As for the *Armenians*, the Garrisons will take to them well enough; and if they grow tumultuous, there is Remedy for that, in * * *

5. Last of all, concerning your abusing of *England*: What a Coyle do you keep, with Leave from the *Pope*, who can dispense so many Incestuous Matches, Treasons, Murthers, Rebellions, and never-heard-of Impieties? So may easily tolerate an Heretical Marriage, when so great a Prince, so expectable a Gentleman, and so worthy a Hero is exposed unto you; and (as you say) disposed by you. But sure you aim at another Mark, than the sweet Embraces of an amorous Princess, Recovery of Souls, Amplification of *Papistry*, Liberty of *Catholics*, Pacification of our Laws against *Recusants*, Hope of Children, who shall learn their Mother's Language (if not her Religion) of Factions that shall adore your Princess, of a Devotion which shall bewitch our Ladies, and the new Thriving of the *Jesuits*, which shall bring in the old Disturbance of Church and Common-Wealth, as *Watson*, the Priest, in his *Quodlibets*, hath bravely described. But why do you boast of these Things? call you this deceiving of *England*? sure it is a Trick to deceive yourselves! But your Princess (I know) will be another Creature; and, by that Time she is seasoned with *England's* Temperature, Diet, and Good Conditions, she will rather thank God for the Happiness, and learn of her former Cousin, *Catherine of Aragon*, to cling close to the Sides of her Husband, and meddle no farther with State-Matters, than what the Council of *England* shall think fit to be imparted unto her. Otherwise, if she should entertain such a Spirit, as some of her own Spirit have done in *England*, namely, the Wife of *Edw. 1.* or other Queens of *England*, as *Eleanor*, King *Henry* the Second's Queen, *England* is not so Weak, nor Silly, but can deal with her as she dealt with

them. You know the *French*, upon some Distastings, had like to have sent *Catherine de Medicis* over the *Alps* back again; and the *English* took their own Queen *Margaret* Prisoner, and made her Father, Duke *Reiner*, pay her Ransom; for which he sold all his Ti-

ties and Rights to *Naples* and *Jerusalem*, whereby the *French* had Occasion to visit *Italy*. And do you think they have not the same Stomach now, if they had the same Cause? Yes, and far greater, considering *Scotland* is united; from whence come as brave Hearts, strong Arms, and industrious Men as any in *Spain*.

Indeed, I confess you have certain cozening Tricks, which we have not. You can transport our Ordnance, and ship them away, under Colour of going against the *Moors* and *Pirates*; but I pray God they be not, one Day, turned upon our Bosomes. You can make Use of our Cloth, Corn, and other Blessings, tempting us with Gold, if not, to betray us to more golden Promises; never remembering how beneficial those *Cotswold* Sheep have been unto you, which *Edw. 4.* sent over. You preserve the Clergy from Temporal Law; so that when they rail, write Books, devise Pictures, raise Scandals, and run away with all the Filthiness of Scurrility, the Imputation is laid upon a Clergyman, and that Puddle of Immunity doth bedirty both yourselves and us: Whereas we dare neither speak, publish, write, nor preach any Thing unfavoury, or distasteful to your Jealousies. One is Imprisoned for writing a Letter; another, for telling a Tale of the *West-Indian* Conquest; another, for making of a Sermon, and divers others, for writing and publishing of Books, unpleasant to your Ears, and corrosives to your Hearts; though they all tend to God's Glory, the Honour of the King, and Dignity of the Country; and these be goodly Things to boast of indeed.

I remember we had but one facete Device, of the King's holding the *Pope's* Nose to the Grind-stone, with the two Arch-bishops turning the same; and you (Signor *Gondomar*) complaining, got it suppressed; the Plate was cut in Pieces, and the Publisher Imprisoned, but it was printed in Mens Hearts; and (according to the Proverb,

nititur

mititur in vetitum) after the Prohibition, Rumor was more lavish than before. But you have Pictures, and Pictures again, with Cloaths of *Arras* about King *H. 8.* and his Children. You made Queen *Mary* sitting mourning, holding her Hands on her Knees, when her Husband forsook her for a Baker's Daughter in *Antwerp*. You painted King *Hen. 8.* naked, without a Grave; as if a Heretic were not worthy to be buried. What did you to Queen *Elizabeth*? I am ashamed to relate it, though you were not ashamed to prosecute: But, in your Rages, you will do as much against your Holy Lady, abusing her worse than a High-prized *Rumera*. But come to his Majesty; What have you done by him, even of late Days? In one Place, you picture him with a Scabbard without a Sword; in another, with a Sword so fast in the Scabbard, that no Body could draw it. In *Brussels* you made him in his Hose Doublet; his Pockets hanging out, and never a Penny in his Purse. In *Antwerp* you painted the Q. of *Bobemia* like an *Irish Glibbin*, her Hair dishevelled, a Child at her Back, and in a Mantle, with the King (her Father) carrying the Cradle for her. What think you of *Corona Regis*, printed at *Brussels*, in the Time of Sir *John Bennet*, who complained of the same to the Arch-Duke; but, instead of Reformation, it was re-printed again, with this Answer, that an *Italian* did it, belonging to the Pope; and so nothing was done, nor could be done unto him. O! these be sweet Things to boast of, and sweeter Things to let pass unpunished. You clapped your Hands for Joy, when you made that suspicious Earl transpose the Body of his Majesty's Mother from *Peterborough*, to a sumptuous Tomb in *Westminster*; causing some of our Bishops to attend the Solemnity by Torch-light, after the *Catholic* Manner. Princes, I confess, are worthy of Honourable Burial, but you were unworthy to mock our Prelates, for their Inconstancy and Luke-warmness. What did your Mad-man, a-while ago, sitting in the King's Chair of State? And who could have been so Devilish, as some of you were, to cut the Pictures in his Princely Gallery? Yea, you presumed to say, that, seeing the *Palatine* would be a King, it were not amiss to make him King of *Virginia*.

What should I farther infer? What have you not done to extenuate our Glory, and advance your own Ostentation? and all in Hopes the King would be led in your Golden Fetters, and could not subsist without the Wealth of *Spain*. Are you not ashamed of these Things? And how dare you deride us in this Manner? When, in those Days, we had finished such magnificent Structures, and performed such valuable Actions, while your King was but named, a Prince of Figs and Raisins, and your Country thought upon but as a barren, beggarly Province; however, thro' our Default, you got those *Indies*, and so incroached upon *Navar* and *Portugal*. But can *Spain* shew me such a Work as *Westminster-Hall*, *Guild-Hall*; all our Churches, our Colleges, our *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel? Can *Spain* tell me of so much Wealth as *Henry* the Eighth expended? Can *Spain* match me with such a Subject as Cardinal *Wolfey*? Can *Spain* do such as Q. *Elizabeth*, and all of late Days, without the *Indies*; even when *England* was vilipen'd for Wealth? Why, Fools! it is well known, that *England* hath spent more at a Triumph, and Interview of Princes, than a great Princess's Dowry. Yea, *Henry* the 8th built a Palace: And now let your *Infanta* bring, of purpose to maintain the Empire, what she can, by that Time the Ceremonies are past, the Presents given, the Lords entertained, the Strangers welcomed, and all Things finished, I pray God there be sufficient left to furnish *Whitehall* with one Quadrant of State. But, as I said in the Beginning, when I am gone, you will go near to laugh at me, if you durst; for this Discovery shall lye so heavy on your Souls, that you shall not be able to contract a Brow. Nay, I see you tremble already; and yet I mean to affright you no farther than with this Caution; Go not away with any Opinion of *England's* Simplicity, or Poverty, for they know all your Tricks, and can, when they list, withstand your Collusions; however they use

a formal Connivency, for some special Purpose, on this Disturbance of *Europe*. Nay I will be bold to say, they can rouse up themselves, and shew their Talons with the *Panther*, when either the Prey is worth the having, or within their Reach. Therefore I leave you to your Smiles; but take Heed of your own Tortures and Excruciation, when you find all your Purposes frustrated, and your own reaching Projects annihilated.

With that he vanished; and what with the dim Lights, and blue burning Torches, he left them more like Ghosts than himself. Had not Father *Baldwin*, who was nearer Death than the other, broke up the Assembly, concluding he found it his own Summons, and he would prepare to set his House in Order, for he could not live long.

*Illi membra novus, solvit formidine torpor :
Arrectaque horrore comæ, & vox faucibus hæsit.*
Virg. 12. *Æneid*.

[*M. Rapin* (to give a Taste what Sentiments the *French Nation* had concerning both Queen *Elizabeth* and her Successor) closes his *Life of King James* with this EPIGRAM.]

*Tandis qu' ELIZABETH fût ROY,
L'Anglois fût d'Espagne l'Effroy.
Maintenant devise et caquette,
Regi par la REINE JACQUETTE.*

Which a facetious Friend of mine tells me may bear *Englisbing* thus :

*While ELSABETH was England's KING,
The dreadful Name thro' Spain did ring.
How alter'd is the Case,—'Ad fa' me !
These Jugling Days of gude QUEEN JAMIE !*

T H E
A N A T O M Y
O F T H E

English NUNNERY, at *Lisbon*, in *Portugal*.

Dissected and laid open by one who was sometime a *Younger Brother* of the C O V E N T : Who (if the *Grace* of G O D had not prevented him) might have grown as old in a wicked Life, as the *oldest* among them.

VIRG. Lib. I. ÆNEID.

—*Cæcumque domus scelus omne retexit.*

Published by AUTHORITY.

LONDON, Printed by *George Purflowe*, for *Robert Mylbourne*, and *Philemon Stephens*; and are to be sold at the Great South-Door of *Paul's*, 1622.

To the Right Worshipful Mr. THOMAS GURLIN, Mayor of the no less ancient than loyal and well-governed Town of King's-Lynn, in Norfolk, and his Worshipful Brethren the Aldermen of the same, &c.

THE industrious and painful Seaman, *Right Worshipful*, (that I may go no farther for an Example than mine own Profession, because *quod supra nos nihil ad nos*) being a long Time crossed with unfavourable Winds, persisteth, notwithstanding, in attempting to attain to his desired Port; which not being able to atchieve directly, and upon a precise Rhomb, or Point, he maketh his Way by divers Meanders, and crooked Turnings, lying sometimes *East*, and anon *West*, so near his Course as the Wind will permit, and by this Means, at length, he anchoreth in the wished Harbour. Even so my self, having, of a long Time, desired to recover

recover some fit Occasion or Means (as my most wished Port) to express a thankful Mind unto your Worshipps, for no small Benefits formerly conferred upon me (*Et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti*) could never, through contrary Winds of adverse Fortune, arrive there in Safety; but have had a long Traverse to and fro, with little Likelihood of fairer Weather, till now at length, with my Bowlines sharp hauled (pardon, I pray you, my ruder Sea-phraze) I have douled the Cape of Good Hope; from whence I am bold to send you this first Return of what I long since took up of you upon Interest, it being notwithstanding no way of Worth to countervail any (though the least) Part of the Debt I owe you. For it is now some Years agoe that I set Sail from the Haven of your Help, bound for the Port of Prudence, (the University of Cambridge) being fully fraughted with your Favour and Friendship; where, through mine own Negligence (let me ever sigh to remember it) having foreflowed my best Market, and letting go my most precious Commodity (my Time) at an under-Value, I remained a great Loser by my Voyage, not being able to make unto you (my Worshipful Creditors) such Satisfaction as you might justly expect. And now entring into a Consideration of your gentle Forbearance of me, I doomed myself worthy to bear the Brand of Ingratitude, if I should forget you. Whereupon, not as any Part of Payment, but as a Recognizance and Acknowledgment of that Debt and Duty, which I owe to your Worshipps, I presume to send you this ensuing Discourse, being not more plain in the Manner, than true in the Matter. If you shall deign to give it favourable Acceptance, I have what I desired, and, in the Hope thereof (always praying for your Prosperity and Welfare) I rest

—Your Worshipps dutiful Debtor,

THOMAS ROBINSON.

To the Indifferent READER.

READER: If the Title of this Book, being *The Anatomy of the English Nunnery at Lisbon*, do make thee expect some Chyrurgical Mysteries, or profound Lecture upon a dissected Body, let me satisfie thee, and save thee the Labour of reading it; for thou art much deceived. The Author hereof is a Man of no such Science; being better skilled in Tackles, Sheets, Braces, Bowlines, &c. (*strange Words, perchance, to thy Understanding, and yet no Canting*) than in Veins, Sinews, Muscles, and Arteries. Yet what he promiseth by the Title, he hath performed in his Treatise, and hath

bath truly anatomized this Handmaid of the Whore of Babylon; laying open her principal Veins and Sinews in such Sort, that he is bold to challenge the proudest Doctor, of her Acquaintance, to traduce his Work, or to tax him of the least Untruth in what he hath written. For here is nothing published, but what his own Experience, being Optima Magistra, hath taught him, and whereof he hath been Oculatus Testis. Only the Phrase he useth is like himself, blunt and unelegant, for ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius. Wink, therefore, a little at the Method, and survey the Matter itself with the wide open Eyes of thy Understanding, and spare not. And if thou be not already addicted to Popery, thou mayest, peradventure, find a Preservative against it. Howsoever, here it presenteth itself to the View of the World; be it well or ill accepted, it maketh not much Matter: For the Author will always carry this Comfort about him; A good Conscience is a continual Feast. Vale.

T. R.

THE
A N A T O M Y
OF THE
English Nunnery, at Lisbon, in Portugal.

HAVING, by reason of my Calling, been often obliged to travel beyond the Seas, it so chanced that I was once (through divers Accidents) driven to have some Conference with Father *Seth*, alias, *Joseph Foster*, an *English Fryer*, in *Lisbon*, and the sole Confessor of a *Covent of English Nuns*, residing in the same City; who, by his subtil and wily Fetches, inticed me to abide with him in the House, imploying me daily in copying out certain *Treatises of Obedience*, which he had composed for the *Nuns*. And, after a While, having deprived me of Means to depart from him, by taking away my Apparel, and putting me into a disguised foolish Habit (of which I, was heartily ashamed) both he and the *Abbeſs*, with some others of the *Sisters* (as they call them) never ceased to urge me, by deep-dissembled Intreaties and Persuasions, until I had given Consent to become a Holy Brother and Mass-Priest in the House; for I had soon attained to more Skill in the *Rubric*, than every Shaveling is ordinarily accustomed to have, and could readily (a) find out any *Mass* by the great Letter at the Beginning of it; and more than that

(a) There are not a few Fryers and Priests who have no other Means to find their Mass; and when they have found it (if you would hang them) they are not able to construe two Lines of it.

that, I could sing *Ave Regina, & Salve Sancta Parens*, which is Learning enough in Conscience for any *Abbey-Lubber*, unless he be too unreasonable. So that now there wanted nothing to my taking of Orders, save only that my Minority and Want of Years hindered it; wherefore, in the mean Time, I continued in writing over divers Books for them, and among the rest, the *Register* of their House, whereby I came to some Understanding of their Estate, Beginning, and Success until this Present, which, for the Satisfaction of the Reader, I thought good to set down as briefly as I could, before I proceed any farther, or speak of their Manners and Conversation.

First, therefore, for the House: The *Nuns* thereof do challenge (and indeed truly) a Succession from the *Abbey of Sion*, in *England*, now belonging unto the Earl of *Northumberland*, (b) which House, together with another Monastery of *Carthusian Monks*, called *Sbyne*, being both situated upon the *Thames*, were erected and built by King *Henry* the Vth, at his Return from his famous Conquest in *France*. In which two Houses, he established an Order, that, to the End of the World, there should be an alternate Course of Prayer; so that when the one had finished their Devotions, the other should instantly begin. And being thus founded, that of *Sbyne* was peopled with *Carthusian Monks*, and the other with *Nuns* and *Fryers* of St. *Bridget's* Order.

But when it pleased the Lord, of his infinite Mercy, to scatter those Clouds of Ignorance and Superstition, which had a long Time bedimmed the Eyes, and darkened the Understanding of our Fore-fathers, and that the glorious Light of the Gospel began to be more and more resplendent in the latter End of the Reign of King *Henry* the VIIIth, then as well these Houses, as all other of the like Superstition, were subverted and abolished, and the People of them either dismissed and sent home to their Friends, or else, continuing more obstinately in their blind Zeal, exiled, save only some few, who, for withstanding the Kings Supremacy, received the Reward of Traitors; among which, Father *Reynolds*, the Confessor of these *Nuns*, was executed: In Memory of whom, they have painted his Picture and Manner of Execution upon their Church Walls, esteeming him as a Holy Martyr among them, as good as either (c) St. *Campion*, or *Beatus Pater Henricus Garnet*, although that, among the *Jesuits*, these are little less than Saints.

After the Death of this their ghostly Father, both they and the *Carthusians* of *Sbyne*, translated themselves, and divers of their (d) Reliques and Trinkets beyond the *Seas* into *Flanders*. And the Successors of these banished Renegades, are now the only Stump which remaineth of that huge Tree, that whilome overspread and shadowed our whole Country; which the *Papists* (in regard these two Houses had both one Foundation, and were as it were linked and tied the one to the other) do hold as miraculous, and do take it as a sure Sign and Token of their future Return from Banishment; (e) nay, some of the Holiest of our Unholy Sisters have not doubted (I think in Imitation of the old *Sybil*s) to prophecy of another Golden Age, when they shall again be installed in *Sion*. But,

Admiranda canunt, sed non credenda Sorores.

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(b) See *Stow's Chronicle* at large. (c) Although that *Campion*, *Garnet*, and such other of the *Jesuits* as died for *Treason*, are no Canonized Saints; yet are they Beatified by the Pope, which is the highest Step to Canonization; and every one of them is painted up in the *Jesuits Churches*, with the Title of *Beatus Pater*. (d) If they carried no Reliques with them, it maketh not much Matter; for little worth is that Scull or dead Man's Bone, which will not, by being become a Holy Relique, add something to the Pope's Exchequer. (e) The *Register Book* of their House, telleth of many of these Prophecies, which were spoken by sundry of the Sisters upon their Death-Bed.

I know my Sisters, at *Lisbon*, for false Prophets, in more Things than one. In the mean Time they of *Sbyne* remain at *Macklyn*, in the *Low-Countries*; and the *Nuns* of *Sion*, after many Transmigrations, from *Sierick-zee*, to their Brethren, at *Macklyn*, and from thence to *Roan*, do now reside at *Lisbon*: And this shall suffice for the Foundation of the House, and the Success thereof till this Present. And now (by the way) it shall not be likewise much amiss, for the Satisfaction of such as have not been acquainted with *Fryers* Business, in a Word or two, to declare the Original of both these Orders, and from what Patrons they first descended. For, in the *Catholic-Roman* Church, among all the disordered Orders of swarming Locusts, which are almost innumerable, there is none but take their Beginning from one supposed Saint or other: And, as the rest, so these.

For the *Carthusians* sprung up from (a) one *Bruno*, in the Kingdom of *France*, who is said to have been present at the Funeral of a certain Priest, reputed for a holy Man in his Life; but when they were executing the Office of the Dead for him (according to the Use of the *Papists*) it seemed they had been deceived in their Imagination: For when the Deacon was come to the Lesson, which beginneth, *Responde mihi quantas habeo iniquitates, &c.* the Dead Man suddenly started up, and said, *Vocatus sum*, or *Accusatus sum*, chuse you whether; whereupon they deferred his Obsequies until the next Day, being all amazed at what had happened; when proceeding the second Time, and coming to the same Words again, the Dead Body made Answer, *Judicatus sum*: Then the third Time they began their Service, and at the same *Responde* he sat up and said; *Condemnatus sum*: Whereupon this *Bruno*, being stricken into extream Fear, and much troubled, to think, that a Man so generally reputed for Holy, should yet be Damned, determined to lead a most austere and solitary Life: And, to that End, being accompanied with a few others, whom he had made privy to his Purpose, he departed to a desert stupendous Mountain, called *Carthusia*; where he lived (as they say) in great Regularity; and, from the Name of that Hill, they came to be called *Carthusians*; and, to this Day, they pretend more Severity, and Strictness of Discipline, than any other Order of *Monks* or *Fryers* whatsoever. Howbeit, they remained not long in such solitary and unfrequented Places; but, by little and little, obtained their Houses in every great City and Town, as magnificent, yea and more sumptuous than their fellow-Locusts; witness the *Charter-House*, in *London*, which was once a *Cage* of these *Unclean Birds*.

Now for the other House of *Sion*: The *Nuns* thereof take their Beginning from their Holy Mothers (b) *St. Bridget*; and her Daughter, *St. Catherine*. This *St. Bridget* was of the Blood-Royal of *Suetia*, a Woman (questionless) of a good Understanding, and singular Memory; howbeit, miserably seduced and led away by the subtle Allurements of her Ghostly Father, by whose Persuasions and Counsel she went to *Rome*, as a *Pilgrim*, and coming before the *Pope*, she pretended to have divers Revelations from God; among which, one was for the Founding of this Order of *Nuns*, which was, indeed, the chief Mark, that both her Ghostly Father and she aimed at. The rest of her pretended Inspirations, were for the reforming of sundry Abuses in the Church. Yea, she spared not to tell the *Pope's* Holiness of many Faults in himself: But he (like a good *Blood-bond*) quickly scented her, and followed her Footing, till he plainly perceived from whom she was sent, who (being a Fellow who might, upon Distaste, prove a *Schismaticque*, and make some Revolt, in those remote Countries, from the *Roman* Church) he thought best to be winked at; and, thereupon, condescended unto her Request, touching

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(a) Read *Surius* upon the Life of *Bruno*. (b) Read the Revelations of *St. Bridget*.

the erecting of a House of this Order, and so dismissed her: But she lived not long after; whether his Holiness had procured some *Modicum* to be ministered unto her or, no, it is doubtful, yet, in her Daughter's Days, the Business came to Perfection: And the first House of this Order was at a Place called *Western*, in *Swethland*, from whence certain *Nuns* were procured into *England*, to propagate their Rules and Ceremonies in *Sion* House, at the Time when it was first erected.

The Magnificence of this Covent, in former Times, hath been, by the Report of the now-living *Nuns*, very admirable: At this Present, it is not of any extraordinary Repute; neither are the People of it, for Birth and Parentage, equal to their Predecessors, who were wont to be of good Descent; whereas now (save only a few) they are *Recusants*, Daughters of the Meaner Sort, and silly tender-hearted Chambermaids, who having had the Custody of such *Seminaries* and *Jesuits*, as resorted to their Masters Houses in *England*, at such Times as they have been mewed up for Fear of *Crosse* and his (a) *Dog*, and durst not adventure abroad in any of their rustling Disguises, to seek out for more Change of Pasture; like Father *Strange*, the *Jesuit*, where, making a Vertue, or rather a Vice of Necessity, the Ghostly Children have ministered to their Spiritual Fathers in all Things. And by such Means having gotten a *Clap*, divers of them (b) become *Nuns*. And with a Rabble of such-like Stuff, is this House of *Sion* much replenished, there being of them, in all, between forty and fifty, whereof only five are *Strangers*, and the rest all *Engliss*. The Names of so many of them, as I can at present remember, I have, at the End of this Book, set down, for the Satisfaction of such as desire to know them.

There are likewise three *Fryers*, the *Confessor*, and two more; with a simple besotted Fellow, who hath the Title of a *Familiar*: And well may they call him so; for he will be drunk familiarly four or five Times a Week; by reason whereof he is not appareled in any Religious Habit, but goeth like an ordinary Secular Man, to the End the House should be the less scandalized by him; for now so many do not take Notice of his Drunkenness as would, if they should see him in a Religious Habit.

And this is the whole Company of the House at this Time: But if any demand, how and by what Means they are brought thither, and by whom they are maintained; let him know, that there lurketh in *England* an Arch-Traitor, one (c) *Henry Flood*, a *Jesuit*, who is the chief Agent for the transporting of *Nuns*, both to (d) *Brussels*, *Graveling*, *Lisbon*, or any other Place; and whither he pleaseth to send them, thither must they go. If they have no Portion, and perhaps some little Honesty, they are not for the *Jesuits* Tooth; *Aquila non capit Muscas*, they must pack to *Graveling*, to the poor Bare-footed *Clares*: If they have a small Portion, that likes not the *Jesuite* neither: A Pound of Butter is nothing among a Crue of hungry Hounds; *Nec vacuo exiguis rebus adesse Jovi*; then away they trudge to *Lisbon*, where they are allowed daily five Crowns, and their Bread; and many

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(a) A penious Curr, to smell out a *Jesuit*, or *Seminary*, though they had been never so close stopped up. (b) It is no great Miracle for a Whore to become a Nun, nor for a Nun to become a Whore. (c) This Flood caused the *Jesuits*, at *Lisbon*, to spend a great deal of Money upon Powder, on a Festival-Day, a little before the Powder-Treason, in *England* should have been effected; thereby to make Experience of the Force thereof: And also persuaded one *John How* (a Merchant, whom he had preserved) and divers other Catholics, to go over into *England*, and to expect their Redemption there (as he called it) a-while. (d) In all these Places there are English Nunneries, but none that hath continued ever since the Suppression of Abbeys in *England*, save only that at *Lisbon*.

a good Alms besides is often bestowed upon them. But if they have a good round Sum for their Dowry, *ab Inferno nulla est redemptio*, there is no plucking them out of the *Jesuit's* Jaws; they are stamped for *Brassels*, and thither they must go; where *Fitz-herbert* and his fellow *Jesuits* will quickly dispossess them of all Worldly Cares and Vanities, and (like subtil *Alchymists*) refine them out of their Silver and Golden Dross into a more sublime Estate and Condition, and will cherish and nourish them, even in their own Bosoms: Such a burning Zeal have they towards them.

And this is the Manner after which our *Recusants* Daughters, in *England*, are translated into other Countries, to take upon them the Profession of a solitary Life, and to live in Poverty, Chastity and Obedience, which how well they perform, I shall now (God willing) in Part declare.

First, therefore, for their Poverty, I mean of these *Nuns* of *Sion*, and they profess themselves the poorest of any *English*, except them of *St. Clare's* Order. It is well known, that they have ten thousand Pounds, at Use, in the *Town-house* of *Antwerp*, a great Part whereof hath been given them by sundry deceased Gentlemen, in *Flanders* and *Portugal*; and besides their yearly Portion: Likewise, when they remained in *France*, they had the Custody of no small Sum of Money, which was sent to them, to keep for Doctor *Lopez*, the *Portuguese*, as his Reward, for Poisoning our late Queen *Elizabeth*, of famous Memory; which after that Traitor (having missed of his Intent) was executed, was remitted unto them, as an Alms, as the *Register-Book* of their House (from whence I had it) shameth not to make Mention.

They have likewise, of late Years, through the politic Plodding of their Confessor, (a) given the *Jesuits* Noses a Wipe of two thousand Pounds, being the Portion of the two Daughters of Sir *A. B. Viscount M.* whom a *Nun* of the House (sometime a Chamber-maid of their Father's) had inticed from the *Jesuits*. For which, and some other like Tricks, about a *Portuguese* Gentlewoman, the Posterity of lame (b) *Ignatius* could almost find in their Hearts to re-assume their Patron's first Professions, and, *Vi & Armis*, to take Revenge upon that old Hypocritical *Fryer*, who durst presume to be better studied in *Nic. Machiavel* than themselves; yea, they so threatened him once, that he durst not go abroad, lest they should work him a Mischief. Moreover, they have a daily Pension of five Crowns, and Wheat, more than sufficeth for to spend in the House: They have Vineyards, Olive-fields, Corn-ground, and Houses, to the Value of four hundred (b) *Milreis*, by the Year, which was the Portion of the *Portuguese*, aforesaid, whom (being sole Heir to her Father, a Man of great Wealth) they persuaded to become a Religious Sister in their Covent. What should I speak of the Sale of their *Masses*, I mean the Revenues in general of the *Sacristia*, or Revestry? where, though there be but three Priests of them, and therefore but three *Masses*, and that never but upon *Festival-Days* (for the Confessor himself will not say *Mass* upon a Work-Day) yet they will take Money of twenty Men, and tell every one they will say for him. Then have they their Boxes sent forth in the *Indian* and *Braslian* Ships, with a *St. Bridget's* Image upon them; to which, in a Storm, the poor blinded People will contribute very liberally; and Seamen, who go on such long Voyages, will take up a Month's Pay or two afore-hand, and give it for *Masses* to be said for their good Success. I have known this, in one Year, worth six hundred *Milreis* unto them. Divers other Means have they to get Money; as by putting

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(a) Sic figulus figulum, sic & fabrum faber odit. (b) Ignatius Loyola, a lame Soldier, a Spaniard, the glorious Patron of the Pope's Janizaries, the *Jesuits*. (c) Every *Milre* is twelve Shillings and six Pence.

ting a good Sum into the Hands of a couple of young Merchants, whom they have perverted to their Religion, and these Men deal for them under a Colour. So that I may boldly say (for I have heard *Foster* himself speak it, and I have partly seen it) that, all Charges and Expenses of the House being payed, they do yearly lay up (a) six hundred Pounds. For the Silver that inshrineth their Reliques, and for their Church-Plate, I know not how to value it; but it is, without Doubt, both plentiful and massy; for there be few of their rotten Reliques but are set in Silver. They have two Arms of *Thomas of Canterbury*, notwithstanding all his Bones were burned in *England*, when *Popery* was suppressed; so that they will make of him a *Briareus*, or a *Centimannus Gygas*, as doubtless he was, in his Life, a very obstinate Prelate to his Prince. And for Saint *Ursula*, she must needs be a *Diva Triformis*, or a *Triceps Hecate*; for they have one of her Heads, and there is another of them at *Collen*, and the third at *Rome*. Then they have the Bones of St. *Bridget* and her Daughter, and sundry Reliques of St. *Augustine*, from whose Rule their's is derived. There is (b) the Milk of our Lady, the Blood of *Hales*, which was held so precious in *England*; and (Sir Reverence) there is a Piece of old (c) *Tyburn*, which the *Jesuits* stole out of *England*, because it had been honoured by so many of their Brethren, which is had in little less Esteem than the Holy Cross; for (say they) as the Master died on that, so his Disciples died upon this: And these are all set in Silver, and richly adorned. Then have they a little Child's Leg, which, I think, they may truly call as they do; for they say it is a Leg of the *Innocents*; and doubtless so it is, for I could (if I were in the House) go very near (d) a Place in the Wall, where I could fetch out both Legs and Arms of innocent Bastards, which might evidently prove, that there is Knavery in Daubing.

And having hereby given a sufficient Instance of their Poverty, I will now proceed to speak a little of their Chastity; which is as scarce and penurious, as their Poverty is plenteous. Neither can it be otherwise; for they have *Sodom's* Provocations to Sin, Pride, Fulness of Bread, and Abundance of Idleness. As for their Pride, though it be not outwardly, in gorgeous and curious Attire, yet are they possessed with a vain-glorious Pride of Hypocrisy, and dissembled Sanctity. For their Fulness of Bread, who knoweth not that they (like the Caterpillars of *Egypt*) do eat up the fat and best Fruits of the Land? For what the Purveyors of the *Viceroy* have forsaken in the Market (as too dear) I have known the Caterer of this House to buy, at unreasonable Rates, for their Ghostly Father's Table, and for such of his Chickens as he most affected; whose greatest (and indeed only) Care is, to prove skilful in the Confection and Dressing of such dainty Cates as may best please their wanton Palates. And well do they manifest the Abundance of Idleness that is in them, when, at sundry Times, playing upon their Instruments, for their Father's Recreation, they sing him ribaldrous Songs and Jigs; as that of *Bonny Nell*, and such other obscene and scurrilous Ballads, as would make a chaste Ear to glow at the hearing of them; and which I could scarce have believed would have proceeded out of their Mouths, had I not heard them with my own Ears.

And now again for the House. Whereas all other Religious Houses are under the Jurisdiction of *Provincials* of their own Order, *mediatè*, and under the Bishop of the Diocese, *immediatè*, yet this is not subjected to either: For, as for a *Provincial*, they have none, in regard they have no more Houses of that Order; neither would

(a) And it is no small Sum of Money that he sendeth to his Kindred in *Yorkshire*, who are Papists; but he will acknowledge none of them who are Protestants. (b) Believe it who list. (c) Although they cannot abide the *Jesuits*, yet they love their Gallows, because thereby they get Money. (d) *Saxa ipsa trabesque loquentur.*

would the Arch-bishop of *Lisbon* take them into his Jurisdiction, at their first coming into *Portugal*; fearing lest, that being Strangers, and, at that Time, pretending Want and Poverty, he should afterwards be driven to sustain and relieve them; they being forbidden to Beg, by their Rule: And so he put them off with a, *non novi vos*; telling them, he never knew or heard that (a) *Frayles y Freiras*, Friars and Nuns, should keep and dwell together all, *sub eodem tecto*, under the same Roof. Whereupon they were constrained to entertain that Arch-Jesuit, Father *Parsons*, to be their Solicitor to the *Pope*, who then took them into his Protection, and appointed his *Nuncio Apostolico*, Resident in *Lisbon*, to have the Care and Charge of them. And he again being bribed, and presented with Gifts, by Father *Foster*, and dwelling far from the House, is satisfied with what he telleth him, and never cometh to visit the *Nuns*, as he ought, and to inquire and demand their Grievances; but permitteth him to play *Rex* over them at his own Pleasure. Whereupon it is pitiful and miserable to behold the Condition of these silly, seduced Women; for, they neither dare, nor can Complain to any Body, being seldom permitted to speak even to those who are of the House, as well as themselves, but only at such Times as when the Abbess is present, except it be she who keepeth the Grate, and some others who are in Office among them: And these are all the younger, and more personable Women, being, by this *Foster's* politic Contriving, so placed of purpose, that, by and with them, he may more freely enjoy the Scope of his lascivious and sacrilegious Desire. And these Women, having Predominance over the others, whom Want of Beauty and Favour hath made despicable in the Eyes of this old *Simon*, do (according to the Passionateness of their Minds) more and more vex their poor Fellow-Prisoners. For, it is the Subtilty of this perfidious Wretch, to set them at Variance among themselves, and to cause them so to accuse one another, to the Intent they should not dare to trust one another with the Complaint of their Grievs; and so, while they remain in a Jealousy of each other's Secrecy and Aid, they should never be able to contrive any Means to free themselves from his Thralldom.

At this Stay doth he keep them; and, not so content, he will make them to Article one against the other in Writing. It was my Chance, one Day, to find a Paper of these Articles, in a Walk in the Friars Garden, which had unawares fallen from him; being drawn by one Sister *Anne*, alias, *Josepha Bingham*, against Sister *Susan Bacon*; wherein the said Sister (b) *Susan* stood accused, for blaming her Ghostly Father, and the Abbess and Priores, of Partiality to some of their Children more than to others: Also, that she had upbraided this Sister *Josepha* (being a dear Darling of Father *Foster's*) of too much Familiarity with Father *Garnet*, the Powder-Traytor (c) whose careful Keeper she had of a long Time been, when he lurked in *England* at her Master's House. Also, that another of her Ghostly Father's Minions had a Bastard by a Priest in *England* (whose Name, because she is lately dead, I will pass over in Silence) and that, if she had been a little more Honest, and a little less Personable, she should not have been one of the Upper Regiment. With this, and a great deal more of such like Stuff, was this Paper farfed; and with these, and the like Accusations, one of another, are these silly Women daily busied. So that I have, generally, observed in the Superiors of this House, an egregious Neglect, and Contempt of their Rule and vowed Profession; and, in the rest, an extraordinary Mal-

(a) At their first coming into *Lisbon*, they were little set by; and every one marvelled at their Order, and living so together. But now their Dissembling hath won them a little more Credit.

(b) If these silly oppressed Women were examined by Men of Authority, and were assured to be free from such a tyrannous Confessor, they would tell of horrible Abuses.

(c) This Sister *Josepha* is a stout Defender of the Miracle in the Wheat Straw, which happened, as was said, at *Garnet's* Execution, although it be now proved a very counterfeit and a false Lye.

Maligning and Envyng against one another. And so much the better could I observe this, and all other my Narrations, by how much I grew to be a more near and daily Attendant about the Confessor ; for, at length, what with my long Continuance in the House, and the small Suspect they had of my forsaking them, and what for Want of one to serve him at all Occasions, I became to be oftentimes admitted even into his private House of Iniquity, where he useth to sit and hear the Confessions of the Nuns. In which House, being very dark, there is a Grate of Iron, that looketh into the Nuns Partition, or Side ; and this Grate (however it seem substantial and firm) may be, and is, with a Sleight, easily taken out, whereby the Sisters have free Egress and Regress into his Chamber, when they list, and he to them : For the Abbess hath her Bed not far from this Grate, where there is also a Chimney so convenient, that he may take the Benefit of the Fire into this his Room, in which he useth to Dine and Sup, having his Meat served him by the Nuns, through a Wicket in the Wall. And when he is merrily disposed (as that is not seldom) then must his Darling, *Kate Knightsly*, play him a merry Fit ; and Sister *Mary Brooke*, or some other of his last-come Wags, must sing him one Bawdy Song, or other, to digest his Meat. Then, after Supper, it is usual for him to read a little of *Venus* and *Adonis*, the Jest of *George Peele*, or some such scurrilous Book : For there are few idle Pamphlets, printed in *England*, which he hath not in the House ; being either brought over to his Son *Peter*, the drunken *Familiar* aforesaid, by Seamen or else happening into the Hands of Father *Newman*, an *English* Priest, who hath an Office in the Inquisition-House, to peruse all *English* Books which are brought into *Lisbon*. And he, I trust, shall have the Sight of this, wherein, if he use a good Conscience, he must needs testify, with me, the Truth of many Things herein contained ; for he is one who knoweth more of these People than any but themselves, or some who have lived among them.

If I should repeat all their unchaste Practises, I should make the Christian Reader blush at them ; or if I should tell of all the obscene Bawdry which I have seen, I might recount as many irreligious Pranks as would fill a great Volume ; but it shall suffice, for the Skilful, by the Length of their Foot to judge of the Proportion of their whole Body.

And now for their Obedience, being the third and last Part of their Vow. I will not go about to use any Theological Definitions, or Proofs, to tell what Obedience is, and how it ought to be performed ; for it is beyond my Element ; and the Cobler's Check shall be my Warning, I will not go *ultra Crepidam* : But, as I first determined, so I will proceed ; that is, to declare in what Sort they perform their Vow of Obedience ; referring it to the Censure of the Judicious, whether they do well or no.

It is certain, that these silly Women, thus muzzled in Blindness, do live in very servile Obedience unto their Superiors ; and in such Sort, that without standing to discuss, or examine the Thing that is commanded them, whether it be lawful or no, they will readily perform it. For their Ghostly Father hath composed sundry Treatises for them of Obedience, wherein he pronounceth no less than Damnation for the least Scruple, or Hesitation in the Performance of their Superior's Commands. And here let me tell the aforesaid (a) Father *Newman*, what a Trick his old Friend, *Foster*, hath put upon him, which is this : Having made these Books of Obedience, he caused me to write them out fair, omitting, in many Places, a Leaf, and in some, two or three together, which contained any false Doctrine, and unallowable Per-

(a) It behoveth Father *Newman*, for his own Credit, to look to this. The like also hath be done with certain Meditations upon the Passion, which he requested Father John Kensington, an English Jesuit, at *St. Rocque's* in *Lisbon*, to peruse and approve ; being gelded likewise, as the other Books of Obedience were.

Persuasions, to draw them to Obedience in unlawful Things ; and being finished in this Sort, he bringeth them to Father *Newman*, to be Signed with his Approbation and Testimony, that there was nothing in them repugnant to the *Catholic* Faith, which being done, he then inserteth, and soweth in the aforesaid omitted Leaves, and so delivereth them to his Daughters to be practised, who take the Approbation at the End of the Book, for a sufficient Warranty of all the Doctrine therein contained. And this is a principal Fartherance to his sacrilegious Lusts ; for I am verily persuaded, that not one among them will (for Fear of being disobedient) refuse to come to his Bed whensoever he commands them ; and that they do so, I have manifestly seen and known. For, when I have been his Chamberlain, in the Absence and Times of Drunkenness of the *Familiar* aforesaid, having a Key to the Chamber-door, (a) I have come sometimes, unawares, early in a Morning, when one might have seen as great a Miracle as *Scoggin* spake of, when he took a Fryer in bed with a Whore, and called out to see a Wonder, viz. a Fryer with four Legs. And now I will a little digress, to ask a Question of my *Ignatians*, who are the chief Teachers and Allowers of Equivocation, and Mental Evasion ; Whether these kind-hearted Souls, being professed Nuns, and having Vowed never to come over the Threshold, did break their Vow, or no, in coming thorow a Grate ? If they say, they did ; why, their Ghostly Father will dispense with their Vow : But if they say, they did not (as I think they will) what then ? Marry, I think, that when their black Synagogues at *Rome*, *Valladolid* and *Seville* do send forth their Locusts into *England*, and they chance to bait by the Way at *Lisbon*, as they do oftentimes, they deserve to enter Commons with old Father *Seth*, for their Legitimation of the Action. And to the End that no Man should doubt, but a *Jesuit* hath a Carnal Affection, as well as a Spiritual, to any of his Ghostly Children, it shall not be amiss to insert a merry Tale, for the Reader's Recreation, of one Father *Strange*, an *English Jesuit*, as it was reported for (b) Table-talk, by a Nun of this House, to her Ghostly Father ; she having then been a Chambermaid in the Place where it was done.

This Father *Strange* was a Young Man, and had been lately before Professed and Priested among the *Jesuits* ; and, being come of good Friends, and tenderly brought up in *England*, he fell very sick shortly after his Profession ; perhaps, by reason of the Unwholsomeness of the Air, which neither at *Rome*, nor *Valladolid*, is very pleasant : Whereupon he obtained License of the *Rector* to go into *England*, where he hoped both to recover his Health, and to employ his Talent of Priesthood, for the reducing of *Heretics* to the *Catholic* Church of *Rome*. And being arrived, he took up this Nun's Lady's Chamber for one of his Places of *Rendezvous* ; where it so fell out, that as this Sister *Anne* (for that is her Name) sat sewing with her Back to her Lady's Back and the Jesuit's, who were sitting by the Fire, she chanced to look upon a great Looking-glass, which hung right before her, wherein she espied what Pains the late sick *Jesuit* took to Shrive her Lady : Neither had he ended his Shrift, before he also espied her looking in the Glass ; and suspecting that she had seen all (as indeed she had) (c) he took her aside in private, and told her, that he was Flesh and Blood, and could abstain no more than another Man, although at his Profession he had vowed Chastity ; and using many Persuasions to win her to be secret, he promised her, that if she stood in need of a Ghostly Father to absolve her from any of her Sins (as he called these) he would be the

Man

(a) *They forgot the old Caveat, Canté si non Castè.*

(b) *Inter cœnandum hilares esto.*

(c) *She might have known by this what she should trust to when a Nun ; but, it seems, she was as good as her Mistress ; and, I am sure, that her Father Foster is as good as the Jesuit.*

Man should do it ; neither should her Penance be over-burthenſome unto her.

By which may appear both the Carnal Affection of a *Jesuit*, and the chaſte and ſober Converſation of a Profelled *Nun*, and her Ghoſtly Father; of the *Jesuit* in doing it; of her, in not ſhaming to tell it as a Tale for Recreation; and of the old Fornicator, in making himſelf merry at the Hearing of it; yea, and reporting it again in his jolly Humours to myſelf, and one Father *Vivian*, a *Fryer* of the Houſe, among a great ſort of ſuch-like Invectives, which he uſed againſt the *Jesuits*, becauſe, a little before I came away, they went about (if it had been poſſible) to extrude the Succeſſion of any more *Fryers* in the Houſe, and to bring it under their Government, which I believe they will, e'er long effect: For I was told by an *English Jesuit*, at the Court of *Spain*, that Father *Foſter* is bound unto the *Jesuits*, never to ordain any more *Fryers* in the Houſe, that ſo for Want of Succeſſors it may of Force fall into their Hands; and upon this Condition, the *Jesuits* permit him to live quietly; which, if he ſhould not obſerve, they would quickly inform againſt him of ſundry of his Pranks, which they know well enough. And if this be ſo (as like it is) the Nuns have no Knowledge thereof, for he feedeth them with Hope of making new Brothers, which they ſeem earneſtly to wiſh for: (a) And they would often tell me, they hoped, e'er long, to ſee me a Profelled Brother of the Covent; but it pleaſed God to diſpoſe better for me, and not to ſuffer me to be any longer lulled in Sin and Superſtition: For, after I had been two Years and a Half with them, before I had made any Profeſſion, or Vow of Religion, either to that, or any other Order. For I plainly ſaw, that theſe were led by a wrong Guide, who was ſo deep plunged, and had continued ſo long in all Wickedneſs and Diſſembling, that he was grown inſenſible of Sin; according to that Saying, *Conſuetudo peccandi, tollit ſenſum peccati*. For he ſhamed not, under Pretext of Religion, to perſuade a young Man, a Merchant in *Lisbon* (one *How* do you call him) to defraud his (b) own Elder Brother of his Eſtate; which Matter was thus effected.

Theſe two Brethren were by Profeſſion Jewellers, and adventured their Stock jointly together; the younger Brother (for that he was a Batchelor) being Factor for it beyond the Seas. At length, having made many good Returns, he took up his Abode in *Lisbon*, as a Place moſt convenient for his Trade; and falling into Familiarity with this Father *Foſter*, and Father *Flood*, a *Jesuit*, who then lived in *Lisbon*, they perſuaded him to become a *Roman Catholic*, and ſo ſoon as he could get his Brother's Stock again into his Hands, to profeſs himſelf ſuch; which he accordingly did. And ſo (being inſtructed by them, that it was meritorious to cozen a *Heretic*, as they account all *Proteſtants*) defrauded his Brother, and would come to no Accounts with him, relying upon the Supportation of theſe Hypocrites, on whom he beſtowed liberal Alms; giving them many fair Pictures for their Church, and a Horſe of twenty *Milreys* Price, to fetch Home their Proviſions to the Houſe, beſides divers other Things; while, in the mean Time, his Brother was undone, and could get nothing at his Hands by Law, in regard he was a *Proteſtant*. Whereupon he was ſain to petition in *England* for Redreſs many Times, and yet could not prevail to recover any thing: Yea, he reſuſed to come into his own Country, or to obey the Command of the Council, in giving Satisfaction for what he had in his Hands. At length the Lord *Rosſ* coming Embaſſador into *Spain*, and ſtaying by the Way at *Lisbon* (where he landed) decided the Matter betwixt them; and Articles of Agreement were drawn by

(a) The Nuns thought ſurely it ſhould be ſo, and if he did not mean ſo, yet I was loath to truſt to it, in regard of his duty Earneſtneſs with me, concerning that Matter.

(b) Theſe two Brethren are both living in *Lisbon* at this preſent, and well known to moſt Engliſhmen who are in Portugal.

by Father *Newman*, which my self afterwards wrote out fair for them; the Tenor whereof was this in Effect: That either of the Brothers should, by a Day prefixed, bring in a just Account of all Debts due unto them; as likewise of all Debts which either of them owed: Also, that they should bring in all such Monies and Goods, as did any Way, as their own, belong unto them; and that they should both depose and swear, that they had truly laid open their Estates. And this being done, their Debts which they owed, were to be paid out of the whole Sum, and the Debts which were owing to them were to be added unto it; and so they to share equally betwixt them whatsoever remained, that, by this Means, their Estates might be both alike. Now, a few Days before this was to be put in Effect, the younger Brother, knowing his Estate to be far better than the other's, cometh very pensively to his Ghostly Father, old *Foster*, for Counsel; who instructed him to come to the Abbess, and some other of the Sisters at their Grate, where they use to talk with Strangers, and there to tell them, that he was weary of the Troubles and Vexations which attended a Merchant's Life, and therefore he would renounce the World, and become a Religious Man: And seeing that God had bestowed sufficient Wealth upon him, he could not do better, than to impart it to them; being such Holy Saints, as had preferred that Kind of Life, in a strange Country, before all worldly Contents in their own. And thereupon, at his feigned Request, they sent their Horse to his House, and had him laden back with Plate, Jewels, and Money, which my self helped to take from the Horse's Back, and carry into *Foster's* Cell. He had likewise, at that Time, a great Quantity of Cochineal, in sundry Bags, being, at least, fourteen or fifteen Hundred Weight, amounting to no small Sum of Money, which he had a little before bought of the *Indian* Fleet, who, that Year, and about that Time, put into *Lisbon*; and this was brought into the Nunnery by Night, out of the Ships, to defraud the King of his Right, and was under a Colour, together with the other Things, given to the Sisters of the House. By which Dealing, he so imbezzled his Estate, that when his Brother and he came to an Account, there remained little or nothing for him to receive, being by this Means deprived of all he should have had. When as presently, after this Conclusion was made between them, Father *Foster* and the Abbess send for their Ghostly Child, giving him Thanks for the Good-Will he had to bestow his Estate upon them; but they told him (as was before determined) that so much Money and Wealth was a Hindrance to their Devotion; and therefore they requested him to have it away again; to which he soon condescended; telling them, that now also his chiefest Troubles were over-past (meaning, because he had done with his Brother) and that he perceived it was not God's Will to make him so happy, as (such another Youth) Father *Nicholas Price*, who, awhile before, of a Merchant, became a *Dominican* Fryer, and therefore he would live as afore-times; and when he died, he would bequeath all he had to the Church; and thereupon took Home all his Estate again, after he had, by these Equivocations and Evasions, defrauded his Brother.

And now, lest this Treatise should rise to an over-big Volume, I will hasten to an End, after I have, in a few Words, set down the Manner of my Departure from them, which was thus:

After I had continued with them for the Space of two Years and a Half, and had plainly perceived, that all their outward Shew of Holiness was nothing but Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, and lustful Sacrilege, I began to consider in what a miserable State I should be, if God should, at that Time, call me out of the World; For I could well say, with the Poet, *Video meliora, proboque, deteriora, sequor*, I saw and allowed of the best Way, yet followed the worst. At length the Fear of my Soul's Health, and a natural Affection to my Kindred and Country, so wrought with me, that I waxed resolute in my Determination of forsaking them; but not knowing how to effect my Purpose, without Hazard of my Life (for they would have poisoned me,

if they had known I would have gone from them, because I should not bewray their Secrets) it came in my Mind to draw out certain Articles in manner of an Information against them, which I thought to exhibit to the chief Inquisitors of the City. And this might have been very dangerous unto me, if they should not have proceeded according to Equity; of which I was doubtful; fearing that (a) many Great Men of other Monasteries (being, perhaps, in the same Predicament) would have stopped the Course of Justice, *propter Honorem Monasticae Vitae*, for the Credit of a Monastical Life, as is many times done; yet, notwithstanding, I was resolved to undertake this Course, and had provided my Articles, which were these:

1. *That Father Seth, alias Joseph Foster, the Confessor of the English Nuns of St. Bridget's Order, in Lisbon, did compel divers Youtbs, his Countrymen, against their Wills, to remain with him in the House; who, if they had any good Affection to the Romish-Catholic Faith, before they came there, were soon brought in'o Dislike of it, by reason of the ill Government which is used in the House. And of this Sort I could have instanced in Twenty, who, within a few Years, have been recorded in their Register-Book, for Apostate Runaways.*

2. *He would daily, without any Companion, go into the Nuns Cloister, or Side, and remain there half a Day together, yea, and sometime sit and dine at their Table with them; but every Day in their Sight, which is expressly against their Rule. And this I could have proved by the Testimony of divers Portugueses, our Neighbours, who, frequenting the House, have oftentimes observed and seen him going in, and coming forth; and have spoken of it to myself and others. Also the Nuns themselves would have avouched it upon their Examinations.*

3. *He bath in his Cell, where he heareth their Confession, a Grate, which I can shew how he useth to take down with a Sleight, through which the Nuns pass to his Bed by Night. And, for the farther avouching of this, I would have brought in the drunken Familiar aforesaid, who will many times, in his Drink, tell how he helped to make it firm, against a Time when there was a Visitation intended by the Pope's Nuncio, and expected by them of the House, although it was not performed.*

4. *That in many Years past, there never came any Visitor to the House, to examine and understand their Grievances; neither have they any Confessor-extraordinary, as all other Religious have, to whom they might freely complain of their Superior's Oppressions. And this needed small Proof, for it would soon have been apparent enough of it self.*

5. *Through his politic Plotting, he causeth whom he list to be elected Abbess (for they hold their Places but three Years) and her to dispose of the House as he thinketh good. This also the Nuns themselves would quickly complain of, if they had one to hear their Complaint.*

6. *That my self (being divers times called into the Nuns Partition, or Side, to help them to nail up Boards, set up their Vines in the Walks of their Garden, and do such like Things which Women could not so well do) did chance to make a Hole in a hollow Place in a Wall (which had been latelier dawbed up than the rest) to set up a Spar to underprop the Vines; out of which Hole I pulled sundry Bones of some dead Children, and lest many more remaining behind. And this the Place itself would have testified to be true.*

Having thus provided my Articles in a Readiness, I absented myself from helping the Priest at Mass that Day, who being ready to go into the Church, and missing me, was feign to take another Clerk, while I walked up and down my Chamber, with a resolute Mind to depart the House. At length cometh Father Foster (for he used every Day to visit me at unawares, to see if he could find me writing

(a) Read Musgrave's Motives, for forsaking the Carthusian Monks, and Romish Religion, after he had been 20 Years professed.

writing of any thing that disliked him) and espied upon my Table (which I had negligently forgot) a blotted Copy of my Articles, being the first Draught of them; which, when I saw him take up, I proffered to snatch out of his Hand, but missed of my Purpose; and thereupon went down the Stairs, and so took my Way out at the Gates; but he (having soon perceived to whom they were intended) followed me a-main, and quickly overtook me, yea, even before I was past his own Walls, and demanded of me, What I meant by such Doings? I told him my Intent, and bid him peruse the Articles at large, giving him a fair Copy of them out of my Bosom; where I had three or four more.

But, as soon as he had read them, he waxed pale as Ashes, and was so terrified, that he began earnestly to intreat me, that I should not proceed with my Purpose, and told me, that if I would be secret, I should have his good Will to depart; whereof, being glad, I not only promised, but performed Secrecy (although, indeed, I ought not to have done it) not bewraying any of his Pranks to my nearest Acquaintance and Friends, until such Time as having Occasion, a few Months after, to be at *Lisbon* again, he suspected me, unjustly, of telling Tales of his House; and meeting me one Day in the Street, he called to me, and told me, that if I did not depart the City, he would have my Throat cut; upon which his devilish Speech, I could not refrain any longer, but, in the open Street, I told him of many of his ungodly Actions, which came to the Hearing of divers of our Nation, being Men of good Quality, whereof some have testified, in *England*, to honourable Personages, in my Behalf, how ready and willing I was to avouch and maintain whatsoever is herein contained, and much more; which (although it be here omitted) I am ready, at all Times, truly to declare and set forth, for the Satisfaction of all who desire it; but especially for such, as have either Daughters or Kinswomen in that House, in whose Behalf I am bound to intreat their Friends to enter into a farther Search of their miserable Estate and Condition; and (having found my Words true) to use such Means, if it be possible, to free them from such horrible and sacrilegious Rapine and Spoil; themselves not being able to send Word thereof, because all their Letters must be given to him to be sent into *England*, which, if they contain any thing contrary to his Mind, shall never be sent; for he will peruse them all: And likewise, when their Friends send to them, the Letters must first come to his Hands, wherein also if there be any thing that he misliketh (for he will break them all up) they shall never know of it. And here I will conclude, hoping that the friendly *Christian* Reader will be no way scandalized with any thing herein contained: But as for the Curious and Captious (especially *Romanists*) if they tax me for any thing I have written, let them know, I have done neither them nor any of their Sect Wrong, in publishing the Truth. If any of them, among the ensuing Names, find either a Sister, or Kinswoman, or Friend, let him sigh to think on their Misery, and use his best Means to free them. I have not set down all their Names, because I cannot well call them to Remembrance; neither are many of these *Christian* Names the same which they had in *England*, it being usual, at the Bishop's Confirmation, to take what Name they will; as also some of the Sur-Names are not their true Names indeed; for *Papists* do many Times change their Names, but there are few of these which be not right; and howsoever, they are known to their Friends by these.

The *FRYERS* of the *House*.

Seth, alias *Joseph Foster*, Confessor.
John Vivian
Nicholas Barrowes } two Priests.

Peter Consul, a Familiar, that is, a Lay-Brother, but a drunken One, God knows.

The *NU NS* of the *House*.

Barbara Wiseman, Abbess.
Ann Wiseman, Prioress.
Elizabeth Hart, Chantress.
Ann Wharton, Treasurers.
Ann, alias, *Josepha Bingman*, Porters.
Lucy Johnson, Notares.
Dorothy Fowler, Keeper of the Reliques, and Church-Stuff.
Bridget Brown, } Daughter of Sir *Anthony*
Lucy Brown, } *Brown*, Visc. *Montacute*.
Elizabeth Preston, sometime Abbess, but now in Disgrace with Old *Foster*.
Ann Martin.
Ann Markenfield.
Susan Bacon.
Sisley Arundell.
Margaret Smith, alias, *Becket*, and her Sister.
Maudlyn Shelly,
Catherine Dendy, } three of the Kitchen.
Elizabeth Cole,

Martha.
Clara Dowman, indeed *Ann Foster*, the Confessor's Kinswoman.
Catherine Knightly, } two merry singing
Mary Brook, } Wags.
Ann, a Chamber-maid of Sir *Anthony Brown*.
Mary Barnes, a well-beloved Friend of *Foster's*.
Mary Dimmock, a discontented young Nun.
M. Blinkfop, falsely reported, by Father *Foster*, to be allied to divers of the Nobility.
Agatha.
Eleanor and *Angela*, two Dutchwomen.
Bridget Mandanha,
Maria Suarez, } three Portuguese.
Maria Rodriguez,

[According to Promise in the preceeding Number, take the *Sequel* of Count GONDOMAR's *Machiavellian* Transactions, &c. Vide P. 218.]

The

The SECOND PART of

VOX POPULI:

O R,

GONDOMAR appearing in the Likeness of
a *Machiavel*, in a *Spanish* [CORTES, or]
PARLIAMENT.

Wherein are discovered his Treacherous and Subtil Practises,
to the Ruin as well of ENGLAND as the NETHERLANDS.

Faithfully Translated, out of the *Spanish* Copy, by a Well-wisher to
England and Holland.

Printed at GORICUM. 1624.

[N. B. Under this TITLE, is a Copper-Plate, representing this Spanish MACHIAVEL standing, Staff in Hand, near his Selle-percée, being a two-armed Chair, perforated to receive the Necessary Utenfil he had frequently Occasion for, on Account of his vexatious Fistula. Underneath are these Words; Gentis Hispanæ Decus.— Doubtless, our Scottish Traveller, W. Lithgow, had this in View, when he, punningly, says, That he contrabanded his Fistula with a Fist, in the Scuffle between him and the Count, at Court, in the Presence-Chamber. [See P. 209.]—Above he also appears, in his Litter, carried by Mules; under which are these Words; Simul Complectar Omnia.]

To the *High* and *Mighty* PRINCES,

Frederick and Elizabeth,

By the *Grace* of G O D, King and Queen of BOHEMIA,
Princes *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, &c.

As also to the most *Illustrious* and *Victorious*, MAURICE, Prince of
ORANGE, Count of NASSAU, &c.

Most High, most Illustrious PRINCES.

THAT I have adventured, in these unfaithful Times, so full of Suspicion and Danger, to pass (without Leave) your Guards, and to press into your Presence, I most humbly crave Pardon, having, I confess, no other Excuse than that common one of the Country, it was out of my Love, out of my Loyalty, for such (Most Gracious Queen ELIZABETH) hath heretofore your Respect been towards me (far unworthy, God knows, of any of the least Favours from so Magnificent a Princess) that ever since, I have contended with myself, to adventure and act something, that might have Power still to preserve me in your Royal Memory ; but, albeit I had the Will, I find myself wanting in my Ability. And most Illustrious, Prince *Maurice*, since I have had, sometime, Dependance on Your Excellence, I hold it my Duty gratefully to repay some Part of what (I cannot say unjustly) I have gained under you, that is, *Observation*, especially of Double-dealing, and cunning Jugling of the *Spaniard*, with all Nations ; and since, a little *Treatise* of a *Spanish* Consultation (whether really acted, or poetically feigned, I know not) came to my Hands, first Written in *Spanish*, now by myself Translated into *English*, only for the Behoof and Love I bear as well to *England*, my Native Country, as to the *Netherlands*. I have sent it abroad: Good it may do, Hurt it cannot. *Abundans cautela non nocet*. Herein you shall perceive the Curtain (though not fully) drawn from before the *Spaniard*, that the World may for certain see, that he is not so beautiful, as many of our *English* (who so long have doated on

on him) would make him to be; nor, on the other Side, so terrible, that your *Dutch* need to fear him, how grim and terrible soever he looks upon them. But Your Excellence knoweth him (as we say) *Intus & in cute*: and can limn to the Life better than any Pen in the World can decypher him; wherefore I urge him no farther. I only leave it to the World to think of (since he aimeth at the Monarchy of the *West*, every thing else being too little for his Ambition (whose great Grandfire, the Earl of *Halsbrug*, was, within these ninescore Years, of as mean Estate and Revenue as an ordinary Knight of *England*) how much I say, concerns it *England*, and your *United Provinces*, to hold fast by each other, which now, by all Means, he laboureth to part and *Divide, et divide*; not unmindful of a *Machiavellian* and old *Maxim*; *Impera.* but I trust Almighty God (as he hath already begun) will open the Eyes of all *Christian* Kings and Princes in Time, not only to pry into, but effectually to oppose, these his immense and ambitious Designs, which else, in Time, may fall heavy upon our Children and Posterity. I conclude, humbly beseeching the King of Kings and Kingdoms, the Almighty Lord of Hosts, Most High, Most Illustrious Princes, to protect the Persons of yourselves and Children, with his Grace to multiply your Honours and Dignities, fourfold to restore your Estates, and after many Years to Crown you in Heaven, with the Diadems of Glory and endless Happiness.

Who is most devoted unto Your Highnesses,

in all Loyal Affection.

T. S. of V.

[*The FRONTISPIECE to this Treatise (THE SPANISH PARLIAMENT written at the Top) represents the CORTES, sitting at a large square Table. The Upper End is filled with a fine State-Canopy, with the King of Spain's Arms, &c. from behind which appears a terrible grinning, horned and winged Dæmon, peeping over the Head of a Grandee, perhaps intended for Gondomar, who occupies the Right-Hand Side, as the Arch-Bishop of Toledo, does the Left-Hand Side; if I mistake not the Persons, who however are misplaced, since the Prelate should have the Upper-Hand. On the Table are placed a Regal and a Ducal Crown, with Papers, &c. The Motto underneath is;*

Ingentibus exidit Ausis.]

Count

Count GONDOMAR's Transactions, &c.

PART II.

AFTER the Shouts and Acclamations of all true-hearted *English*, for the safe and single Return of the Prince of *Great-Britain*, had made the Roof of Heaven to resound, and with the Noise had shaken such a Terror into the ill-affected Body of *Spain*, that a cold, and benumbing Fear ran through her Joints; her Friends began to bethink themselves of a timely Re-comfort, to find the Means afresh to rouse up her Spirits (by this Time half-repenting herself of parting with so precious a Pawn) the Possession whereof she imagined, might have tied us to have precisely kept Day (though it were likely to have proved more fatal unto her, than ever was the Gold of *Thoulonse* to *Scipio's* Soldiers) and as it falleth out among sick Persons, some of sounder Judgment than the rest, about Her in particular, and every one in general, giving their best Opinions, undertook (so she would be ruled) to rid her of that quaking Fit, and distempered Perplexity.

And, for this Purpose, appointing for a farther Consultation to be at *Sevil*, in *Andalusia*, whither already the King, with most of the Nobility, had retired themselves, in regard, (they said) the *English*, who were in Number about seven-score, had, not long before, eaten up all the Provision in *Madrid*, and within thirty Miles about, there came, as truest and old Friends to her Estate, the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, the Dukes of *Medina Celi*, of *Braganza*, of *Villa Hermosa*, of *Hijaz*, Duke of *Infantado*, Duke of *Cea*, Duke of *Sesa*, Duke of *Veragua*, Marquês of *Malagon*, Count de *Penna-fiore*, Count de *Monterey*, Count de *Sanslephano*, of *Escalona*, the Marquês of *Castel-Rodrigo*, the Almirante and Constable of *Castile*, Count *Olivares*, Count *Gondomar*, *Pedro de Toledo*, *Gonzales de Cordona*, *Luis de Velasco*, with several others of Remark and Note, of the chiefeſt Nobility; whither being come, and having made Choice of a goodly and fair Palace, anciently belonging unto the Duke of *Bejar*, Principal of the Family *Zanegas*, in a fair great Chamber, hung with rich Arras, over the Leather gilded *Guara Mazillas*, after many an Interchange of Compliment, each, as his Precedence required, took his Place, like a College of wise Physicians, to consult of the State of their Body and Kingdom, how with Medicines (as Physicians call them) to prevent her future Danger; wirhal, for the present, to repair the Ruin of her Reputation and Credit, since now her Plots and Practises are smoaked, and her *Gordian Knots* untwisted even by Children.

Lastly, How to gain by strong Hand, what all all this While she could not compass by Art and Policy.

Being all set and silent, the Duke of Medina Celi, stood up, and spake as followeth.

My LORDS, It hath pleased his *Catholic* Majesty, the King, our Master, to give Way to this our Meeting, and Parliament-Assembly, to consult and advise among ourselves, what Course is fittest to be holden of us, in these tempestuous Times,

Times; for the Weather being changed, and the bright Beams of our Hopes being over-cast, we are, from every Side, to expect Rage and Storms. You are not ignorant how there is now a Parliament holden in *England*, that bodes us no Good; in *Holland*, a daily Consultation with present Preparation; in *France*, a Council, together with an Unanimity of Kings and Peers, for some great Undertaking. How nearly then concerns it Us, of *Spain*, to be vigilant, and to look about Us? First, for the Maintenance and Advancement of the *Catholic* Religion, and Holy Church: Secondly, for the Defense of his Majesty's Kingdoms and Territories: Thirdly, to hear the Grievances of his People, groaning under the heavy Burthen of Exaction and Oppression, through the Covetousness of public Officers: Fourthly, for the Supply of the Treasury, which of late hath been much exhausted, partly by Preparation by Sea against our common Enemies, *Turks* and *Hollanders*, and partly by the extraordinary Entertainment of *Charles*, Prince of *Wales*, the Charge whereof amounted to forty-nine thousand Ducats: Fifth and lastly, for giving the World Satisfaction, and the taking away of those vile Scandals and Imputations, which even within these few Days have been, and are hourly cast upon us; especially (as they give it out) in dealing doubly and dishonourably with *England*, concerning the *Treaty* of the *Match*.

He having ended, the Duke of Braganza, the next, thus began.

I am sorry that I live to see the Day, that the Honour of *Spain*, which was wont to dazzle the Eye of *Europe*, with the unsufferable Splendor of its Brightness, should now be over-cast with the black Cloud of Disgrace; and the Name of a *Spaniard*, so redoubted over the World, become branded with the infamous Attributes and Epithets of False, Ambitious, Proud, and Cruel; and those Nations, who were wont to adore us for our Faith, contemn and scorn us now for Treachery and Falshood. Certes Loyalty, and the Religious Observance of our Promises and Faith, was anciently held our prime Vertue; insomuch, that *Fey de Espana* grew into a Proverb, like the Gold of *Ophir*, out-valuing any other. That I speak no new Thing, or Untruth, you may plainly perceive it by the Multitude of Discourses, Pamphlets and Pasquils which are daily vented against us, from all Parts of the World; wherein we are jested at, derided, disgraced, by Verses and uniceemly Pictures, especially, of late Days, from *Holland*, *France*, and *England*; yea, as I understand, in Songs and Ballads, sung up and down the Streets, in many Places. Whence this Imputation, upon so just and brave a Nation, so potent a Monarch (at the Brandishing of whose Sword, *Europe* trembles) should proceed, I cannot guess, yet desire to be satisfied herein, in the King, my Master, and Kinsman's Behalf; my Kinsman (for you all know my near Alliance unto his Majesty) and my Poesy may intimate so much unto the World, which is, *Pues vos, nos*, after you, we; being next in Blood, if the Issue Royal should fail.

But I am afraid the ill Carriage, no less of private Men at home, and, perhaps, of our Embassadors in Foreign Parts, have thrown this Aspersions upon us, having either given abroad too many Overtures of our Designs, or attempted their Ends with overmuch Haste and Violence, which, in Time, and by gentle Hand, might have been easier won; as a Bough, whose Fruit we meant to gather, is brought down by Degrees, which else might break, and we lose our Longing.

Surely, in the first, methinks, our Nation should easily offend, we being esteemed the most close and reserved to ourselves in the World, as the Events of our greatest and most important Actions have sufficiently shown. Did we not, in 88, carry our Business, for *England*, so cunningly and secretly, as well in that well-dissembled *Treaty* with the *English*, near *Ostend*) whereto, for us, were deputed

Arimberge, Champigny, Richardot, and others) as in bringing our Navy to their Shoars, while their Commanders and Captains were at Bowls upon the *Hoe* of *Plymouth*; and had my Lord *Alonso Guzman*, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, had but the Resolution (but, in Truth, his Commission was otherwise) he might have surprized them as they lay at Anchor, and the like.

In *Ireland*, when *Don Juan de Aquila* had gotten Footing on the *Irish* Ground, before any of them were missed, how were our Plots and Correspondence with *Biron* carried? with infinite the like Examples.

Touching the latter, the *Spanish* Nation hath, of all other in the World, been held for the most sober, stayed, and wise; and were wont never to attempt any thing, but upon great and long Advice, accounting it, with *Quintus Fabius*, more honourable to be accounted Drones and Cowards, than to hazard our Affairs or Armies, *French*-like, only in a vain-glorious Hastiness, to gain the Honour of charging the First: So that it seemeth strange to me, that we have, I know not upon what Ground, incurred the Hate and Scorn of other Nations, and that we, especially of the Nobility, should be thought ill of; since, of Nobility, ours of *Spain* hath been ever held the most illustrious and eminent of the World.

The Duke having made an End, Gondomar, easily raising himself from his Chair, wherein he sat upon two Down-Pillows, and resting himself upon a little Brass Staff, spake as followeth.

My LORDS, I can derive this Slander of our Country, and Hate of ourselves, from no other Fountain than the fanatical Humours, and distracted Spirits of some of the *English*, who find themselves not a little galled and vexed with our politic Delays heretofore, and now our final Rejection, and (I hope) shaking Hands with that Heretical Nation for ever; for if your Highnesses and Honours will but consider what Adventure and Boot we have made by them, I think, you will say, we might well endure these *British*-Northern and cold Blasts. Mean Time, in so suffering for our *Catholic* King, and in the *Catholic* Cause, we ought to take such Opprobry rather as Honour unto us than otherwise.

Moreover, if we shall consider who are the Authors of these flying Pamphlets, we shall find them to proceed from the Pens of light and unstayed Wits, with Intent either to win the Opinion of good Intelligencers and Statists, together with the airy Applause of the Vulgar, or to raise up their desperate Fortunes, when the Tempest is over (as it oft hath happened) and now likely; we being fallen off from *England*, and the Treaty at an End.

Yea, but, quoth the Duke of *Medina Celi*, what should be the the Reason of that in-bred and natural Hate, the common People should bear to us and our Country, above any Nation in the World, the *Hollanders*, *Turks*, and *Indians* excepted?

Quoth the Archbishop of *Toledo*, Herein we are much deceived, for his *Catholic* Majesty, and ourselves, all have very many faithful and fast Friends in *England*, who would not stick to hazard their Lives and Fortunes in the Service of his Majesty, might Time and Occasion be offered; yea, and some none of the meanest.

The Marquess of Castel-Rodrigo then arising up, with a grave Countenance and a deliberate Utterance, said:

Is it possible, that any Place in the World should bring forth such a Monster, as a Traitor to his Country! or to allow Bread to any one so unnaturally base

base, as to draw his Sword, and side with an Enemy against her! I will say that for our *Spain*, I do not remember, or even have read, that ever she afforded a Traitor, or so much as one who served a sworn Enemy against her Prince.

By your Favour, quoth *Luis de Velasco*, what Country-man was he of Count *John of Nassau's* Regiment, who took the Almirante of *Aragon* Prisoner, at the Battel of *Newport*.

It is true, quoth *Gonzales de Cordona*, he was a *Spaniard*; but Examples hereof are very rare.

Quoth *Gondomar*; So they are, and though *England* be the colder Country, yet it hath bred more venomous Creatures, of this Nature, than ever *Spain*; yea, even under the Sun-shine of their mildest and most moderate Governments.

Whence, quoth the Duke of *Escalona*, should this proceed?

I will tell you, quoth *Gondomar*, my Opinion; the *English* are naturally desirous of Novelties and Innovations, and, as it were, sick in the soft Beds of their long Liberty, Peace, and Plenty, which they enjoy under as wise and as good a King as ever lived; they suppose nothing wanteth to their full Happiness, but Change and Variety: I must liken them to *Giotto of Florence's* Ass, who when he went along with a rich Saddle of beaten Gold on his Back, with a Crown and Scepter lying thereon, yet he could not chuse but smell upon a Carrier's Pack-saddle, as it lay at an Inn-Door.

Hence are Strangers the most admired and entertained among them; and, if of Quality, preferred many Times to Place and Preferment before the *English*, though perhaps there are many who deserve better. I have seen there, a torn and tattered *French* Lacquey, but as this Day arrived out of *France*, and the next, he hath jetted in the Court in his Tissue, or Scarlet at the least. What Preferment came that Arch-Hypocrite, *Spalato* unto! *Ascanio*, the Fryer, who left his Wife in *St. Martin's-Lane*, and ran again to his Order! And a poor ignorant *Italian* Mountebank sought after for his Skill, as if *Æsculapius* or *Machaon* were again raised from the Dead! Yea, when but a *Spanish* Gown (haply of the Embassador's Lady, or of her Gentlewoman) how was it sought after, by Ladies and Taylors, for the Fashion! happy was she who could get first into the *Spanish*-Fashion, to their no small Charge, the *Spanish* Garments exceeding all other in Fulness, Compass, and Length, which, by this Time, it may be, they have converted into Cushions.

My Lords, You would hardly have forborn Laughter, to have heard, how I have been inquired after for Masters for the *Spanish* Tongue (that I may say nothing of so many Bills set up at every Corner of the City, by Professors) nay, I could have no Service, almost, done me, by my Muleteers and Grooms, for being employed in Teaching the *Spanish*, among Ladies and their Maids, though I knew, I tell you, *English* must be that they were to trust to, when all was done.

Touching myself, being Embassador there from his *Catholic* Majesty, and the sole Instrument in the Treaty for the Match, which the *Catholics* there so long thirsted after; if I should relate unto you the Particulars of my own Entertainment, you would (I suppose) imagine I told you Wonders beyond Belief: For, beside the great and gracious Respect I found, and Favours I received from his Majesty of *Great Britain*, and sundry of the Nobility, who seemed wholly to be compounded of Courtesy and Nobleness, there passed not a Day wherein I was not visited by some of the best Rank, or received some Present or other, from *Catholic* Gentlemen, or their Ladies (so welcome was the very Thought of the *Spanish* Match unto them) I returning them again, with Thanks, large Promises, and apparent Hopes of Preferment, when the Time should come.

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And,

And, be it spoken among ourselves, since we are falling off from *England*, I made better Use of their Kindness than so; for there were few *Catholics*, in *England*, of Note, from whom, in this Regard, I wrested not out a good round Sum of Money: Sir *Robert Cotton*, a great Antiquary, I hear, complaineth much of me, that, from his Friends and Acquaintance only, I got into my Purse the Sum, at the least, of ten Thousand Pounds: I deny it not; and, true it is, I borrowed of the good old Lady *W.* in the Parish of *St. Martin's* in the Fields, 300*l.* or thereabouts, promising her Repayment (whereof I will not fail) so soon as *Donna Maria*, the *Infanta* should arrive in *England*; and, for the Use hereof, I promised to make her Mother of her Maids; persuading her, it was not fit, that so grave and good a Lady, as herself, should lye obscured in Private, but rather attend upon my young Mistress, the bravest and most hopeful Princess in the World: Upon these Hopes, she turned *Catholic*, and since I never saw her. I sold, moreover, the Place of Groomers of her Highness's Stole, to six several *English* Ladies, who were eager for it, only because they might take Place of their Fellows. I lost nothing, neither, by a Noble Gentleman, whom I caused to be known for a Kinsman of the King, my Master, for that he was descended from the Noble and Ancient Family of *Ayala*, in *Spain*. These are but Mites and Crumbs, in regard of those great Presents, and many Pensions I had sent me under-hand, from the *Catholics*, from all Parts of *England*, during my Abode there. Had my Finger but aked, or been ill-disposed (as I often was in Body) I had sent me Jewels, Sweet-meats, Perfumes, Linen, Rose-water, and a thousand of such Trifles; only I returned them Thanks, and promised them, or their Friends, Preferment, when Time served.

If you were, my Lord, so Nobly entertained in *England*, (quoth *Braganza*) whence is it, or upon what Occasion, have we got to ourselves the Ill-will and Distaste of that Nation?

I must confess (quoth *Gondomar*) the Common People of *England* bear, generally, an inbred Spleen towards us, as it seemeth by many rude Affronts we were offered there, by the baser Sort, contrary to the Will and Pleasure of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, who published many Edicts and Proclamations in our Behalfs, punishing, many Times, the Offenders severely, as they could be taken; but why the Name of a *Spaniard* should be so become odious unto them, is a Question I cannot easily resolve.

Some think, that there is a Natural Antipathy, or Contrariety of Affection, between our Disposition and theirs; they living in the *North*, and we in the *South*; which being (as *Charron*, a *French* Author, observeth) nearer to the Sun, the Inhabitants are more Crafty, Politic, and Religious (though he errs in that) even to Superstition and Idolatry; whereas, on the contrary, those of the *North* (howsoever goodlier in Person, better Faced, and more beautiful than ourselves, by reason of the Coldness of the Climate, preserving inwardly the Natural Heat, and Radical Moisture) are plainly Simple, nothing so Religious, Contemners withall of the glorious Ceremonies of our Church, wherewith we have drawn more *Heathens* in either *India*, to *Christianity*, in one Year, than they can, with their *Lutheran* and *Calvinistical* Sermons, in all their Lives.

This very self-same Thing (quoth *Gonzales*) I once urged by Way of Argument, to a Count of *Germany*, who was a professed *Lutheran* Heretic, and his Reply herein was: So are Fools and Children taken with Bells, Gilt Pouches, and Colours; and our Ladies, and fair Gentlewomen (we see) often-times wooed, and won, only with a brave Outside on the Back of a base Knave, when an honest Man, and of deserving Parts, is rejected in a plain and ordinary Suit of Clothes, and not held worthy the looking after.

They talk as they are (quoth *Gondomar*) I am sure these drew more to my little private Chappel, in *Holborn*, than their best Preachers of Sermons could do to any Church they had.

But (quoth the Duke of *Hijaz*) it may be they hate us for the same Cause that *France*, *Germany*, *Italy*, and the rest of the Countries of *Europe*, for that many of us are descended of the *Moorish* Race; wherefore we are termed of them in *Italy*, *Marani*, and of others, *Moros Blancos*, and *Nuevos Chistianos*: For, indeed, it was but in the Year 1492, when *Granada* was recovered from the *Moors*, *Mahomet*, Sur-named the Little, and Son of *Muley Albobazen*, being King thereof, though *Toledo* and *Cordona* long before; and it may be they hold us still infected with *Moorish* Minds, and a Spice of their Manners, though they are assured we are *Christians*, yea, and the most *Catholic* too.

I hear (quoth Signor *Gondomar*) it is objected, in their now present Parliament, that in all Treaties, for the Space of two Hundred Years, *Spain* hath dealt with the *English*, *Fide Punicâ*; never kept Touch with them in any serious Capitulation; ever aiming at her own Ends; used their Alliance and Friendship but as a Stale, or Stalking-horse, over their Backs to shoot at others, or serve her own Necessities for the present; and hereof their Antiquaries (they say) have found many Precedents. Among others, they affirm and prove, to the Prejudice of our Treaty, that *Charles* the Fifth was first himself betrothed to Queen *Mary*, and I know upon what Trick and Policy he untied himself again, and used the Means to confer her upon Prince *Phillip*, his Son.

But the very Truth is, they carry a vindictive Resolution against us, ever since our intended Conquest of them in 88, and, peradventure, the *Powder-Plot* in 1605, which yet seemeth *manere alta mente repostum*. Indeed, *Henry* the 4th, of *France*, Sur-named, *The Great*, laboured, at one Time, a Reconciliation between us, but he found the Roots of either's Discontent so deep, and the Sore so unsalveable, that he gave it over in the End. Touching my own Person, I was generally hated, I confess, of the Common People; for no other Cause, I imagine, than for the great Grace and Favour I was in with his Majesty, unto whom I had free Access at all Times, and his gracious Ear to any reasonable Suit or Request I could demand. The Particulars of the Service I did to the King, my Master (whom God long preserve) I think are not unknown to you; I omitting no one Hour, or Minute of Time, wherein I did not benefit either Him by my Service, my Self by Experience, or a Friend by a Good-Turn.

For, during the Time of my Abode in *England*, and while I lay in *London*, I got, partly by the Means of well-affected Friends, and partly by my own Experience (for, in Summer-time, under the Colour of taking the Air, I would take a View of the Country) I had perfect Knowledge of the State of the whole Land: For there was no Fortification, Haven, Creek, or Landing-place about the Coast of *England*, but I got a Platform and Draught thereof. I learned the Depth of all their Channels; I was acquainted with all Sands, Shelves, Rocks, and Rivers, which might impeach or make for Invasion. I had perpetually, in a Roll, the Names of all the Ships of King *James's* Navy Royal. I knew, to a Hair, of what Burthen every Ship was, what Ordnance she carried, what Number of Sailors, who were the Captains, for what Places they were bound, which were in Repair, and fit for Service, and which not. I knew the Strength of the Tower of *London*; what Armour, Ordnance, Small-shot and Powder it might afford. You know, moreover, my Lords, I acquainted the King, my Master, with Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* intended Voyage to *Gaiana*, and every Particular thereof, when it was but in Embrio; and when he himself vowed only three were acquainted with his Purpose and Resolution, but the Fourth should never know what he intended, until he had set Footing in *America*:

rica : Yet, I say, I knew what he aimed at, what Course he meant to hold, where to land, what Places he meant to surprize, what Force he carried, and by what Way he resolved to return : With all which Particulars (as I have already said) I acquainted you long before he went, and he was no sooner gone, but I was assured, I had his Head at my Devotion, to take it when I listed (having sufficient Matter to alledge against him) and, at last, though his Treason, for which he stood condemned many Years before) was the Hatchet, yet the Hand was mine which gave him the Blow : For it concerned us, above all the rest, in case we should fall off from *England*, and burst out into our old Enmity, to make away with him, who would have proved the only *Bontefen*, and Incendiary of the World, in stirring up the Hatred of the *English*, and other Nations against us ; he being a Darling of our late deadliest Enemy, Queen *Elizabeth*, and one of the last Men to be borne of those great Spirits, and experienced Captains the Time of her Reign produced. His Majesty (I humbly thank him) took especial Notice of this Service of mine, and (as it was told me) gave me great Thanks for it above the rest.

I was no less diligent for the Discovery of the Inland, than for the Shores and Sea-coasts : For, there is never a Shire in *England*, but I better know the State, Power, and Quality thereof, than the Inhabitants, even the best of them themselves did. I could, in particular, relate the Nature of the Soil ; what Power of Men and Horse they were able to raise ; who were the Chiefs, and of most Ability and Credit in the Country ; who the most Ancient Gentlemen ; what they were worth in their Revenues and Estates ; how they stood affected in Religion ; who were *Puritans*, and who *Catholics* ; and, among *Catholics*, who were for us, and who (for such there were) indifferent, or against us. And which, moreover, is of equal Consequence, there was not a Sermon preached at *Paul's Cross*, or, indeed, in any other Church of the City, or Place in the Kingdom, which did but touch the Hem of my Master's Garment, or was any Way prejudicial unto us, or the Match (which we seemingly intended) but I had my Leame-hounds ready in every Corner, to draw after them *Dry-foot*, and fetch the Authors *Coram Nobis*, to their Cost ; as one Dr. *Everard*, of *St. Martin's*, was, for his bold and malapert Inveighing, and continually Preaching against us, and the Match, silenced by my only Means : For I said, and often told my best Friends, till the Mouths of such *Rabshake's* were stopped, no Unity, or sincere Reconciliation of either Nation (for the effecting of which, now was the Time) could possibly be expected. One *Whiting*, besides a Dr. of Divinity, Mr. *Clayton*, for his *Spanish Ewe*, in a Sermon at *St. Paul's Cross*, was laid up for his lavish Tongue, and had like before to have smarted, for a Sermon he made, before his Majesty, at *Wansted*, in *Essex*, in *August* some two Years since, taking for his Text, *Remember Lot's Wife. Luke 17, 32.* And I think *Ward*, of *Ipswich*, escaped not safely, for his lewd and profane Picture of 88, and their *Powder-Treason*, one whereof, my L. Arch-bishop, I sent you in a Letter, that you might see the Malice of these detestable *Heretics*, against his *Holiness* and the *Catholic Church*.

Neither was there any Public Speech, made openly in any Court of Justice, were it in either House of Parliament, Star-Chamber, Country Assize, yea, many Times, uttered privately in the Court, but I got an Inkling, and made good Use thereof : Yea, I was Partaker of Gossips News in the City, brought to my own Bed-chamber, by my well-known and private Friend, &c. Mrs. *M. of Fleetstreet*.

Indeed, Signor *Gondomar* (quoth one) herein consisted the Pith and Marrow of your Service ; but, if you please, proceed.

I again entertained, to my no small Charge, Intelligencers in every Country (indeed *Catholic Priests*) whose Liberty out of Prison I obtained for that very Purpose ; for, being Abroad, they did us a threefold Service : First, they gained Souls to God, Friends to the King, my Master, and Money good Store into our Puries ; for I got

out of *English Catholics*, to mine own Use, threeſcore Thouſand Pounds, at the leaſt.

For the firſt, it hath been certified me for a Truth, and by Report, from many of their own Mouths, that the Number of Souls, which they have gained into the Boſom of the Church, ſince the Remiſſion of the Penal Laws againſt them, and their Freedom, by my Means obtained, amounteth to the Number of Eight and Thirty Thouſand, and odd.

Secondly, They have confirmed the *Catholics*, and made them ſo faſt for the King, our Maſter, that they have avowed unto me, divers Times, that, rather than miſs of the Match, they would make up the beſt Part of the *Infanta's* Portion out of their own Purſes; yea, though it were with the Selling, or Pawning of all their Plate and Jewels.

Within the City, for a ſmall Matter, I ſed certain diſcontented and neceſſitous *Catholics* of the *English*, to walk the common and moſt frequented Places of the City of *London*, as *St. Paul's Church*, the *Exchange*, now and then among the *Ordinaries*, to learn the common News, out of which, many Times, I picked good Matter.

Neither could the *States* of *Holland*, or the Embaſſadors of any other Foreign Prince, carry their Buſineſs ſo cloſe, but, with my Maſter's Golden Key, I could find a Means to dive into their Cabinets, Reſeal and Seal again their Pacquets, without the Help either of *Arthur Gregory*, or his old Acquaintance *Phillips*.

It was not one of my worſt Pieces, to hold the *English* in Suſpenſe, with an apparent Overture of the Match, and a dilatory Promise of Golden Mountains, with the Age of old *Saturn* again, when every Oak in *Greenwich Park*, *Sudar ei roſcida mella*; till the *Palatinate* was loſt, beyond Recovery; a Matter of main Conſequence: For hereby *Bobemia*, with the reſt of the Emperor's Territories, being ſecured above, our Maſter may, at Pleaſure, call to his Aid the Emperor's Forces (who, it ſeemeth, for this Purpoſe, hath made a League with the *Turk* for theſe twenty Years) together with the Strength of *Tilly*, *Die Caefe* and the Duke of *Bavaria* joined, and with his own Forces ſuddenly *camer*. (for now is the Time) give *Holland* ſuch a *Camifada*, as the beſt Wits of the * *Chief Chamber*, will be to ſeek of their Old Ward, and wonted Policy.

Yea, (quoth *Don Pedro*) but imagine this Plot was reſolv'd upon, ſhall we think the Princes of *Germany*, Kings of *France*, and *England*, and other their old Friends and Allies, will ſtand ſtill, as idle Spectators, and not run in, with their Swords drawn, to their Reſcue? Or that the *Hollander*, who hath been ſo long Weather-beaten at Sea, is not able to diſcern this Storm a-ſar off, and take in his Sails, e'er it ſhall hazard his Ship? Yes, without Doubt, and howſoever we may flatter ourſelves with the Eaſineſs of the Conqueſt, we ſhall aſſuredly find it as hard a Task as ever *Spain* undertook.

It is true, you ſay (quoth the Almirante of *Caſtile*) what have we gained of them for theſe fifty Years Space and upwards, ever ſince *Dom Juan* of *Austria*, the Duke of *Alva*, *Luis Requeſens*, were Governors, and undertook the *Low-Country* Wars, but ſound Knocks, with the fruitleſs Expence of many a Million?

Quoth *Luis de Velasco*: A ſhorter Cut for the Conqueſt of thoſe Rebels had been long ſince taken, had the Duke of *Alva* The Error of been ſo wiſe as to have ſecured himſelf of *Brill*, *Fluſhing*, and the Duke of the reſt of the Frontier and Sea-Towns, he then might have been *Alva*. Maſter of all the reſt within at his Pleaſure; for ſo long as they were open and free, they were to the others, as the Mouth to the Stomach, or Body, which could not poſſibly famiſh, ſo long as it was ſupplied continually from *England*, and other Places. But this by the Way.

* So the Spaniard ſcornfully calls the Hague, where the States uſually reſide.

Al

All what, quoth *Gondomar*, I have already said, is but a *Preludium*, or small *Preface*, to those Projects I had in my Brain, if (as luckily it happened) the *Treaty* had not suddenly been broken off, but been spun out a Year or two longer, which, indeed, was the main Plot, and had been effected, had not the coming over of Prince *Charles*, in Person, into *Spain*, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, spoiled all: For, howsoever, we made a seeming Shew of Rejoicing at his coming, and did him all Honour, befitting so great and worthy a Prince; yet, to speak the Truth, my Lords, you all know, we all wished him a thousand Miles off; and, I believe, some of the *English* themselves were here sorry, that he had ingaged himself in so long and tedious a Journey.

But, quoth the Duke of *Hijaz*, standing up, and turning himself to the Duke of *Medini Celi*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*.

How may it be conceived, that the Prince of *England's* Arrival in *Spain* should either prejudice Us, or the *Treaty* of the *Match*, a Whit; since he found here the greatest Content he could devise: He had a Sight of the Lady, *Maria* the *Infanta*, whose Self, known and seen, exceeded her Fame; he was entertained and attended upon, by the most compleat and generous Nobles of *Europe*, and had that Entertainment, no Nation could afford the like. Lastly, *Majorem habemus fidem iis quæ oculis usurpamus, quam quæ auribus haurimus*.

Quoth the Duke of *Escalona*, the Effect hath fallen out quite contrary: For the *English* report, since their coming Home, they never came into a bairer Country in their Lives, where they could get Meat neither for Man nor Horses; nor saw so much as one Handful of Grass in two hundred Miles Riding; and if they dined at one Place, they were feign to go 30 or 40 Miles before they could get any for their Supper, and then, perhaps, a Piece of lean Kid, or Cabrito, a Tripe, or such-like: Indeed, I remember, when the Prince lay at *Madrid* we were feign to send seventeen Miles off for a Calf, for his Highness's Diet; as for Mutton, we may kill none without especial License from the King; for Fish, our Rivers afford none, and we being most temperate ourselves, how should our Diet agree with their Stomachs, who are accounted the greatest Feeders in the World?

I verily believe, indeed (quoth *Gondomar*) that those Places they call, in *England*, *Eastcheap*, and *Smithfield-Bars*, kill, and utter more Beef and Mutton in a Month, than all *Spain* eats in seven Years, which Plenty our Men Meeting withal, at our first coming over into *England*, and since, some who attended *Don Iniosa* (as I lately heard) did soon over-eat themselves, and died shortly after.

The poor and miserable Surface of our Country (quoth *Escalona*) the Scarcity of Victuals, and Hardness of Lodging was not all; the Prince of *Wales*, by coming over, discovered our Plot, and found, how fair soever we pretended, we meant nothing less, when he thinking (as also did the King of *Great-Britain*, his Father) nothing had been wanting to the absolute Consummation of the Marriage, but the Rites of the Church, he found all as raw, and as backward, as if he had been all this While in a Dream, and no such Matter ever thought of: So that he found the Honour of our glorious Entertainment, to be but as a delicate Sauce to help Digestion.

The Marquess of *Castel-Rodrigo*, then stepping up, said; I will add one Thing more, and whereof, if he lives, he vows not to be unmindful; and

and that is, as I am informed, some Affronts done him by the Clergy, as that rude and barbarous putting him out of a Church, which his Highness came in to view: The arresting and taking away a young Youth, a Page, who attended, I think, on Master *Montagne*, in a manner, from his Heels, which young Gentleman (they say) cannot be heard of to this Day; with that insolent and *African* Pride, of restraining him from that liberal Access and Converse (not denied elsewhere to a mean Person) with the Lady *Maria*, the *Infanta*, his Mistress, which Princess, by his own Right, he may challenge, he being equivalent in Birth, and the rarest Endowments of Body and Mind, to any Prince whatsoever in the World) with whom, in all the Time of his being here, he had not above twice talked, and then before either the Queen, or yourself, Signor *Olivares*, or some other: If he had any thing to say afterward, it was, by us, to be penned to his Hand, and to be spoken before Witnesses. We must assuredly think, and expect, that so great and eminent a Prince, and the Darling of a Nation, howsoever he could wisely smother his Discontent among us in *Spain*, we may one Day, perhaps, find the Fruits of our Double-dealing, and the Effects of his haughty and incensed Courage; well knowing how, like a young Lyon, though yet in his Den, and scarce acquainted with Rangeing, his Teeth and Nails are grown to that Length, that he is past Jestings or Playing withal.

Add moreover the digging up of the Bodies of our buried Dead, casting them into the Sea.

Indeed, my Lord *Olivares*, you are much blamed for that Discovery and Light you gave to *Buckingham* of our Design, and the Secret and Tenor of the last King's Will, wherein he charged us, not to match with *England*, but rather to hold a fair Treaty with them, having, as you all know, bequeathed *Maria*, the *Infanta*, to the Emperor's Son; so that now the *English* suppose themselves manifestly deluded.

The Infanta, by her Father's Will, bequeathed to the Emperor's Son.

Quoth the Duke of *Sesa*; They know it well enough, and, I beleive, we shall find them so sensible of it, that we had been better to have played fair, than to have hazarded the losing of our Rest by such an Encounter.

Now, I pray you, let us take into our Considerations, the Mischiefs which are like to follow.

First, it is thought, hereupon, they have called a Parliament, which consisteth of the King, Prince, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, of the Gentry, and Commons of the ablest Judgment and Understanding in the Land. Unto this Parliament, the King (they say) hath wholly referred himself, not only for Examination and Redress of all Abuses and Misdemeanors at Home, but for the discussing and searching into all Plots and Practises Abroad, that may seem any way to prejudice the quiet and well-governed Estate of his Kingdoms, without Interposition, or Mediation: So that the King and People go all on together, with that Alacrity and Constancy, in providing for the good Estate of the Kingdom, as the like hath not been seen these many Years; Prince *Charles*, himself, being there early and late, *assiduous* & *accubus*, among them, whom (I am informed) with the Duke of *Buckingham*, we have our prime and principal Opposers.

The Unity and sweet Consent of the King and his People in this present Parliament observed.

I must confess, (quoth Count *Olivares*) there fell a Difference between the Duke of *Buckingham*, and myself, which some have rashly, and inconsiderately given out, to be the only Cause of this Breach; for they say, before that Time, all Things went forward in as fair a Way as might be.

A Difference between the Duke of Buckingham, and Count Olivares,

Y.y

Indeed,

which the Pa-
pists give out
(though falsely)
to be the first
Occasion of the
Breach of the
Match.

Treaty among us; whereby he hath not only assured himself of the Affection and Heart of the King and Prince, but infinitely, for his faithful Service (another *Fidas Achates*) unto him, gained the general Love of the Common People, as it not long since appeared, when he was ill after his tedious Voyage by Sea (the Prince himself being all the Time healthy and sound) for whose Return the Peoples Joy had been excessive, and beyond measure, had it not been somewhat allayed,

The Duke of
Buckingham,
for his true Ser-
vice to the
King and
Prince and
State, heartily
beloved of the
People.

Indeed, quoth *Toledo*, the *Catholics*, of *England*, have so given it out, laying all the Fault upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, who is not guilty of any such Thing; I will excuse him, that Piece was hammered upon our own Anvil: *Buckingham* is a Noble, Wise, and a Generous Prince, upon whom the King, his Master, hath deservedly conferred his Grace, and those transcendent Honours; yea, though for no other former Merit else, than the resolute and wise Carriage of himself, in the Business of this and tempered with the Report of *Buckingham's* Sickness, they praying as heartily for his Recovery, as if he had been some good Landlord, or great House-keeper among them, whose Loss had been half their Undoing.

It were to be wished, quoth *Don Mendoza*, that the Prince of *Wales*, and himself, with the rest of the Parliament, were not, upon just Cause I confess, so bent against us. I remember, quoth the Arch-Bishop, when I was a young Student, a Saying of *Seneca*, *Ingenuitas non recipit contemptum*; Ingenuity, or a generous Spirit, can in no wise brook Contempt. Shall we imagine then a Prince, yea, such a Prince as *Charles* of *Wales*, and only Son to the King of *Great-Britain*, upon whom, and whose Actions, as a bright Blazing Comet, *Europe* begins to fix her Eye, afraid and doubtful where the fatal Effect of this Discontent will light, will carry Coals, and not cry Quittance with his Enemies? Yet, doubtless, his Mettle is of another Temper, and not so flexible as some take it; for mine own Part, I would not have him our Enemy, if his Friendship could be had, though with the Expense of many Millions of Du-

*Cujus contrari-
um verum est.*

As if *Spain*, quoth *Rodrigo*, needed to fear that Angle of the World, *England*. Have not we, evermore, given them their Hands full? Have they not more feared our Fleets and Armies than we theirs? Do we not equal them in Men and expert Commanders, as well by Land as by Sea? Do we not exceed them in Treasure, and Money from our *Indian* Mines? which, like ever-running Fountains, are never dry! That I may say nothing of the Courage of our People, our Wisdom and Policy, whereby we have made ourselves Masters of so many goodly Territories, and gained so many brave Victories, both by Sea and Land.

Had we an Enemy (quoth the D. of *Cea*) of far less Ability and Power than *England* is, we ought not so slightly to contemn him; the woful Experience whereof our Nation, naturally Haughty and Opinionate of their Valour, as well as others, have proved: The Duke of *Burgundy*, out of an insolent Pride, so contemned the *Swissers*, the Quarrel arising betwixt them but for the Tole of a Load of Calves-skins, that, at the last, by them he was deprived both of his Estate and Life, at that unfortunate Encounter at *Nancy*.

A Quarrel a-
bout a Load
of Calf-skins,
cost the D. of
Burgundy the
loss of his Life,
and Estate.

The Spaniards

Who could with-hold the Arch-duke, *Albertus*, and our Grand Captain, from bidding Prince *Maurice* Battel at *Newport*? But, scorning the Enemy, in regard of his small Number, in respect of theirs,

to-

together being puffed up with that petty Victory against the *Scots*, the same Morning, they had the Reward of Pride and Contempt of a weak Adversary; for the Arch-duke was forced to fly, saving himself very hardly, leaving behind him the oldest and best Soldiers *Spain* had. Let us believe the Weakest may do us a Mischief; as is wittily shewn by *Esop*, in that Fable, or Apology of his, between the *Eagle* and the *Conies*. But, by your Favour, my Lord, you are much mistaken in the State and Strength of *England*, and Quality of the People; and so you will tell me, if we shall have to do with them, as we have found, and had in former Times. Let us think too of the Accession of *Scotland* unto that Kingdom; and how *Ireland* standeth in good Terms, and is, at this Time, so well Peopled with *English* and *Scots*, that there is not so much as a Starting-hole left for Rebellion, or so much Ground to spare in that Country, that might afford any Friend's Horse of ours a Bottle of Hay, much less suffice for an Army to march over, and to be maintained upon.

Pride & Contempt of us, how dear it cost them at Newport.

The Strength of Ireland at this present.

I might hereto add the Valour and sufficient Fidelity of that Noble Gentleman, Sir *Henry Cary*, Lord Viscount *Falkland*, the now present Lord-Deputy thereof, with many other brave Spirits, who are employed in his Majesty's Service in that Country.

But, to return to the Parliament of *England*: What Effects, hear you, is it likely to produce: Or, wherein is it thought to prove prejudicial to the King, our Master, or to the *Catholic Religion*?

First (replied *Gondomar*) it is likely to go worse with the *Catholics* than ever, as who must expect no Favour, but must prepare themselves to undergo the sharpest Censure, and Animadversion of the Law against them: Yea, whosoever shall be found Abettors, Maintainers, Concealors of their Plots, or Harbourers of their Persons, shall suffer for the same in like Manner; and, I hear say, that there is a Proclamation, either coming forth, or published already, to that Effect, and how they are to depart the Realm by a prefixed Day.

But what (quoth Count *de Monterey*) will then become of them, or by whom shall they be entertained? Will they return to their Colleges again at *Donay*, *Rheims*, *Rome*, *Valladolid*, and other Places, some whereof I have lately seen, and observe to stand empty?

The Seminary Colleges beyond the Seas, almost empty.

Nothing less (quoth *Gondomar*) for, I am persuaded though many will colourably depart, but return again shortly by new Ports, and new Names, more will remain behind (and since never likely again to have such an Opportunity of professing themselves openly, and exercising their Functions, many Times, in the common Inns) for the better avoiding Suspicion, and concealing themselves, some will turn School-masters in private Mens Houses, as there are many in *England*; some Gentlemen-Ushers unto collapsed Ladies, as some such there are in *Drury-lane*; the *L. T.* in *Yorkshire*, hath one follows her in that Nature; the *L. S.* not far from my old House in *Holborn*, *London*; the *L. M.* near unto *Stratford-Bow*; some *Falconers*, whereof I know two, the one in *Suffex*, the other in *High Suffolk*; only one I was acquainted withal, who was the Keeper of a Park, and a good Huntsman, and of whom I have had many a good Piece of Venison, if he be living. I know another *Priest*, who, having lived with an ancient Lady, of great Estate, and of good Credit, by reason he was invironed with a pestilent Crew of *Puritans* on every Side, and the better to colour his Absence from the Church, learned the Art of *Cookery*, and is grown so expert therein, within a short Space, that he is able to dress a Dinner with such Art, and good Meat, after the *English* Fashion, that never a Cook in all

Spain, is able to set the like by it; and his Manner is: When he hath laid his Meat to the Fire, to go and say *Mass*, which finished by that Time, or soon after his Meat is boiled, or roasted, which, with a clean Apron, and white Sleeves, with some small Help of a Kitchen-boy, he serveth up to his old Mistress.

Quoth the Arch-bishop; This was the Condition of the old *Christians*; under the persecuting Emperors; of which Times it is said, *Ingeniosa res suis illis temporibus esse Christianum.*

Erasmus.

The Number of Priests and Jesuits in London, only, is 255, in a manner for every Parish 2, if Mass were up again.

God be thanked, the House is well rid of them.

The King's Lenity abused.

Without Doubt (quoth *Gondamar*) they will be severely proceeded against in this present Parliament, and that for many Respects.

First; by reason of their Number, and daily Increase, whereby they became Formidable to the State.

Secondly, because of the Correspondence they held with us; for by their Means we understood the Secrets of their State, knew what they did, or spake in their Parliaments. In a Word, they were our only Instruments for any Employment, were it never so desperate.

Thirdly, (wherein I must needs say, they were to blame) they abused the King's Grace, and Lenity towards them, with their Insolency and Affronts, oft-times braving their Adversaries in the Streets to their Faces, Preachers in their Pulpits, Judges and Justices on the Bench; that had they so done with us in *Spain*, they should have smarted for it, of what Religion soever they had been.

For Example.

Ask Master Primrose of the Truth hereof.

Upon *Easter-Monday* last, in the Afternoon, came a *Jesuit*, formally attired in Black to the Court, then at *White-hall* (the Day following being the Day of the King's Healing of that Disease, they call there, the *King's Evil*, what Time a great Throng of People, of all Sorts, being gathered together at the Door of Serjeant *Primrose*, who was to take the Names, and to search such as had Need of Help) thrust into the Chamber, and being demanded; what Business he had there? feigning himself to be in Drink, made Answer; He had none, neither knew he how he came there. They seeing him in such a Case, would have carried him into another Room, and have laid him upon a Bed, but he refused it; and hearing, by Chance, Mr. *Primrose*, and one Mr. *White*, confer in *Latin* together, he suddenly brake out, and said, *Know you not such a one, who attendeth upon such a Lord, he is my Brother, and a Catholic.* Whereat Mr. *White* replied, *I pray get you gone, I care for no such Company.* Whereupon he would have drawn his Dagger, and, had not Company been nigh, he had doubtless slain him; and no sooner was he out of the Chamber, but he returned, with three or four more of his Friends and Acquaintance, daring him to come forth, and deeply vowing to be revenged upon him, and the rest within, &c.

No Treason commonly without a Priest or Jesuit at one End of it.

Fourthly, Because (say the *English*) they are the only Engines and Complots of all Treasons, Authors of Tumults, and Seditions within the Land. They instance, long since, the Rebellion in the North; of late, the *Gun-powder* Treason; *Watson's* Plot, with that of Sir *Walter Rawleigh's*, and many more the like.

(say they) to those

After the naming of St. Francis, you

Fifthly, and lastly; because their Carriage not answering the Reverend and High Dignity of their Profession, they are grown odious about the Town, losing hereby much of their Value, which I like not of. St. *Francis* was was reputed so holy a Man, that the Pope's Holiness ordained, that whosoever did but name *Francis*, he should lick his Lips after; so sweet, and Saint-like,

was

was his Life and Conversation: Yet now I remember, at my Departure out of *England*, I gave it some of them in Charge, to get what they could, of whom, or by what Means soever, because I foresaw their Harvest would be short, and the Money would stand us all in stead; for indeed, the greatest Part was at my Devotion, and to be employed as I saw Cause.

And this stirred up one *Gee*, an Apostate *Calvinist*, to publish a pestilent and malicious Pamphlet against the *Priests* and *Jesuits*, residing in and about *London*; wherein, after he hath discovered their Practises, he setteth down, at the End, a Catalogue of their Names, with the Places of their Lodging, what Books they have at any Time published, with the Names of *Catholic* Doctors of Physic, and Apothecaries, to their no small Disgrace, and Prejudice.*

These Things, my Lord, quoth *Sesa*, at your being in *England*, were, by your Means, wont to be severely looked into, and punished.

It is true, quoth *Gondomar*, either Hanging, or the Loss of the Author's Ears had ensued, or else I had missed of my Aim; but the Case is now altered: I was then powerful, and in Grace, and, by my Policy, effected those Things, which, were they now to be wrought again, would require the Labour and all the Strength of *Hercules*.

But, my Lord, quoth the Duke of *Braganza*; What News lately from *England*, in what State stand Things there, and how doth *Don Iniosa* carry himself among the *English*, at this turbulent Season, and amidst the deepest of their Discontent, and Displeasure against us?

Well enough (quoth *Gondomar*) and the better if he be careful to observe some Directions I have given him, at my last Departure. But, for Novelty Sake, I will produce a Letter, I received from him, written with his own Hand, within these few Days.

My Lord: All Health and Happiness ever attend our Sovereign, his *Catholic* Majesty; next Yourself and Yours. You are much desirous, I know, to hear what the *English* Parliament hath already effected, or what they intend, touching ourselves and the *Catholics*, and the rather, that by your Wisdom, you might prevent farther Dangers, which, if foreseen, are ever the better encountered withal, and withstood: Either House of Parliament, with great Vehemency against the *Catholics*, having published a Proclamation for their final Banishment, and ourselves every Day grow more odious in Contempt with that Nation than other, which I cannot remedy. I did what lay in my Power, and, according to my Direction, to break off this Parliament, by laying an Asperision upon the Prince and Duke of *Buckingham*, to breed a Jealousie in the King's Majesty, which is heinously taken of all the Land; whereupon, I hoped that the Parliament would soon have been dissolved: But my Art failed me, and I have gained nothing but Disgrace, the Enmity of the Prince and Duke, together with the Hate of the whole Land; infomuch that, as yourself, Signor *Gondomar*, were wont to pass free and unmolested (except at once, or the second Time, when the Offenders were imprisoned and punished) we cannot pass (though no Violence, I confess, is offered) but we have the Bands and Revilings of the Multitude, I mean the baser Sort, wishing we had never come here. The Devil drive us Home again, &c. Withal I had three or four of the Proclamations, for the banishing of the *Priests* and *Jesuits*, pasted on the Wall, hard by my Door. A Coach full of my Gentlemen were, by Chance, hard by the

The Proclamation against Priests and Jesuits.
So all the World supposeth.

The better Sort never gave you ill Usage.

* [Of this Pamphlet good Use will be made in, our next Number.]

the *Savoy*, overthrown; but Lord! what a Shout was there among the Multitude for Joy! some interpreting the same to be *malum omen* to our Nation; but, *Deo gratias*, there was no Harm done.

But are not, said the Prelate, these Affronts, and unseemly Dealing of the Common People with Embassadors, soundly punished?

Yes, indeed, quoth *Gondomar*; it is much against the Will of his Majesty; and the State, who, by public Proclamation, have, upon a severe Penalty, forbidden any whosoever, either by Word or Deed, to offer them any Affront or Injury; but it seems our Dealing hath deserved it. How happeneth it then that these are not restrained? replied the Marquess of *Mandefario*.

It is impossible, quoth *Gondomar*, to charm the Tongues of a Multitude: Beside, they are People of the worser Condition; for of the better Sort we are respected with all Obedervance. But let us proceed with the Contents of my Lord's Letter.

Here come forth, about *February*, likewise a Proclamation for the Banishment of all *Priests*, &c. out of the Kingdom of *Ireland*: But it is to be hoped, that there be so many of the chief Magistrates and Gentlemen in *Ireland*, so well affected to the *Catholic* Cause, that it will do us no great Hurt in those Parts, though the Crack be terrible.

Count *Mansfield* arrived not long since in *England*, and had great Entertainment; but what his Errand or Business was, I could never learn, though I tried all the Means I could to know. I am wanting in nothing, so much as in some ingenious and good Intelligencer. That (quoth *Gondomar*) is a

*A notorious
Practise of the
Spaniards, to
discover the
Business of a
Turkish Em-
bassador with
the States at
the Hague, in
Holland.*

*Of the Truth
hereof, inquire
of Captain
T. B.*

Fault which must be remedied. I remember, of late Years, there came a great Personage, a Messenger (call him Embassador I may not) from a Visier, in *Constantinople*, to the States of *Holland*, to the *Hague*, and there was sent from *Antwerp*, to insinuate into his Acquaintance, afterward into his Service, a natural born *Spaniard*, who had been formerly a Slave in *Constantinople*, and could speak the *Turkish* Language, as naturally as if he had been born there; withal he knew the Friends and Kindred of the said *Turkish* Gentlemen, and could call them by their Names, and told him he was such a Man's Son, of the City, who being taken Prisoner, when He was young, by the *Spaniards*, he was detained, as a Galley-Slave, among them many Years, and having now made an Escape, fled to him for Succour, and desired to serve him as an Interpreter: He believing all true that he said, entertained him to attend on him in his Chamber. It fortun'd, that on a Time, when the Estates of

North-Holland were invited, by the Prince of *Orange*, to a Supper, or Banquet, at his Court, in the *Hague*, and with them this *Turkish* Embassador, one of the Company, a *Dutchman*, of *North-Holland*, observing his Carriage and Countenance, and remembering that his Garb and Condition were *Spanish*, and moreover avowing, he had seen him in *Spain*, caused him, in Despite of his new Master, to be searched, and at the Instant found, about him, Directions how to carry himself, and, which was the main Plot, to discover what was the *Turk's* Errand to the Estates. Hereupon, it being the Time of Peace, he was banished, and, at *Delft*, put into a Boat and sent away, upon Pain of his Head, never to return to *Holland* again. But these Devices are like Stratagems in War, once eluded, never to be put in Practice again.

*Provision for
making ready
the Navy.*

Well, to proceed, he writes us moreover, how, and with what Alacrity the Parliament, with one Consent, have granted Subsidies, for furnishing and rigging up the Navy, and preparing for War.

- But

But writes he nothing, quoth *Velasco*, where it is thought they will appoint *Sedem Belli*, the Home, or Seat of that War.

That, quoth *Gondomar*, is a Secret among them; but I think, his Majesty, will reserve that to himself.

Why, quoth *Luis de Velasco*, there should be nothing so secretly carried among them, but we should know it.

The Times, replied *Gondomar*, are not now as heretofore, and when I was in *England*; our best Intelligencers, and the *Catholics* are not in that Grace as they have been. We have had, in Times past, many Friends, even in the Parliament-House; but they have now so sifted and culled them out, yea, if but suspected, that we have but little Hope of diving into their Actions.

The Prince of *Orange*, with the *States* of the *Low-Countries*, have taken the same Course: For, whereas their Entendments and Resolutions, where, and when to make a War, was known in common to them all of the Council (so that what they determined, or concluded, we knew it the same Night, or the next Morning, witness the Surprize of *Breda* with a Turf-boat, and their Enterprize upon *Antwerp*) the Prince of *Orange* reserves that in his own Breast, whereby Things are now carried with far more Secrecy, and good Success, than before.

The Enterprize upon Breda in Brabant.

But how happened it (quoth Count *Monterey*, that *Breda* (as I have heard) was surprized, notwithstanding?

By mere Accident, quoth *Gonzales de Cordona*; for *Antonio Lancavechia*, the Governor, which happened not in seven Years before, lay that Night from Home (I mean, the Castle) at *Gertrudenberg*, six Miles off; when, the same Night, came Letters unto him from a Friend, on the other Side, which revealed the Plot: But, leaving his Son Deputy-Governor, he durst not open them (for upon the opening once of a Love-letter, that came to his Father from a Lady, his Father charged him never to meddle with looking into any Letter that was directed to him again) but laying them up till his Father came Home, the Castle and Town, wherein were 5000 Horse and Foot, with Threescore and Ten Men, hidden close under Turfs, were miraculously taken; the Grief whereof, as some think, cost the Prince of *Parma* his Life.

The Friend was suspected to be Monsieur Barnevelt.

But (quoth *Castel-Rodrigo*) Signor *Gondomar*, if there remain any News from *England*, impart it freely: We are, I hope, of one Mind.

Quoth the Arch-Bishop of *Toledo*; I have heard, that since this little Time of Respite and Freedom, wherein the *Catholic Religion* hath taken Breath a little, there have been many Miracles done in *England*.

Yes, assuredly, very many, quoth *Gondomar*. I heard it credibly reported for a Truth, that St. *Patrick* visibly appeared to many religious *Priests* and *Fryers*, at his *Purgatory*, confirming and preaching unto them daily; prophesying, moreover, a great Time of Persecution e're long to befall upon them. Moreover, our blessed Lady appeared to an *English* Maid, arrayed as bright as the Sun, with the Moon under her Feet; whereupon she became wholly converted, and a very good *Catholic*.

This is as true as St. Francis eat a Spider, and scratched her again out of his Thigh.

No Doubt (quoth the Duke of *Medina Celi*) many of this Nature are more Impostures: What think you, my Lord Arch-Bishop?

No Question, quoth *Gonzales de Cordona*. I cannot be persuaded that, that which they call the Holy Blood of *Boxall*, which the *Brabanters*, and all the *Netherlands*, visit in Pilgrimage, and every Year looks as red and fresh, as if it had been taken from the Body but Yesterday, can be the very Blood of *Christ*.

Ne:

Nor that a young married Wife shall have a Child the same Year, if she can stride over at once St. *Rombaut's* Breeches, at *Mechlin*.

Nor that (as many of the *Hollanders* hold) that St. *Mary* was buried at *Hueclom*, for which Cause it hath been, in Times past, a Place by Pilgrims much frequented, Since we held her Assumption into Heaven: For, (quoth the Arch-Bishop) Signor *Gonzales*, these are *Contraria in eodem objecto*. You are a Soldier, and you know, for the most Part, they are none of the devoutest Men: I wish you rather, modestly and piously with the Church, to believe only what Things are true. Abuses may creep in by

Accident, but never to be publickly allowed by the Sacred Authority of the Church.

I myself have often seen the Picture, though never worshipped it.

The Church of Rome, like one of her Images; take off the golden Coat of Ceremony, underneath it is Rubbish, or a rotten Block.

No! How chanced it (replied *Gonzales*) that a Painter of *Sbertogenbosch* (my Lord of *Grobbendonck*, Governor of the Town, told me the Tale) being deadly in Love with a fair and beautiful Lady, near to *Pirroy Huesden*; and being to draw our Lady's Image, for a Chappel, either in St. *John's*, or some other Church in the *Bosch*, to insinuate himself the farther into this Lady's Favour, drew her Picture, with her young Son in her Arms, which he hung up for our Blessed Lady's Picture, and is, at this Day, worshipped with as great Devotion, as if herself were descended from Heaven, and were there in Person.

I cannot believe (quoth the Arch-Bishop) there was any such thing: If there were, so long as it brings in good Store of Money to the poor Priests of the Church, it may easily be endured: Besides, if these Things should be over-narrowly looked into, it would hazard the Credit of the *Catholic Church*, betraying to the Vulgar and Ignorant her greatest Mysteries, and, as it were, pulling off her fairest Plumes, expose her naked to vulgar Scorn and Contempt.

But the Duke of Escalona, who had sitten silent this good While, now stepping up, said:

The End of our present Assembly, is not to trouble ourselves about these By-Discourses, and trivial Matters; now it stands us in Hand to look to ourselves, to provide Money, Men, and all Necessaries for the War with all Speed; holding it fit to call Home our Ambassador, who, I believe, hereafter is like to get no better Answer, concerning our Affairs with *England*, than *Mendoza* did of *Henry Cary*, Baron *Hunsdon*, and Lord Chamberlain, in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*; who, being commanded by the Queen, to give him his Answer, she denying him Access, by reason (say the *English*) his Demands were insolent and unreasonable, told him the Queen hath commanded me to answer you; and my Answer is;——*Setting your Oranges and Lemons aside, a Fig for your Embassy*: His Meaning was, Saving for Sauce for their Hens and Capons, they could live, neither caring for us, nor our Country.

A Banquet sent out of Spain, to Pr. Charles, not long since. It seemeth (quoth *Villa Hermosa*) they care not much for that neither; for when a various and delicate Banquet, such as *Spain* afforded, was sent over, whether by yourself, my Lord *Olivares*, your Lady, or some other, to the Prince of *Wales*, I heard that the Prince touched not any whit of it; but the Figs, and other Junketings, were given, some to one, some to another, and, at last, refused, even of Boys and Pages, for Fear there should be dropped in a Fig or two worse relished than their Fellows.

Then

Then *Castel-Rodrigo* stood up, and said; Since the *English* are so busy at Home, to provide for themselves, and, haply, to offend some-body else (whom, as yet, we know not) let us also Timely provide, lest we be to seek, *Paries cum proximus ardet*, and, like true-hearted Patriots, and loyal Subjects to our *Catholic* King and Country, every one, sincerely and freely, deliver his Opinions and Reasons, how our Religion, our Selves, Friends and Allies, might be best secured, in case the Storm should fall upon our Heads; for this was the main End of our Meeting.

Then (quoth the Duke of *Medina*) Signor *Gondomar*, since you are best acquainted with the State and Affairs of *England*, give your Advice, what is best; to be done, Whether to have open War with them, to wind them up still with new Pretences, and Overtures of the Match, or to entertain a seeming League of Amity and Unity, and the *Infanta* to take her Fortune elsewhere.

For the First (quoth *Gondomar*) I utterly disallow it, that we, upon no apparent Ground, and probable Reason, should provoke so potent and irreconcilable a Nation, who are content to let us alone, so that they may but enjoy their Peace and Quiet. You know the Danger of awaking a sleepy Lyon: But hercof by the Way, I will tell you a pretty, and pleasant Accident, of a sleepy Dog, who happened at my being in *England*. One *D. W.* well known about *Paul's*, and *Fleet-street*, in *London* (a Place whereto I many Times resorted, for some private Occasion) finding his Dog, a great huge Mastiff, lying fast asleep by his Kitchen Fire, said to a Friend that stood by, *My Dog is fast asleep, A Tale of D. W's Dog.* I will (to wake him) go halloo in his Ear. He no sooner began to halloo, but the Dog (used to no such Alarms) leaps up, and laying his Fore-feet on his Master's Shoulders, tears him down on either Cheek from the Eyes almost to the Mouth. Let us, by no Means, halloo in the Ears of the *English*: For, first, we are not so well furnished with Men, Munition, or Money, as the World imagineth; our Arsenals, Magazines, and Store-houses, in *Seville*, *Cadiz*, *Lisbon*, being almost disfurnished of all Manner of Munition, and Necessaries, though they seem otherwise.

How have our Fleets miscarried, of late Years; some by Distress and Foulness of Weather; others, by Depredation and Piracy of the *Hollanders*, taken or sunk! Moreover, consider how both our *Indies* (even at this Present) do *Laborare in extremis*. We never (since the first Conquest of the *West* by *Columbus*) were in more apparent Danger of losing them, than at this Time, by the great and unexpected Success of the *Hollander* in those Parts; yea, within these few Months.

For, the Fleet of *Holland* arriving at *Lima*, in *Peru*, either took or sunk the very best Ships of our Navy, or beat the rest, so that they are unfit for any Service whatsoever; hereby they have now gotten Footing (never known before) within those goodly and golden Regions; and, by the Assistance and Courage of the Native *Indians* (to whom the Name of a *Spaniard* is more hateful and odious than Hell) have taken many Strong-holds, and Places of Retreat and Defense, from whence they are not easily to be undermined or removed; their Number and Strength daily increasing, and they finding the Commodity so great. For, of all his Majesty's Kingdoms in *Europe*, *Asia*, or *America*, *Peru* is the Prime and Sovereign; being, above any other in the World, most abounding in Gold, Silver, and Pearl; where Gold and Silver is not, as in other Places, only with great Labour, digged and sought for, in deep and rocky Mines, but here Nature hath dispersed and thrown it about in such Plenty, that it is ordinarily found in Sands by the Sea-side, and upon the Common-ways, in Wells, Lakes, Marshes, among Stones in the Earth, cleaving to the Ground, under the Roots of Plants and Trees; plucked or digged up,

neither in Scruples, or little and small Grains, but in Lumps and solid Masses, weighing two or three Pound Weight a Piece.

The like Success (we are certainly informed) they had, but this other Day (replied the Duke of *Cea*) in going to the *East-Indies* under their Admiral *Eremitz*, by surprizing the strong Castle *Del Rio*, which they yet hold and maintain; having sent back again unto *Holland* for a second Fleet to their Supply, which consisteth of 4000 Mariners; whereof one Ship (unknown to her Fellows) is fraught with handsome young Wenches, and Boys for Plantation; these, with the former, making the Number of fifty good Ships; and for certain it is reported, that they are preparing for a third Navy, to follow the other two out of hand.

I think (quoth S. *De Velasco*) the Devil intends to give them all the Kingdoms of the Earth.

But (replied the Duke of *Braganza*) if I am not deceived, they were met withal by the Way, and fell far short of their Reckoning: To what End else should his Majesty, this last Year, prepare so mighty a Fleet, both in *Spain* and *Portugal*, sending for the Shipping of *Dunkirk*, *Winonbergen*, and *Ostend*; besides many Merchant-ships, arrested and embargoed, of *England*, *France*, *Lubeck*, *Hamborough*, and other Places, to be joined with his Navy? Or, what Effect wrought the Consultation at *Madrid*, and the daily Posting with Letters from thence to *Brussels*?

Great Preparation of the Spaniards against the Hollander, but all in vain.

All came to just nothing (quoth the Duke of *Sesa*) for even in the Heat and Threat of this great Preparation, the *Hollanders* were so bold as to set upon a goodly Ship of ours, whose Lading was Silver, which they took and brought safely home to *Horn*: So that weighing all Occurrences rightly, we shall find it no Time to think of an Offensive War with *England*, for which we are not in Case; yet it is not amiss for us to shew our Fangs, like Lions, and seem Terrible to the World. Necessity doth admonish, notwithstanding, we must eke and lengthen out our Hydes, but with the Fox's Tail.

Therefore, in my Opinion, it is best to make fair Weather with *England*, in any Case, so long, at the least, till we have tried the uttermost of our Strength against *Holland*, which, I hope, his Catholic Majesty, our Master, will do this Summer; and, as I am informed, all those Musters, and taking up of Men, which, we hear, are in *Naples*, *Sicily*, the Dutchy of *Milan*, *Spain*, *Hainault*, *Luxemburgh*, and other Places, are to that End. For, the Door being but half-shut, we have yet Room to enter; if we prolong the Time, we shall be so barred and bolted, that there will be no Hope of Enterance at all. Except (quoth *Don Luis* of *Velasco*) as my Lord Duke of *Sesa* saith, in this *Interstitium*, or Twi-light of Treaty, or Suspense, between War and Peace, we take to ourselves some notable Advantage, and follow Opportunity close at the Heels, we are like, howsoever we flatter ourselves with getting the Game, to go away the greatest Losers: For we see, whatsoever we intend, the *Hollanders* are still in Action, daily getting Ground of us. Did they not, in *August* last, recover *Mogodor*, in *Ethiopia*, from us? Did not, shortly after, Count *Ernest* take *Embsden* (which *Tilly* supposed to be at his Devotion) bringing in to the Defense of the same, 28 Pieces of Count *Mansfeld's* great Ordnance? Hath not the Prince of *Orange*, with as great Industry and Care, as *Spinola* on our Parts (presently after the Death of *Opdam*, the chief Admiral of *Holland*, who died this last Year at the *Hague*) taken View of all the Forts and Towns standing along the *Mase*, *Wael* and the *Rhine*; put in stronger Garrisons into *Ravestein* and *Gennop*; and, after all this, made up full the Army of *Brunswick*? Moreover, hath he not strengthened, and enabled to endure the longest Siege, *Zutphen*, *Daventer*, *Swoll*, with the rest of the Frontier Towns towards *Frizeland*, the Passage we held ever to be our easiest and readiest

readiest for the subduing of the *Netherlands*? Did not those of the Garrison of *Emmerick* surprize and take *Holden*, a well-fortified Town hard by *Dinxlaken*, took all our *Spaniards* who lay there in Garrison, and brought away the Keys of the Town-Gate with them? On the other Side, if we attempt any Thing, it is discovered (so vigilant are the *States*) e'er it be acted, or faileth in the Manner and Means of the Action: As that Enterprize of ours upon *Isendick* (notwithstanding we kept the Gates of *Antwerp* shut up for two Days together, and no Man suffered to go out) which we intended, upon the sudden, to surprize with our Scaling-Ladders; yet, do what we could, they had Notice of our Intent; so that when we came before it, we might (as they say) throw our Caps at it, for ever wining, or coming within it.

And the like Attempts (to no Purpose) we made this last Winter upon *Bortagna* by *Groening*, and upon *St. Andres Scoon*. Had not the Prince of *Orange*, think we, Knowledge of Count *Henry Vandenberg's* Journey, this last Winter, into *Friezeland*? Yes, doubtless, as the Event shewed; for he (upon my Knowledge) was secretly informed, that the *Spanish* Horsemen had caused, in *Antwerp*, and other Places, all their Horses Shoes to be altered, and as many new to be made, as would suffice for six or eight thousand Horse, all calked sharp, and Frost-nailed, on Purpose, for Travelling over the Ice; whereby he knew (as he is most circumspect and provident) that some Enterprize was to be attempted, either upon *Holland*, or *Friezeland*. In that Time of the great Frost, all Fens, Rivers, and Marshes being passible, by Reason of the Thickness of the Ice (for it froze continually) therefore he doubled his Garrisons within the Frontier Towns, and sent certain Troops of Horse, to observe and watch the most suspected Places for Passage, and had Ships abroad, to bring him Tidings, upon the least Motion or Occasion.

Lastly, he sent, in Waggons, six thousand *Shippers* and *Watermen*, to break Ice in the most common and likely Places for Passage, in the Rivers of *Rhine*, *Isell*, *Wael*, and about the Ditches of Towns, Marshes, and other Places; neither did his Prognostication fail him; for Count *Henry Vandenberg*, presently after our Consultation at *Madrid*, had his Commission, at *Brussels*, for eighteen thousand Horse and Foot, with which, and eleven Pieces of Ordinance, and a great Multitude of Waggons, he passed by *Emmerick*, in exceeding bitter and cold Weather, towards *Friezeland*; but turning another Way, between *Duisburgh* and *Bronckhorst* (a Castle belonging unto the *Grave* of *Struman*, which he took and spoiled) he came to the *Isell* with four Pieces of Ordnance, whereof one (the Ice breaking) sunk, the rest he left at *Bronckhorst*; having passed the River, he fortified his Foot at *Diterbusch*; with Trees he filled up the River. The *States* believing he went directly for *Arnhem*, they sent *Marquet*, with Troops of Horse, and certain Foot-Companies, but *Vandenberg* saluting the Town with a Volley of small Shot, and beside, making a Shot or two into the Town, with his great Ordinance, departed. I heard (quoth *Pennasfior*) great Outrages were by him committed in that Journey; wherein he spared neither Age nor Sex.

Cruelty (replied *Gonzales*) is natural and inherent to our Nation; for except our Victories are drowned in Blood, we cannot taste them. It is most true, that he gave Way to his Soldiers, in the Depth and greatest Bitterness of the Frost and Snow, this last Winter, to turn Men and Women, stark-naked, out of their Houses, to shift for themselves in the open Fields; to ravish young Girls, not above eight or ten Years of Age; wilfully to beat out the Heads of their Wine and Beer-Vessels, that they might drink only Water in that Extremity of cold Weather, that many Infants (their Parents flying away for Fear) at their Return, were

found either starved for Want of Food, or frozen to Death with the Cold, having neither Fire nor Clothing.

What (quoth *Don Pedro*) slept the Prince of *Orange* all this While? Or was no manner of Revenge taken by the *Dutch*?

Yes, it seemed so (quoth *Velasco*) for the most Part of our *Spanish* Soldiers were cut off, in their Marching away and Retreat, by the Garrisons of *Duisburgh*, *Arnhem*, *Daventry*, *Campben*, and *Zutphen*, beside great Numbers who perished with Extremity of Cold, some having their Noses, some their Hands frozen and rotted off, beside those who were starved for Want of Bread; so that we cannot boast of this Voyage, we staying in the *Velue* but seven Days, which a *Spaniard* had not seen in above thirty Years before.

All this Discourse (quoth Count *Gondomar*) weighed on all Sides, I see tendeth to no other End, than to intimate our Disability, and Disproportion of Strength, if we should undertake a present War against the *Netherlands*, without either making ourselves Masters of *Great-Britain* (a Thing which his Majesty's Predecessors for these hundred Years have aimed at, and we may truly say, and believe it is a Matter impossible) or by fair Means intreat them, from their Cliffs of *Dover*, to be but only Spectators, while we wrestle for the Remnant of our Right in the *Low-Countries*: Wherefore at the last, to conclude and shut up this Consultation, I have (with Advice) drawn together certain Heads and Conclusions, as Maxims of State, for the present and future Security of our Countries and Selves, which I humbly submit to all your gracious and honourable Censures.

Herewith Gondomar, kissing the Paper, delivered the same to the Duke of Braganza; which the Duke delivered to a Secretary of State, commanding him to read them, openly and distinctly, before the whole House: The Contents whereof were as followeth.

1. First, above all Things, to maintain and uphold the *Catholic* Religion against *Pagans* and *Heretics*, and to do our best to plant and propagate the same in all Places of the World.

2. To hold fast, with both Hands (if we can) the Friendship of his Majesty of *Great-Britain*, which setting and declining from us, let us labour to re-assure and gain, by all Means possible, upon what Pretence or Condition soever; for hereupon depends the fortunate or ill Success of all our Affairs, either now for the present, or hereafter; imitating herein good Engineers, or Workmen, when they would build a Bridge, to keep off, or turn the main Channel another Way.

3. That being effected, otherwise let us think never to take Weapons in Hand. Let Signor *Gonzales Spinola*, with yourself, break at an Instant into *Brabant*, and try your Strength upon *Breda*, or *Bergen op Zoom*, giving them an Alarm in those Parts, while Count *Henry Vandenberghe*, joined with *Tilly's* Forces, shall, by *Wezell* or *Rees*, passing the *Rhine*, come like an Inundation upon them in *Friezeland*.

4. That our Garrisons be doubled in *Dunkirk*, *Ostend*, and other Towns of *Flanders*, and the Havens well guarded and defended.

5. That the Emperor take a Truce, for six Years, with his deadly Enemy, *Becklem Gabor*; and that we hold good Correspondence with the Duke of *Savoy* and the *Venetians*.

6. That all Shipping be stayed, whether *English*, *French*, *Scotch*, *Hamburgers*, or of what Nation soever, till our Pleasure be farther known.

7. That all our Magazines and Store-Houses be examined, and furnished with all manner of Provision, Lead, Powder, Match, Bullets, and Cordage.

8. That

8. That a certain Number of Ships be newly built, and sent into the *West-Indies*, as well to secure and guard our Navy Home, as to supplant those *Hollanders* who have gotten Footing in our Kingdom of *Pern*.

9. That all Strangers, of what Nation or Country soever, be banished the Land.

10. That we take an Order for the Relief of such *Priests* and *Jesuits* as shall be banished *England* and *Ireland*, and to increase the Number of our Intelligencers.

11. That we debar the *English*, *French*, *Dutch*, *Scotch*, and all other Nations whatsoever, from any Access to the *Indies*, either to-traffique, or plant.

12. That we set up and maintain the *Inquisition* in all our Dominions, and inance our Customs.

13. That we make ourselves able to encounter whosoever shall oppose, or stop our Passage on the Narrow Seas; and that we give it out (whatever our Intent is) that our Fleets pass that Way only, for the chastising the *Hollanders*.

14. That, hereafter, we entertain no *English*, nor *Scots* in our Pay, but the *Irish* only; to the Intent, after they have gotten Experience, and are able to command, they might stand us in stead, in case we should hereafter make any Attempt upon *Ireland*.

15. That we call in as much of our Gold and Silver as possible.

16. That you speedily write to our Embassador in *England*, to give Notice to all our trusty, and well-beloved, the *Jesuits* and Secular *Priests*, with some of the best-minded *Catholics* towards us, that they labour, as much as in them lieth, to take away all Asperision, and whatsoever might tend to our Dishonour; and for this Cause to give us Notice of all scandalous Books, Pictures, Invectives, Pasquils, &c. that shall be Printed against us, in *Holland*, *England*, and other Places.

17. That they curiously search into the Proceedings of the Parliament, and send us an Abbreviate of all the Passages thereof, with what Forces, and how soon they resolve to revolt in the *Low-Countries*.

18. Lastly; That in the Name of their Obedience to his Holiness, and Observance to his *Catholic* Majesty, they labour wherever they live, to educate and instruct their Friends Children in the *Catholic* Religion, and timely to enable either their Sons for our *Seminaries*, or their Daughters for our *Nunneries*; so the Houses shall be supplied still with Novices, our Treasuries with Money, and we with Friends and Instruments at all Occasions.

Concerning these two last Propositions; for a Conclusion I will produce a Letter, unto me subscribed with the Hands of many of the Chiefs among them (whose Portraitsures with their Names you have here inserted) of the Manner of their Proceedings, and that you may know they spend not their Time in vain in *England*: For I must, my Lord, tell you, I hold Intelligence with the wisest and best learned among them, and, wherever they are, *transco per medium illorum*: Therefore I thought it not amiss, by a Draught, to let you see them in their Consultation, as they were wont to sit at the House of one *Lovett*, a Goldsmith, in *Fetter-Lane*, near *Holborn*, in *London*. This *Lovett* hath, for many Years closely, kept a Printing-House, to the great Fartherance and Increase of the *Catholic* Religion in that Land; for by his Means, Thousands, and Thousands of good Books have been dispersed over the Land; which, albeit they are sold at an excessive Rate, and he hath been a great Gainer by them, yet are they Printed and Re-printed again, and much Money gotten by them, though uttered at a third Hand; but I will read the Letter, it is not long: Your Honours will therefore, deign it the Hearing.

Lovett, a Goldsmith, and one that farthereth the Printing of Popish Books.

Illustrious,

Illustrious, and Excellent LORD,

IT is now (we all think) a long Time since we heard from your Honour, or received any Instruction from you, concerning the Business you wot of. We, in *England*, are like, shortly, to groan under the heavy and unsupportable Burthen of Persecution; but we shall, I hope, the better endure it, so long as our Cause is warranted, and our Constancy assisted, and increased, by the Prayers and Supplications of the Church. We labour daily in the *Catholic* Harvest, and recover, with wonderful Success, Thousands of Souls from the Abyss of Perdition, into the Bosom of the Church; the only Difficulty is in concealing ourselves and Intentments from that many-headed Monster, Heresy. We walk openly, and have our Time allotted us till the 14th Day of *June* next, which is the utmost Period of our Stay. In the mean Time, we desire to be advised by your Lordship, what afterward is, by us, fittest to be done: For your Honour's Depth of Judgment, and all-admired Policy, is the Compass by which we all steer, to escape present Danger. Our Lord protect your Honour to all our Comforts; and our Blessing be upon you.

From *London*, this 3d of *May*.

[Here follows a Print; wherein a Square Table is filled by a Crew of Jesuits, and other Jesuited Pastors, in their proper Habits, with Papers, Books, Crosses and other Trumpery lying before them. Each has his Name over his Head; which Names are as follows: Viz.]

| | | |
|--------------|-----------------|--------------|
| D. Wright. | F. Porter. | F. Heyham. |
| D. Bristow. | D. Smith. | F. Palmer. |
| F. Barlow. | F. Sweete. | F. Townsend. |
| D. Bishop. | F. Ployden. | F. Maxfield. |
| F. Fisher. | F. Lurtice. | F. Wood. |
| F. Annieur. | F. Lovett. | |
| F. Pattison. | F. Worthington. | |

To this Letter I gave him this Answer, as followeth.

Holy Fathers,

I Received your Letter to my great Comfort: But, I confess, I am nearly touched with the sudden Approach of your common Calamity; yet as the greatest Sore findeth his Salve, so the greatest Affliction some Consolation or other, in the Midst of Extremity. For mine own Part know, that I will not be wanting to your Comforts, in any Thing that in me lyeth, or that I can procure in your Behalf, either from his Holiness, at *Rome*, or my Master, his *Catholic* Majesty, here. The Times are dangerous; carry yourselves therefore wisely with that perverse Nation, which scorneth you, and hourly consulteth how to sweep you from the Face of the Earth; and even now have they the Broom in their Hands, I mean the present Parliament, who will leave no Dust, nor Sluts Corners behind them. Favour you are to expect none; therefore, with the *Fox* (when hunted out of Breath) you must rely upon your Arts, and Sights. Of which Nature may be these following: If your Credits be so good, with any great or eminent Personage, make him your Instrument to sow Dissension between the Prince and People, imitating herein Soldiers, when they would get an Advantage of flying, or running away, they used to set Fire on Villages and Baggage, that they might escape, unseen, by the Benefit of the Smoke. Learn, or devise new and the most difficult Characters for writing Letters, with all the Sights and Devices of privy Conveyance. You may practise Physic, as Doctors of *Padua*, or set

set up Bills as Mountebanks, vending coloured Oils, Balsams, counterfeit Bezoars, perfumed Lozenges, Receipts for the Tooth-ach, with a thousand the like; get the perfect and true Receipt for any one Disease or Ach, it is enough to gain Credit to your Practise, and make you pass for current.

If you send any Youths over to our Seminaries, let them be the Sons of the richest and ablest Men, so shall you not want a Place of Retreat, and Means to relieve you at an Extremity. Young Gentlewomen, you may convey over to *Brussels*, or whither you please, by putting them in Boys Apparel, their Hair being handsomely tied up with a Fillet, and a wrought Cap worn over it, with a great Broad-brimmed Hat.

If you would, at any Time, convey over any Silver or Gold, the Searcher may be cozened, if you send it over in Pasties baked; provided that you have some of Flesh, only to eat or give away, as a Colour for the rest.

For the vending of hallowed Oil, Beads, *Agnus-Dei's*, Medals, Pardons, Crucifixes, &c. you may do it by some one poor, yet trusty Catholic, or two, to go up and down the Country in the Habit and Nature of Pedlars: This also is a good Way to hold Intelligence with Friends, in many Places. I have known some, who, under the Colour of selling *Tobacco*, have carried Letters handsomely, and privily in the Balls, or Rolls.

Also, we advise you, if Persecutions come upon you, to fly into *Scotland* for a Season, and, when you see your best Time, return again; for, it seemeth, by this Proclamation you sent, that you are not banished *Scotland*; therefore that may be a good Shelter unto you.

Be sure to have going, in the *North* or *West* Parts of *England*, two Printers Presses at work, which let be well Stocked. Also, a small Rolling-Press, for little Pictures of Saints, *Veronica's* Heads, Crucifixes, and the like; much Money may be gained hereby. Have a Care, whensoever any Book, or Picture comes out to our Prejudice, set some Friends to buy them all up, though you burn them forthwith; except some few, which fail not still but to send us of every Sort three, at the least; for they will be unto us of great Use.

Many more Directions (Holy Fathers) there are, which are alike necessary to be thought upon; but I refer them to your own grave and pious Considerations. So committing you to the Tuition of our Blessed Lady, and my self to your holy and devout Prayers, I rest.

From Seville, this 6th Day of May.

Count *Gondomar* having made an End, they all, with one Voice, applauded and highly commended his Directions, and Counsel; not only for his particular Letter, but for the wise Carriage of himself heretofore, in many very weighty Affairs that concerned the Catholic Religion, the Honour of his Majesty, and the General Good of the State; esteeming him worthily honoured with the Title of a *Grandee* at Home, in *Spain*, and of his Master's Ambassador Abroad; having effected more by his Wit and Policy, than could have been wrought by the Strength of many Armies.

And now, when they were come almost to a Period, and full Conclusion of their Consultation, for that Time, there came a Messenger in Post, who brought Letters from the King to Count *Olivares*, his Favourite, to call him to the Court, upon some special Employment; what it was, could not be certainly known, but, as I heard, some Complaint was lately come out of *England*, against the Ambassadors Resident there: And moreover, that a great Fight had been lately between nine great *Spanish* Ships, and five Men (or Ships) of War, of *Horn* and *Enchuisen*, in *Holland*, wherein, the Report went, the *Hollanders* had taken two, and sunk one. Whereupon, they all arose up together, in a great Confusion, every one hastening to

to his Horse, which stood ready in a fair Bass-Court without, they took their Way, some with *Olivares* to the Court, others to their Places of Charge and Command, the rest to their own Houses, where I leave them, till we hear farther of their Proceedings.

*To the Illustrious, Magnifique, and Grave Assembly of the High Court
of PARLIAMENT in ENGLAND.*

HERE, as in a little Glass, may you (Most Honourable, Great, and Grave SENATE) view the *Epitome*, or rather the Effect of a Seven Year's Treaty with *Spain*: Ye may plainly see the Hold and Assurance we were ever like to have had of that Nation, yea, even when we thought ourselves surest of them. Here we may (to our Warning of taking Heed whom we trust) behold, to the Life, the Haughty Pride, Thirsty Covetousness, and base Dissimulation of that *FOX-Populi*, Count *Gondomar*, the new *GRANDEE*. Here may the *Netherlands* perceive the imminent Danger that hung over their Heads, shortly, without Doubt, to have fallen upon them, had not the *Spanish* Ambushes been timely discovered. Here may that Illustrious King, and the most Renowned and Second Queen *Elizabeth* (for her Constancy and Spirit) of *Bohemia*, and Princes *Palatines* of the *Rhine*, consider how assuredly and faithfully the surrendering of their *Palatinate* should have been performed. In a Word, Here may we all see the great Mercies of God towards us, whose Providence it hath been, that we should clear ourselves of these *Spanish* Rocks, that all this while lay under Water, and unseen, doubtless to our Ruin, had we not, I say, by immediate Help from Heaven, been relieved.

Let us then, as we are one People, governed by the same Gracious and Good King, embrace with that wise Lord and grave Chancellor (as in his Posie) *Unum Cor, Unam Viam*; then need not our *Britain*, so famous of old for her Triumphs, and many Victories over other Nations, care a Straw for the vain and windy Threats of proud *Spain*, nor the Menaces of the most daring Adversary wholever.

[Among some old MSS, (which, by their *antique* Aspect, could not have been written later than a whole Century since) I meet with a *Stanza*, which, tho' none of the *cleanliest*, may not unfitly claim a Place after the foregoing: *viz.*]

To our *English* PHILOSOPHER, Mr. T. HARRIOT, on his *Sympathy* with the *Spanish* FOX, Count GONDOMAR.

N. B. One had a Fistula in Ano, the other something like it in Naso.

TELL me, Philosopher, what urges thee
Still to commerce with Statique Policy?
So far to sympathize, in sore Disaster,
That both alike require the self-same Plaster?
The Nose of England's deep Philosophy
Lies snuffling with a cancrus Malady!
An Omen dire: Since in a Night, or twain,
Infested was the Poltique A——e of Spain!
Pray Heav'n, the Madrid Spell don't so benight us,
But that our Nose may smell't, e'er be best——e us.

The

[The following *Curiosity* was communicated by a very worthy Gentleman, to whom I am much indebted, on several Accounts, and shall take a fitter Opportunity of acknowledging his Favours.]

The PHOENIX of these late TIMES.

Or, the L I F E of

HENRY WELBY, Esq.

Who lived at his House, in *Grub-street*, Forty-four Years, and, in that Space, was never seen by any : And there died, (Oct. 29, 1636) Aged Eighty-Four.

S H E W I N G,

The first *Occasion* and *Reason* thereof. With *Epitaphs* and *Elegies* on the late Deceased Gentleman ; who lyeth buried in St. Giles's Church, near *Cripple-Gate*, LONDON.

LONDON : Printed by N. OKES ; and are to be Sold by RICHARD CLOTTERBUCK, at his Shop, in *Little-Britain*, at the Sign of the *Golden-Ball*. 1637.

N.B. A *Copper-Plate* represents this Gentleman, in his Elbow-Chair, leaning his Head on his Left-hand on a Table ; and in his Right-hand holding a Cane. Before him lies a *Book* open, wherein are to be read these Words ; *Vanitas Vanitatis ; Omnia Vanitas*. Over his Head, on a Shelf, are a few Volumes, lying disorderly. In a Corner of the *Plate*, is a distant View of a fine Rural Seat, with Hunters, &c. At the Bottom are these *Verses*.

*Arabia yields a Phoenix, and but one :
England this Phoenix, and besides him none.
To solitary Desarts both retire,
Not minding what the World doth most admire.
His Face, tho' it was much desir'd by many,
In Forty-four Years was not seen by any.
SHE, in sweet Flames ; in fervent Zeal, HE dies,
And both alike soar to th' Ætherial Skies.*

T H E

Description of this Gentleman.

THIS Gentleman, Master HENRY WELBY, was Forty Years of Age before he took this solitary Life, being Eighty-four Years old when he died. Those who knew him, and were conversant with him in his former Time, do report, that he was of a Middle Stature, a Brown Complexion, and of a Pleasant and Chearful Countenance. His Hair (by reason no Barber came near him for the Space of so many Years) was much over-grown ; so that he, at his Death, appeared rather like a Hermit of the Wilderness, than the Inhabitant of a City. His Habit was plain, and without Ornament ; of a sad-coloured Cloth, only to defend him from the Cold, in which there could be nothing found, either to express the least Imagination of Pride, or Vain-glory.

The Expence of his Time was Study ; the Use he made of it, Meditation. Those Hours he retired from Reading, he spent in Prayer. He bought all Books whatsoever, which came forth, only making Use of the best : Such as broached Controversy, he laid by, as aiming at the Peace of his own Conscience. What should I say ? He died living, that he might live dying ; his Life was a perpetual Death, that his Death might bring him to an eternal Life ; who accounted himself no better than a Glow-worm here on Earth, that he might hereafter shine a most glorious Saint in Heaven.

Upon

Upon the LIFE and DEATH of Master **HENRY WELBY.**

IF Miracles and Wonders with each Nation,
Do strike the People there with Admiration :
If it be so with them, tell me, I pray,
Why we should not Admire as well as they ?
We have, of late, seen Miracles in Nature,
Both for Old Age, some Small, some Great in Stature ;
I think we gap'd, and star'd enough at those,
In which we did our Folly much expose :
And, seeing we have done't so well before,
Faith, let us wonder now a little more ;
For we, who were so perfect at it then,
Do know the better how to do't agen :
And, farthermore, 'tis such a strange Thing, that
You cannot blame a Man to wonder at.
Read, and believe it, for, indeed, 'tis true,
This Picture, here presented to your View,
Doth represent the Subject of my Verse ;
The Manner of his Life I will rehearse.

First, having spent Abroad full forty Years,
Some for his Pleasure, mix'd with Cares and Fears ;
Examining himself, he then retir'd,
And spent the Remnant, which was unexpir'd,
In burning Flames of zealous Contemplation,
All for God's Glory, and his own Salvation.
He bought all Sorts of Books, whate'er came forth,
Only made use of them of greatest Worth :
If any Thing amiss therein he 'spy'd,
He would be sure to lay that Book aside.
God had increas'd his Basket and his Store,
And he thereof gave freely to the Poor.
There was to him no greater Recreation,
Than Fasting, Praying, Reading, Meditation.
He closely kept himself from all Mens Sight ;
On all Occasions he his Mind would write.
His Life he led for Forty Years, and more,
Besides the Forty, spoken of before ;
Full Four and Forty Years ; 'twas just so many ;
And, in that Time, was never seen by any.
His Hair was grown, as it is figured here,
'That he much like a Hermit did appear.
Though he be dead and gone, yet, let his Name
For ever live, with never-dying Fame.

J. B.

Upon the LIFE and DEATH of Master HENRY WELBY.

WHAT Age is this we live in, that we see
 Wonders produc'd beyond Antiquity !
 Some Nature tax, as if our Life and Growth,
 Were, unto former Times, inferior both.
 Yet we saw one of late, who, when he stood,
 He look'd as he were born before the Flood.
 A Second, numb'ring Days, as they should have
 No End, or did defy Death and the Grave.
 A Third, as if that Nature would amend,
 And contract what she did before extend,
 Is, like a Pigmy, in his Height decreas'd,
 Who now will say, that Miracles are ceas'd ?
 Look farther in Mens Manners, you will find
 As great a Disproportion in the Mind :
 We have a Welby, can himself immure
 Within his Chamber, and there live secure,
 Forty odd Years, and rather more, than less,
 Than Israel once did in the Wilderness.
 He eat no Manna, nor no Fare so good,
 And yet he never murmur'd at his Food.
 Flesh he abhorr'd, and Wine ; he drank Small-beer,
 Cows Milk, and Water-gruel was his Cheer :
 It was not Avarice, nor Hope of Gain,
 Nor Love towards his Heir, made him abstain :
 He was no Sectary, no Anchorite,
 Nor yet of that Engagement, to invite
 To such a Strictness, vain Applause to win ;
 Nor was it any Penance for his Sin :
 But once, upon Distaste, he took an Oath,
 And since all Mens Society did loath,
 Which made him live inclos'd thus ; yet his Purse
 Was open, and the Poor far'd ne'er the worse.
 He read all Books, and, for his Recreation,
 He frequently us'd Pray'r, and Contemplation.
 O ! who can sound the Thoughts that do arise
 From Minds so rapp'd, and fill'd with Extasies ?
 Thus Welby liv'd according to his Vow ;
 Whose Life to us was but a Death ; and now,
 That he his wonted Solitude may have,
 He's now retir'd to a more silent Grave.

Shackerly Marmion.

The

The PHOENIX of these late TIMES, &c.

I Am to present you with one of that rare Temperance and Abstinence, that the Times past, these present, those to come, neither have already, can now, or, but with great Difficulty, may hereafter yield a more rare Precedent.

It was said of *Frederick* the Third, Emperor, That when the Physicians told him, that his Empress, *Augusta Leonora* (being then barren) if she would drink Wine (from which she had abstained from her Youth) in these cold Parts of *Germany*, she might easily have Issue: The Emperor, after some Pause, assented thereunto, but said withal; *Malim uxorem sterilem, quam vinosam: I had rather have a Wife subject to Sterility, than to Vinosity*: Which being told unto her, she made Answer, True it is, that I am bound in all Things to obey the Will of my Lord and Master, the Emperor; but if on one Side he would let Wine and Life, and on the other, my Denial and Death, I wish rather to die, than to drink it.

Of Abstinence there be four Kinds; Natural, Miraculous, Violent, and Voluntary. We call that Natural, when either by Nature we abhor certain Meats, though we be then in good and perfect Health, betwixt which and us there is an Antipathy, or else, when, by some Distaste or Disease in the Stomach, we loath such Things, as our Eyes can scarce endure to look upon, much less our Palates to taste; and that is the first Sort of Abstinence: The second are such supernatural Fasts, which we read of the Saints of God, *Moses* and *Elias*, and of *Christ* himself in the Wilderness; all which were for the Space of forty Days together; and these are rather for our Admiration than our Imitation: The third, is Violent, or Compelled, when we fast because we have not wherewith to eat, as it happeneth in Famine and Scarcity: The fourth and last, is Voluntary, which we undergo by our own Counsel and Reason, and that is branched into divers Sorts, as Physical, Political, Religious, Superstitious, &c. which are largely disputed of by the Learned.

Fasting, sayeth one of the Fathers, purgeth the Mind, enlighteneth the Senses, subjects the Flesh to the Spirit, maketh the Heart contrite and humble, disperseth the Clouds of Concupiscence, extinguisheth the Flames of Lust, and strengthneth Chastity, keeping it within the secure Bounds of Sincerity and Purity; it loveth not Verbosity, it hateth Superfluity, it despiseth Insolency, it commendeth Humility, and informeth a Man's self of his own Infirmary. Fast and Alms are the two Godly Assistants unto Prayer, and as Saint *Gregory* sayeth in his *Homilies*; such an Abstinence God himself approveth, when that which thou takest from thyself, thou distribute to another, and when thine own Flesh is punished, the hungry Stomach of thy needy Neighbour is by thee replenished. He who will fast as he ought to do, saith a learned Father, must be in Prayer frequent, in Judging just, in Friendship faithful, in Contentions temperate, from filthy Speaking an Alien, to evil Deeds averse, in Banquets continent, in Charity simple, among the Crafty cautelous, among the Sad sorrowful, among the Evil-Speakers silent, among the Humble equal, against the Proud and Contumacious daring, in Suspensions sparing;
for

for true Abstinence is not to forbear Meat, and to follow Vanity, but it is rather to separate thyself from Sin and Iniquity. Dost thou forbear Flesh, and yet will not make it scrupulous to feed upon thy Brother? Abstainest thou from Wine, yet cannot refrain thyself from doing thy Neighbour Injury? Wilt thou taste no Food until the Evening, and spend the whole Day in oppressing the Fatherless and Needy? It little profiteth thee to starve thy Body, by keeping it from necessary Viands, if in the mean Time thou surfeit thy Soul with Superfluity of Vices.

Concerning the strange and strict retired and cloistered Life, which this Gentleman lived; it cannot be said of him, as it was spoke of those, who took upon them a Monastic Life of old, to be in the Cloister with their Bodies, and in the Streets with their Mind; now within, anon abroad; to sing one Thing, to think another; to have a Psalm on their Tongues, but not the Sense in their Heads; to be in Heart desperate, on Habit dissolute, to have wandering Eyes, and wavering Thoughts, the Shape of one Religious, the Substance of one who is Irregular; and if he have but the *Cucullus* (which the old Proverb saith, *Non facit Monachum*) the Hood which maketh not the *Monk*, all is safe, all is well, he apprehendeth no other Hope, he aimeth at no other Happiness.

If thou takest upon thee a retired Life, what makest thou be in the Multitude? If thou dost profess Silence, why pratest thou abroad among the People? If thou only professest Fast and Tears, why dost thou at any Time gormundize and laugh? Of a retired Man, his Simplicity is his Philosophy. But thou wilt say, that thy Ambition is to teach and instruct others; thou oughtest rather to weep for them, than to wrangle with them: But if thou covet to be a Teacher, know thou what thou hast to do; let the Vileness of thy Habit, the Sincerity of thy Countenance, the Innocence of thy Life, and the Sanctity of thy Conversation be their Example and Precedent, and that is thy best Doctrine and Instruction.

These be the Words of an Ancient and Reverend Father. These our Garments, which (I weeping speak) ought only to be the Emblems of Humility, are worn by the separated Men of these Days in Pride and Ostentation; nay, our own Climates can scarcely afford us wherewith to apparel ourselves. For the *Monk* and the *Martial-man* from the same Piece of Cloth buyeth his Hood and his Habit; but Sobriety and Solitude, with voluntary Poverty, are the true Ensigns of all *Monastic* Retirement. When those among us, who would pretend themselves to be *Reclusists*, bear their Eyes, which ought to be dejected upon the Earth, to look still upon the World from whence they came, advance them up towards the Heavens, to look upon that Sublimity to which they can never attain; when their Feet, which should only be confined to the Cloister, tire themselves in needless Journeys, both in Court, City, and Country; when those Tongues which are vowed unto Taciturnity and Silence, are heard in all private and public Counsels; and those Hands, which are solely appropriated to supply their own Necessities, are employed to snatch away the Patrimony of others.

But I come to a third Thing most remarkable in this worthy Gentleman, namely, his Temperance, which I have read to be thus defined; a Moderation of the Desires obedient to Reason; an Affection binding and cohibiting the Appetite; a Moderity restraining the Lusts and Desires of all carnal Affections; a Vertue which governeth all the Motions of the Mind and Body, so far, that they comply and agree with the Order of Persons, Places and Times: The Parts thereof are Gentleness, Liberality, Gravity, Sadness, Shamefacedness, Urbanity, Friendship, Benevolence, or Good-will, Concord, Love, Peace, Continence, Clemency, Charity, Meekness, Chastity, and Honesty, Moderation, Taciturnity, Frugality, Parsimony, Goodness, Purity, and Innocence. She is likewise that Light which excelleth

celleth the Darkneſs and Obscurity of Paſſions; ſhe is of all Vertues that which is the moſt wholeſome; for as well publickly as privately ſhe doth perſuade Human Society; ſhe exalteth the Soul (wretchedly thrown down in Vice) and reſtoreth her to her Priſtine Place. She is moreover a mutual Conſent of the Soul, cauſing all Diſorder and Irregularity to take Reaſon for a Rule, and Diſcretion for a Direction. Whoſoever is neither puffed up with Praise, nor afflicted with Adverſity, nor moved by Slanders, nor corrupted by Gifts, is fortunately temperate: For there is nothing in the World better than Moderation; for by it the Assaults of the Fleſh are ſubdued, and the Fruits of a good Life retained: It is rich in Loſſes, confident in Perils, prudent in Assaults, and happy in Itſelf.

It is the Property of Juſtice not to violate the Right of any Man; and it is the Appendix of Temperance to offend no Man. He cannot praise Temperance, who propoſeth his chief Felicity in Voluptuouſneſs, or Pleaſure, becauſe ſhe is the grand Enemy to Riot and Exceſs. *Solon* telleth us, that it plucketh a Man from all groſs Affections, and carnal Appetites, and letteth him not exceed either in fooliſh Rejoicing, nor ungodly Sorrowing; for the Pride of the Fleſh is to be curbed, and reſtrained, with the ſharp Bit of Abſtinenſe. As no Man can be temperate, unleſs withal he be prudent; ſo no Man can be held to be truly valiant, unleſs withal he be temperate: Nay, more, Juſtice cannot ſubſiſt without it, becauſe it is the chief Point of a juſt Man, to keep his Soul free from all Perturbation. I conclude with that of *Plotinus*; Viz. *Temperance is the Mother of all Duty and Honesty.*

Theſe three Vertues we have ſtrived to illuſtrate unto your View; but how all theſe Accidents meet in one Subject, is the Argument now in Hand. Abſtinenſe is a Vertue, found in one Man, but ſcarcely in another; Solitude and Retiredneſs of Life, in few, not in many; and Temperance and Continence may be embraced by ſome, not by all; yet all theſe eminent Lines meet in this one Center, as the Circumſtances following ſhall make apparently manifeſt.

THIS Noble and Vertuous Gentleman, Mr. *Henry Welby*, born in *Lincolnſhire*, was the eldeſt Son of his Father, and the Inheritor of a fair Revenue, amounting to a Thouſand Pounds by the Year, and-upward; firſt matriculated in the Univerſity, and, after, made a Student in one of the Inns of Court, where being accommodated with all the Parts of a Gentleman, he after retired himſelf into the Country, and matched nobly unto his Good-liking. But thinking with himſelf, that the World could not poſſibly be contained within this Iſland, and that *England* was but the leaſt Piece and Member of the whole Body of the Univerſe, he (as many, or moſt of our young Gentlemen do) had a great Mind to travel, as well to profit him in Experience, as benefit himſelf in Language; and, to that Purpoſe, ſpent ſome few Years in the *Low-Countries*, *Germany*, *France*, and *Italy*, making the beſt Uſe of his Time, and not, like ſome fantaſtic Heads, learn only to drink with the *Dutchmen*, compliment with the *Frenchmen*; ſome aiming only to fetch *Venus* from *Venice*, others ſtudyng to ſteal *Machiavel* out of *Florence*, and, generally, bring home Faſhions rather than Faith, and flagrant Vices rather than commendable Vertues.

Others alſo, by the Change of the Air, have taken the Advantage to change their Religion, which is quite averſe to the old Proverb, *Celum non animus mutant qui trans mare currunt*, ſuch as travel from one Province unto another, though they receive new Air, yet keep their old Minds: Yet this was verified in him, who well knew no Error to be ſo dangerous, as that which is committed in Religion, becauſe therein, and in the conſtant Profeſſion thereof, ſubſiſteth our perpetual Happineſs, and ever-during Felicity: For Truth is the Medicine to a troubled Spirit; but if erroneouſly taught, it turneth into mortiferous Poiſon. The

The ancient Fathers have given their especial Marks, by which the true Religion may be known. First, that it serveth the true and only God: Secondly, that it serveth him according to his Word: And Thirdly, that it reconcileth that Man unto him, who unfeignedly followeth it. It is like an even Square, or Ballance, the Rule and Canon by which we are to direct our Lives, and the very Touch-stone which discerneth Truth from Falshood; moreover, as Vices border upon Vertues, so Superstition reflecteth upon Religion, which Religion doth link and unite us to serve one God with Willingness and Unanimity: It is the Guide and Conduct of all other Vertues; and they, who do not exercise themselves therein, thereby to resist and oppose all false and erroneous Opinions, are but like those foolish and unexpert Soldiers, who go to War without Weapons.

Now if all Men (as this Gentleman) would but study the Truth, and strive to persevere therein, the voluptuous Man would therein seek his Pleasure, the Gormandizer his Surfeit, the proud Man his Ostent, the avaricious Man his Wealth, the ambitious Man his Glory; for it is the only Mediocrity that can fill the Vacuum, the Emptiness of the Heart, and satisfy the Desire; it serveth also for a skilful Pilot to direct us the Way to Heaven; where as the contrary is that blind Guide, who leadeth us the broad and spacious Passage to Hell. Briefly, those Men may be truly Religious, who, refusing the vain and transitory Pleasures of the World, wholly set their Thoughts and Minds on Divine Contemplations: And so much for his Religion.

Now Courage and Courtesy are the two principal Decorements that adorn a Gentleman; in neither of which he was deficient. For the First, as he was ever far from giving any Distaste, so he was never known to take any Affront: For Valour consisteth not in hazarding a Man's Person without Fear, but in putting on a noble Resolution in a just Cause; neither could this Gentleman bear himself so innocuously in his Youth, but that he had been enforced to make Proof of his Valour in the Field, in which he still came off with Honour and Advantage, but never boasting when he had the Better, but still sparing, when he might have spoiled, holding this Maxim, *That to conquer is Natural, but to pity Heavenly*; and it is the Property of true Courage to out-face Danger; *Conquer with Custom, and end with Honour*: It contemneth all Perils, despiseth Calamities, and conquers Death. *Quemcunque magnanimum videris, miserum neget*; None who is magnanimous can be miserable.

Bias holding War with *Iphricates*, King of *Athens*, and, by the Disaster of War, being round invironed by his Enemies, his Soldiers thronging about him, and asking very timorously, what he would advise them in that Extremity to do? with a bold and undaunted Courage answered them again; *Leave me, and seek your own Safeties, if you be so minded, and make Report, to those who are alive, that your General died with Courage fighting; and I will tell to the Dead, that you escaped from Death, basely and cowardly, flying*: But, from his Courage, I come to his Courtesy.

It is a true Saying, as a Tree is known by its Fruit, the Gold by the Touch, and a Bell by the Sound, so is a Man's Birth by his Bounty, his Honour by his Humility, and his Calling by his Courtesy, which not only draweth unto us the Love of Strangers, but the Liking of our own Country-men. Mildness and Courtesy are the Characters of a happy Soul, which never suffereth Innocence to be oppressed. Proud Looks shew loose Hearts, but kind Words gain Affection: That which is called Common Courtesy, is held to be no Courtesy; for that is alike kind to all, can be loving to none; for that which is general, cannot be drawn within the Limit of a Particular: But the Rigour of Discipline managing and directing this Vertue, and it, again, being governed by Order and Discretion, the one will

illustrate

illustrate and commend the other ; so that neither Rigour shall seem rough, nor Courtesy contemptible ; for it standeth in the Stead of a moderate Temperance, decking and adorning a Man with Mildness and Generosity : For, as it is the true Note of Nobility, so it is the certain Mark of a Gentleman, to be Courteous to Strangers, Patient in Injuries, and Constant in the Performance of all just Promises ; and for these he was known to be remarkable.

To these, give me Leave to add something of his Liberality and Bounty, whose best Honour is in relieving the Poor, and greatest Happiness in living in the Thoughts of Good Men : And, he well considered with himself, that the Charity of a Liberal Man more benefiteth the Giver than the Receiver. For Bounty in giving frail and mortal Things here upon Earth, receiveth immortal Meed and Reward in Heaven. *He who is able to give, and giveth not (saith the Emperor Aurelius) is no better than an Enemy ; and he who promiseth a present Benefit, and delayeth the Performance thereof, is a suspicious Friend.* It is an old Saying, *There is no greater Folly, than to confer a Courtesy upon an old Man, or a Child ; the one being likely to dye before he can requite it, the other being so Young, that he is not able to remember it :* But his Bounty was known to be free, willing, and without Respect of Age, Sex, or Persons. But such is the Corruptness and Abuse of these Times, that the Memory of a Benefit doth soon vanish away, but the Remembrance of an Injury will stick in the Heart for ever. But this is a Law which ought to be observed betwixt the Giver and the Receiver, that the one should instantly forget the Gift he hath bestowed, and the other should always have it in Remembrance. It also becometh him much better to hold his Peace, who giveth a Reward, as it becometh him to be silent, who receiveth a Benefit. But his Liberality (as *Cicero* ingeniously confesseth) consisted in giving with Judgment.

This was the Manner of his Behaviour, and Carriage of Life, for the Space of Forty Years (I mean, till he arrived at that Age) being respected by the Rich, prayed for by the Poor, and, indeed, generally beloved ; having a Daughter, beautiful and virtuous ; furnished with all the Accomplishments that either *Nature* could give, or *Education* and *Instruction* adorn and rectify ; who was espoused to a * Knight of good Descent, and a noble Family, to the Father's great Joy and Comfort : But, as all mundane Happiness is fading, and all earthly Delights transitory ; to Day waxing, to Morrow withering ; now flourishing, and anon flagging : So it fared with this worthy Gentleman, who late invironed with all the Felicity and Contentments of this World, was, almost in a Moment, abandoned and retired from all the Pleasures and Delights of the World.

The Occasion whereof (some say) was the Unkindness, or (which I may rather term it) the Unnaturalness and Inhumanity of a younger Brother, who, upon some Discontent, or Displeasure conceived against him, rashly and resolutely threatened his Death : But this innocent Gentleman (measuring the Dispositions of others, by himself, and, not imagining such barbarous Cruelty could be in Man, of what Condition soever, much less in a Brother, he held them as the rash Menaces of unbridled Youth, which, by good Counsel, or complying with the other's Desires, might be easily reclaimed) reckoned them as Words, which would never break into Wounds, and doubtful Language, which could not easily beget Danger. And, as true Innocence goeth still armed with Confidence, and he who is Guiltless is still Dreadless ; so he neither feared his Courage, nor shunned his Company, till, at the length, the two Brothers meeting Face to Face, the Younger drew a Pistol, charged with a double Bullet, from his Side, and presented upon the Elder, which only gave Fire, but, by the miraculous Providence of God, no farther Report : At which the Elder

* Sir Christopher Hilliard, in *Yorkshire*.

seizing upon the Younger, disarmed him of his tormentary Engine, and, without any farther Violence offered, so left him ; which bearing to his Chamber, and desirous to find whether it were only a false Fire, merely to fright him ; or a Charge, speedily to dispatch him. When he found the Bullets, and apprehended the Danger he had escaped, he fell into many deep Considerations : For Wise Men will always use Circumspctions, and first consider what to do, before they conclude any Thing. Now, the Causes which beget this Deliberation and Counsel with ourselves, are Fear, Care, Necessity, and Affection : Fear afflicteth, Care compelleth, Necessity bindeth, Affection woundeth : His Fear afflicted him, lest hazarding himself to the like Danger, he might be the Occasion of shortening his own innocent Life, and hastening his Brother's shameful and infamous Death ; his Care compelled him, by his future cautelous Carriage, to prevent both ; Necessity bound him, in mere fraternal Piety, to prevent all future Occasions which might prejudice either of them in so high and horrid a Nature. And, lastly, his Affection so far and so deeply wounded him, that since, where he expected the Love of a Brother, he had found the Malice of an Enemy, since he could not enjoy his Face with Safety, he would ever after deny the Sight of his own Face to all Men whatsoever.

And upon the former Considerations, he grounded this irrevocable Resolution, which he kept to his dying Day ; which that he might the better observe, he took a very fair House, in the lower End of *Grubstreet*, near unto *Cripplegate*, and having contracted a numerous Retinue into a small and private Family, having the House before prepared for his Purpose, he entered the Door, chusing to himself, out of all the Rooms, three private Chambers, best suiting with his intended Solitude : The First for his Diet, the Second for his Lodging, and the Third for his Study ; one within another : And while his Diet was set on the Table, by one of his Servants, an old Maid, he retired into his Lodging-Chamber, and while his Bed was making, into his Study, still doing so, till all was clear. And there he sat up his Rest, and in forty-four Years, never, upon any Occasion how great soever, issued out of those Chambers, till he was borne thence upon Mens Shoulders ; neither, in all that Time, did Son-in-Law, Daughter, or Grand-child, Brother, Sister, or Kinsman, Stranger, Tenant, or Servant, Young or Old, Rich or Poor, of what Degree or Condition soever, look upon his Face, saving the ancient Maid, whose Name was *Elizabeth*, who made his Fire, prepared his Bed, provided his Diet, and dressed his Chamber ; which was very seldom, or upon an extraordinary Necessity that he saw her ; which Maid-servant died not above six Days before him.

As touching his Abstinence, in all the Time of his Retirement, he never tasted Fish, nor Flesh ; he never drank either Wine, or Strong Water ; his chief Food was Oat-meal boiled with Water, which some People call Gruel ; and in Summer, now and then, a Sallad of some choice cool Herbs. For Dainties, or when he would feast himself upon a High Day, he would eat the Yolk of a Hen's Egg, but no Part of the White ; and what Bread he did eat, he cut out of the middle Part of the Loaf, but of the Crust he never tasted ; and his continual Drink was four Shilling Beer, and no other ; and now and then, when his Stomach served him, he did eat some kind of Suckets ; and now and then drank Red Cow's Milk, which his Maid *Elizabeth* fetched for him, out of the Fields, hot from the Cow ; and yet he kept a bountiful Table for his Servants, with Entertainment sufficient for any Stranger, or Tenant, who had Occasion of Business at his House.

In *Christmas* Holy-days, at *Easter*, and upon other Festival Days, he had great Cheer provided, with all Dishes seasonable with the Times, served into his own Chamber, with Store of Wine, which his Maid brought in ; when he himself (after
Thanks

Thanks given to God, for his good Benefits) would pin a clean Napkin before him, and putting on a Pair of white Holland Sleeves, which reached to his Elbows, called for his Knife, and cutting Dish after Dish up in Order, send one to one poor Neighbour, the next to another, whether it were Brawn, Beef, Capon, Goose, &c. till he had left the Table quite empty: Then would he give Thanks again, lay by his Linnen, put up his Knife again, and cause the Cloth to be taken away; and this would he do, Dinner and Supper, upon these Days, without tasting one Morfel of any Thing whatsoever; and this Custom he kept to his dying Day; an Abstinence far transcending all the *Carthusian Monks*, or *Mendicant Fryers*, that I ever yet could read of.

Now as touching the Solitude of his Life, to spend so many Summers and Winters in one small or narrow Room, dividing himself not only from the Society of Men, but debarring himself from the Benefit of the fresh and comfortable Air; not to walk or to confer with any Man, which might shorten the Tedioufness of Night, or mitigate the Prolixness of the Day. What Retirement could be more? Or what Restriction greater? In my Opinion, it far surpasseth all the Vestals and Votaries, all the Anachorites and Hermits, which have been memorized in any History. Now if any should ask me, how he past his Hours, and spent his Time? No Doubt, as he kept a kind of continual Fast, so he devoted himself unto continual Prayer, saving those Seasons which he dedicated to his Study: For you must know that he was both a Scholar and a Linguist; neither was there any Author worth the Reading, either brought over from beyond the Seas, or published here in the Kingdom, which he refused to buy, at what dear Rate soever; and these were his Companions in the Day, and his Counsellors in the Night; insomuch that the Saying may be verified of him; *Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus*: He was never better accompanied, or less alone, than when alone.

I need not speak much of his Continence, since that doth necessarily include itself in the former. Abstinence is a Fast from Meats and Vice, but Continence is a Continuance in all the four Cardinal Vertues. What should I say? His Continence he expressed in the Time he lived in the World, and his Abstinence in the greater Part of his Age, after he had separated himself from the World. Every Man is known by his Actions; neither is any Man to be accounted a Good Man for his Age, but for his charitable Deeds. It is most true indeed, that such a one as we call Good, is better than the Good he doth; and a Wicked Man is worse than the Evil which he is able to do. But in this Gentleman, the Thing most worthy our Observation is, that he, who was born to so fair a Fortune, and might have enjoyed Prosperity, for his Soul's Sake, and to enjoy the Pleasures of a future World, should study Adversity; to have much, and enjoy but little; to be the Lord of all, and a Servant to all; to provide for others to eat, while he prepared himself to fast; and, out of his great Plenty, to supply others while himself fasted. And so much for his great Continence: But all this While I am come to no Particulars of his Charity.

Charity (saith St. *Chrysostom*) is the Scope of all God's Commandments: It ransometh from Sin, and delivereth from Death; for as the Body without the Soul can enjoy no Life, so all other Vertues without Charity, are merely cold and fruitless: She in Adversity is patient, in Prosperity temperate, in Passions strong, in Good Works active, in Temperance secure, in Hospitality bountiful, among her true Children joyful, among her false Friends patient; and the only Measure to love God, is to love him without Measure: Moreover; it maketh a Man absolute and perfect in all other Vertues; for there is no Vertue perfect without Love, nor any Love that can be truly sincere without Charity: A poor Man being in Charity is rich; but a rich Man without Charity is poor: Charity and Pride both feed

the Poor, but after divers Sorts; the one to the Praise and Glory of God, the other to purchase Praise and Glory with Men; the first concerneth him, the latter not.

He was no *Pharisee*, to seek the Praise and vain Ostent among Men; neither did he blow a Trumpet before him when he gave his Alms; neither when any impudently clamoured at his Gate, were they therefore immediately relieved; but he out of his private Chamber, which had a Prospect into the Street, if he spied any Sick, Weak, or Lame, would presently send after them, to Comfort, Cherish, and Strengthen them; and not a Trifle to serve them for the present, but so much as would relieve them many Days after. He would, moreover, inquire, what Neighbours were Industrious in their Callings, and who had great Charge of Children; and withal, if their Labour and Industry could not sufficiently supply their Families; to such he would liberally send, and relieve them according to their Necessities. And this was Charity as it ought to be; for so our best Divines have defined it.

I cannot reckon up the least of Infinites in this Nature done by him, and therefore I leave them to the favourable Consideration of the charitable and understanding Reader; thus concluding: He may not improperly be called a PHOENIX; for, as in his Life, he might be termed a *Bird of Paradise*, so, in his Death, he might be compared to that *Arabian Monady*, who, having lived Fourscore and Four Years, Half in the World, and Half from the World, built his own Funeral Nest, or Pile, composed of the *Terebinth* and *Cinamon*, interwoven with *Onix* and *Galbanum*, with the sweet and odoriferous Smells of *Myrrh*, *Aloes*, and *Cassia*; and so made his Death-bed an Altar, and his Godly Zeal kindling those sweet Spices, sent up his Soul, in an acceptable Incense, to that Blessed and Sacred Throne, where a contrite Heart, and humble Spirit were never despised.



*To the Sacred Memory of that most abstemious
Gentleman, Mr. HENRY WELBY.*

OF any Man, at once Alive, and Dead,
Should any make Report (as seen or read)
He'd hardly find Belief; yet they who knew
This Shadow's Substance, say this may be true;
And in his Person prove it: For his Breath
Was ballanc'd equally, 'twixt Life and Death.
To Heaven he liv'd; but to this treach'rous World
(Her Toys and all her honey'd Poison hurl'd
Far from his Bosom) he was dead; his Face
Not seen by any, in the ling'ring Space
Of four and forty Winters: But his Hand
And Heart were often in his strict Command
Of Alms, and bounteous Largess; his Estate
Not seen so at his Table, as his Gate.
Forty-four Winters one poor petty Room,
To him, was all the World, to him a Tomb.

THO. BREWER.

**In COMMENDATION of that Vertuous
Gentleman, Mr. HENRY WELBY.**

WELL be the blessed Subject of these Lines,
Well be the Star which now in Glory shines,
Well be thou, well be all who live to die,
And die in Grace to live immortally.
Thou who didst from the World thyself exclude,
And, by abstaining Flesh, the Flesh subdu'd;

And

*And with the Sword (God's Word) warr'd with the Devil,
 Still striving to shun all Occasions evil:
 For knowing Man's best Works to be impure,
 From Sight of Man thou didst thyself immune:
 Where reading good Things, Sin was mortify'd,
 Hope was confirm'd, and Faith was fortify'd.
 Thy Charity did work (not one Day idle)
 True Prayer and Fasting did thy Frailty bridle,
 And (like Cornelius) up to Heaven ascended,
 Thy Alms and Orisons, and there attended,
 Until thy Soul shook off Earth transitory,
 To be inshrin'd, and crown'd with Endless Glory.*

J. T.

*Upon the LIFE of that most Worthby Gentleman,
 Mr. HENRY WELBY.*

OLD Henry Welby, well be thou for ever,
 Thy Purgatory's past, thy Heav'n ends never.
 Of eighty-four Years Life, full forty-four
 Man saw thee not, nor e'er shall see thee more.
 'Twas Piety and Penitence caus'd thee
 So long a Prisoner (to thyself) to be:
 Thy bounteous House within, express'd thy Mind;
 Thy Charity without, the Poor did find.
 From Wine thou wast a duteous *Reebabite*,
 And Flesh so long Time shunn'd thy Appetite:
 Small Beer, a Caudle, Milk, or Water-gruel,
 Strength'ned by Grace, maintain'd thy daily Duel
 'Gainst the bewitching World, the Flesh, and Fiend,
 Which made thee live and die well; there's an End.

JOHN TAYLOR.

A N

A N

E P I T A P H.

*Or rather a Funeral ELEGY, upon the Right
Worshipful Mr. HENRY WELBY, who
died at his House in Grub-street, and lyeth
buried in the Church of St. Giles's, near
Cripplegate.*

W H O on the Setting Sun shall cast their Eyes,
May eas'ly guess next Morning how he'll rise.
Those who our Parting, from this Old World, view,
May pre-suppose what Welcome, in the New
Is to be had; but best, when *Qualis Vita*
Is sweetly eccho'd to by *Finis ita*.
If this be true, as no Man needs to doubt,
Search this Man's Life, nay, all the World throughout,
To Parallel in both, 't may be deny'd
Many more strictly liv'd, more Saint-like dy'd:
And therefore we may fairly hope, that he
Is now where we may wish ourselves to be.
This Man, thro' many Storms and Tempests hurl'd,
Though he was *in*, yet was not *of* the World.
When, Forty-four Years since, he did divide
Himself from Men, even then to Men he dy'd:
And, at that Time, his precious Soul to save,
His Chamber made his Chappel, Bed, his Grave.
What did he, then? Since no one twice can die;
He chang'd his Bed, remote from Noise to lye,

Where,

Where, undisturb'd, he better Rest might take,
 Until the Angel's Trumpet him awake.
 This, of such Note, so late, shall we let pass
 Slightly? No; rather make his Dust our Glass,
 Him our *Memento*, and his Life (no less)
 A Mirror, by the which our Lives to dress.
 And tho' we strive not to be like Austere,
 (For that, indeed, scarce Human Strength can bear)
 Let's, in some Sort, our Love to Virtue shew;
 And crawl like Children, e're they well can go.
 If he hath been so Abstinent; at least,
 Let us forbear to Surfeit, when we Feast.
 He drank no Wine at all, let us not use
 Immoderate Cups, our Senses to abuse.
 His Cloaths were only to defend from Cold:
 Shall our py'd Garments, then, be daub'd with Gold?
 Many his Manours were, and great his Rent,
 Yet he, with one small Chamber, was content.
 Then, let not such, already well possess'd,
 By Pow'r's high Hand, their Lands from others wrest.
 His Temp'rance all vain Objects did despise,
 Let us, then, make some Cov'nant with our Eyes:
 If he, from his best Strength, to his last Hours,
 Pull'd down his Body, let's not pamper ours.
 Rare Precedents ought to be follow'd most,
 Than this, a rarer there's no Age can boast.

THO. HAYWOOD.



Phoenix Britannicus.

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M.DCC.XXXI.

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 N U M B. V.

A

True HISTORICAL RELATION
Of that *Memorable*
PARLIAMENT.

Which wrought WONDERS :

Begun, at *Westminster*, in the *Tenth* Year of K. RICHARD
the *Second*.

Whereunto is added,

AN ABSTRACT of those *Memorable* MATTERS, *before*, and
since the said KING's *Reign*, done by PARLIAMENTS.

Together with a CHARACTER of the said *Amiable* but
Unhappy KING ; and a brief *Story* of his LIFE, and
lamentable DEATH.

Printed in the Year 1641.

THIS present Occasion so opportunely befitting me, I am resolved to treat of that which hath been omitted, and slipped out of Memory long since, concerning divers and sundry Changes and Alterations in *England*, in former Times : Nor will it be any way burthensome to write of that, whereby every good and careful Reader may learn to avoid Diversities of Miseries, and the Danger and Fear of cruel Death. I will therefore speak of that which hath lain hid in the darksome Shade of Forgetfulness, concerning Men who have been led away by the deceitful Path of Covetousness, and have come to a most shameful and

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ignominious Death: A famous Example, to deter all Men from practising those or the like Courses.

ABOUT the Year of Christ, 1386, at such Time as *Richard* the Second of that Name, then in the Prime of his Youth, swayed the Imperial Scepter of our Realm, there flourished, famous in his Court, certain Peers, though some of them not of any Honourable Descent, yet favoured by Fortunes; by Name, *Alexander Nevil*, Arch-Bishop of *York*; *Robert Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*; *Michael de la Poole*, Earl of *Suffolk*, then Lord Chancellor; *Robert Tresilian*, Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*; and *Nicholas Brambre*, sometimes Mayor of *London*.

These Men, being raised from mean Estates, by the special Favour of the King, and advanced to the Degree of Privy-Counsellors, were the Men who had the only Rule of the Common-wealth; which they, under the King, governed, for some small Space, with careful Diligence, meriting thereby deserved Commendations. But not long did they thus steer the Ship of the Kingdom; for many of them being of inferior Rank, by Birth, not having their Veins dignified with the Streams of Noble Blood, they were the sooner inticed with the libidinous Baits of Voluptuousness, and infected with the insatiable Itch of Avarice; insomuch, that despising the Authority of the King, and neglecting the Commodity of the Realm, but only desiring to keep up the Revenues of the Kingdom, so wrought, that, by their Policy, the King is impoverished, the Treasury exhausted; the Commons murmur at the Multiplicity of Tenths, Levies, and Subsidies; the Peers repine to see themselves Disgraced, and their Inferiors Honoured; and, in a Word, the whole Kingdom endures a universal Misery.

The Nobility, seeing the miserable State wherein the Kingdom lay, bleeding as it were to Death, urged their King to summon a Parliament; which was done shortly after. In which, among many other Acts, the afore-named *Michael de la Poole* is dismissed of his Chancellorship; and, being accused of divers and many Points of Injustice, as Bribery, Extortion, and the like, he was, soon after, cast into the Castle of *Windfor*, and all his Lands, which were of no small Revenue, were confiscated to the King. Neither did the Parliament here give over, but provided farther for the whole State; by the mutual Consent of the King, and Prelates, Barons and Commons, with a unanimous Conjunction, they constitute, and give plenary and absolute Power to certain Commissioners, as well of the Spirituality as of the Temporality, for the ordering and disposing of the Public Affairs, according as shall seem best and most necessary for the desperate State of the Common-wealth, to depress Civil Dissentions, and to pacify and appease the Grudgings of the People.

Of the Spirituality, were chosen the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*; the afore-named Bishop of *York*; the Bishop of *Ely*, lately made Chancellor of *England*; the Bishop of *Winchester*; Bishop of *Hereford*, Lord-Treasurer; Bishop of *Exeter*; Abbot of *Waltham*; and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*.

Of the Laity, were elected the Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Arundel*, the Lord *Coltham*, the Lord *Scroop*, and Sir *John Devereux*, Knight: These, as Men eminent in Virtue, were chosen by the general Suffrage, and sworn to carry themselves as dutiful and obedient Subjects in all their Actions. And it was farther enacted, That if any should refuse, or disobey the Ordinances so made for the Public Good, the Punishment of his first Offence, should be the Confiscation of his Goods; and, for the second, the Loss of Life. Thus disposing all Things for the best, the Parliament being dissolved, every Man returned to his own House.

Soon after, the afore-named Chancellor, with others of their Confederates, being moved with implacable Fury against the Statute of the late Parliament, they buzzed
into

into the King's Ears ; that the Statutes lately enacted, were very prejudicial to the Honour of his Crown, and much derogatory to his Princely Prerogative ; inſomuch, that he ſhould not have Power, without the Conſent of the new-appointed Commiſſioners, to do any Thing beſitting a King ; no, not ſo much as to beſtow a Largeſs ; a principal Means to gain the Peoples Love upon any, though never ſo well-deſerving.

By theſe, and other the like impious Inſtigations, with which the Devil (as never un-mindful of the End of thoſe, who, by their Lives do prove themſelves his own) did continually ſupply them, they practiſed to annihilate and diſannull theſe Acts of the Parliament, which ſeemed any ways to abbreviate, or curb their uſurped Authority.

And, *Fiſt* ; By their ſerpentine Tongues, ambitious Projects, Flattery painted out with gloſſing Diſcouries, and covered over with the Shadow of Vigilancy for the Good of the Kingdom, they ſo bewitched the Noble Inclination of the youthful King, whom they induced to believe, that all the Ill they did was a General Good ; that he began to diſtaſte, and, at laſt, to abhor the laſt paſſed Acts, as treacherous Plots, and moſt wicked Devices.

Next ; They ſtudied how to ingroſs All, or the moſt Part of the Wealth and Riches of the Kingdom, into their own Coſſers ; and, to the ſame End, dealed ſo cunningly, yet pleaſingly, with the King, that he gave to the Duke of *Ireland*, *John* of *Blois*, the Heir of the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, and his Ransom ; to others, Towns ; to others, Cities ; to others, Lands ; to others, Money, amounting to the Sum of 100,000 Marks ; to the great Impoveriſhment both of King and Kingdom : Neither did theſe King-eaters, and Realm-devourers, any thing regard it ; but ſetting unſkilful and inſufficient Captains, and Governors over Towns and Forts ſo obtained, gave Occaſion to the Enemies of the Crown to ſurprize them, and diſpoſſeſs the King of them.

Thirdly ; Vilifying the Dignity of the King, contrary to their Allegiance, they drew the King to ſwear ; That with all his Power, during his Life, he ſhould maintain and defend them from all their Enemies, whether Foreign or Domeſtic.

Fourthly ; Whereas it was enacted, by the laſt Parliament ; That the King, at certain ſeaſonable Times, and when his Leiſure would permit him, ſhould ſit at *Westminſter*, with his Council there, to conſult of the Public Affairs ; through the Perſuaſions of the aforeſaid Conſpirators, he was drawn into the moſt remote Parts of the Realm, to the great Diſparagement of the Fidelity of thoſe Honourable, Grave, and Faithful Peers, late made Joint-Commiſſioners, in whoſe Hands the whole Safety and Proſperity of the Common-wealth did reſide.

And when, as the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasuſer, Keeper of the Privy-Seal, or any other of the Privy-Council, came to relate any of their own Actions, or the State of the Realm, they could not be granted Acceſs, unleſs they related the Buſineſs in the Preſence and Hearing of the Conſpirators, who were always ready to up-braid them, if they uttered any thing that diſpleaſed them, and to commend them for any thing (though moſt nefarious) which did content them ; for thus could they the ſooner learn and dive into the Acts of the Commiſſioners, and the better find Eviſions for their Accuſations. Farthermore, when as the King, in Company of the Conſpirators, went in Progreſs towards the Parts of *Cheshire*, *Wales*, and *Lancashire*, they made Proclamation, in the King's Name, throughout the Shires as they jouried ; That all Barons, Knights, Eſquires, with the greateſt Part of the Commonalty, able to bear Arms, ſhould ſpeedily repair to the King, for his Deſenſe, againſt the Power of the Commiſſioners ; chiefly of the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and the Earl of *Arundel* ; be- cauſe they, above the reſt, did, with their chiefeſt Endeavours, ſtudy to depreſs and quell the Devices of the Conſpirators.

Fifthly ; Contrary to the aforesaid Acts, they caused the Duke of *Ireland* to be created Chief-Justice of *Chester*, thereby selling Justice as they listed, condemning the Guiltless, and remitting the Guilty, never respecting or looking unto the equal Ballance of Justice, but poizing down the Scales with Heaps of Bribery.

Sixthly ; By the Procurement of the Confederates, they caused certain honest Persons, who would not consent to their Extortions, to be called and summoned to their Court, and there to answer to certain false Accusations, wherewith they were unjustly charged by perjured Hirelings ; of which Men so accused, some were put to Death, some cast into Prison, all were vexed and troubled with Delays, Length of their Journey to and fro, excessive Charges ; and neither were they eased of any of these Burthens, unless they would part with round Sums of Money to the Duke and his Complices.

Seventhly ; They gave Pardons under the Broad Seal, to Felons, Murderers, and such like, only with this Condition, that they should murder any whomsoever they thought did dislike their Exaction.

Eighthly ; They taught the Country of *Ireland* to look to its Pristine Estate, I mean, of having a King ; for they plotted to have the Duke created King of *Ireland* ; and for the Confirmation of which their Design, they allured the King to send his Letters to the Pope.

Ninthly ; The aforesaid *Nicholas Brambre*, in the Time of his Majoralty, caused two and twenty to be falsely accused of Felonies, and laid into *Newgate*, under Pretext and Colour of divers Crimes, and in the silent and dead Time of the Night to be fast bound, and by a strong Hand to be carried into *Kent*, to a Place commonly called *Fawlocks*, and then to have their Heads struck off, except one, who, being favoured by the Murderers, safely escaped ; the Blood of the rest dyed the Streams of a small Rivulet adjoining.

Tenthly ; Soon after, to add one Mischief to another, they sent Letters under the King's Signet, to the Mayor of *London*, by *John Rippon*, Clerk, with a certain Libel or Schedule inclosed in the said Letters, the Tenor of which is as followeth.

That the afore-named three Commissioners, *viz.* the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and other of the Council, were to be Arrested, Indicted, Condemned, and put to lamentable Deaths, as being such as had conspired against the King, against his Prerogative, and against his Crown and Imperial Dignity ; and to this, they did, in a Manner, constrain the King to assent. Upon Receipt of these Letters, the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London* called a Common-Council, wherein they consulted what Courses were best to be taken in this Matter ; and after long Debate, *pro and con*, it was on all Sides agreed, to deny and not to suffer that cruel and unheard-of tragical Complot to be executed.

It ever happens, that one wicked Act draws on a second, and that second a third, and so forwards, till the Weight cracks the Supporter.

Therefore the said Conspirators, being blinded with Rashness, principally sent Letters by Sir *John Godfrey*, Knight, to the King of *France*, the King's Adversary, to conclude a five Years Truce, that he should come to *Calas*, and from thence should send for the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and for some others of the Commissioners, as though the King were unwilling to determine of any Thing without their Advice ; and being thus circumvented, they should be condemned as Traytors, and so put to an ignominious and cruel Death.

And for the doing and performing of these Things, the King of *France* was to recover all the Castles, Towns, and Lands lying in these Countries, and belonging to the King of *England* : To prove these Things to be true, there were certain Writings produced by the Commissioners, wherein were contained Letters from the King of

of *France* to the King of *England*, and from the Conspirators, in the King of *England's* Name, to the King of *France*.

Moreover, there were other Letters intercepted, directed to the said King of *France*; the Substance whereof, was to incite the King of *France* to levy a puissant Power, both Horse and Foot, and to draw them down to *Bulloigne*, and thence to transport them into *England*, against the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, and the rest of the Commissioners, and all those who did either countenance or favour the said Statute and Commissioners; which, as they falsely alledged, was made in Derogation of the King's Prerogative, and the aforesaid Commissioners to vanquish, oppress, and put to Death, and consequently, the whole Nation and Language utterly to ruin.

Not here concluding their devilish Conspiracy, the five aforesaid Conspirators departed, from *Westminster*, to the Castle of *Nottingham*, and sent a Writ for *Robert Beale*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp* and *William Burleigh*, Judges of the said Court, and for *John Locton*, the King's Serjeant at Law; who being come into the Council-Chamber, not knowing what they were sent for, the aforesaid Conspirators caused the Gates and Doors of the Castle to be shut, and then propounded these Questions following unto them.

First; Whether those Statutes, Ordinances and Commission, made in the late Parliament at *Westminster*, were derogatory to the King's Dignity and Kingly Prerogative? and, because they were to be punished who did procure those Constitutions, and did incite and move the King to consent unto them, and did as much as in them lay to hinder the King from exercising his Royal Prerogative.

To these, and other the like Questions, with a joint Consent, they answered; That they were to suffer Death as Traytors, or else to endure some Capital Punishment. In witness of which Assertion, being terrified with the Fear of present Death, the aforesaid Judges, together with *John Carey*, Lord Chief-Baron of the Exchequer, they signed and sealed a certain Writing, in manner of a Protestation, in Presence of these Witnesses, *Alexander Nevil*, Archbishop of *York*, Archbishop *Baugor*, *Robert* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael* Earl of *Suffolk*, *John Rippon*, Clerk, and *John Blake*, Fruiterer, dated the 19th of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1387, in the 11th Year of the Reign of King *Richard* the Second. Then were they compelled to swear, that they should keep the Passages undiscovered, upon Pain of Death; and so they had License to depart. And when they had plotted those and many other devilish Conspiracies, they bound themselves by an Oath, to try all Ways, and use all Means, as far-forth as lay in their Power, to disannul and utterly abrogate the Acts and Statutes of the last Parliament.

And that which is worse, they caused the King to swear; That, in his proper Person, with his whole Power, he should take Revenge of the Duke of *Gloucester*, of the two Earls, and their Adherents, by causing them to be put to Death.

The Carriage of all which Actions may more easily be known, if the Time and the Order of them be duly considered.

But our merciful and ever-gracious God, although there were so many Plots, so many Conspiracies, so many Treasons wrought against our State, whereby many Miseries did accrue to our Kingdom, yet unwilling to take Revenge, or to punish us for our Sins, but rather, according to his gracious Pity, to ease us of our burthenous Calamity, inspired into the Hearts of the aforesaid Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, the Spirit of Valour and Magnanimity; who seeing the Heap of Ills which daily did arise by the Practices of those Conspirators, they set, almost in every Part of the Kingdom, Intelligencers, who should apprehend all Messengers, and intercept all Letters of the King's, or which went under the King's Name, and should send them to the Commissioners.

And

And thus did they come to have Intelligence of the whole Plot of the Conspirators ; all their Letters being indorsed with, *Glory be to God on High, on Earth Peace, and Good Will towards Men* : And by coming to the Knowledge of each Circumstance, they found that the Kingdom was at the Point of Destruction ; according to that Evangelical Saying, *Every Kingdom divided against it self, shall be dissolved*. Wherefore they sought for a Remedy : For, by the Law of Nature, it is tolerable to repel Violence by Violence. Since therefore it is better to prevent the Wound than to apply a Remedy, every Man according to his Ability levied a Power for the Preservation of the King and Kingdom ; all which Forces being united, amounting to the Number of 20000 Fighting Men, and courageously resolving to frustrate all the intended Designs of the Conspirators, and to open the Nut, by cracking the Shell ; they divided their Army, committing Part of it to the Earl of *Arundel* ; who by Night marched away with his Forces, and pitched his Tents near to *London*, there fortifying himself in the Forest adjoining, until such Time as he had gained more convenient Time and greater Force, by the coming of his Consorts : And in the mean Time he used such Discipline in his Camp, that he lacked nothing, but all Things were sold at reasonable Rates, as it had been at a Market ; and hardly could he contain the Common People from joining with him, for the Overthrow of the Conspirators and their Adherents.

On the other Side, the Conspirators intending to prevent their Purposes, by Power of a certain Spiritual Commission, and by Vertue of certain Letters Patents in the Hands of the Conspirators, though nothing to the Purpose, yet to blind the People, they caused to be proclaimed throughout the whole City of *London* ; That none, upon Pain of the Forfeiture of all their Goods, should neither sell, give, or communicate, privately or publickly, Victual, Armour, or any other Necessaries to the Army of the Earl of *Arundel*, but should debarr them of Sustentation, Comfort or Help, as Rebels to the King and Country. But on the other Side, they began to fear, when they were denied their hoped-for Aid by the Mayor and Commonalty of the City of *London* ; and again, they were troubled at the Rising of the Commoners, to invade them. Wherefore they counselled the King to absent himself from the Parliament (which was to begin at *Candlemas* next, according as the King and Commissioners had appointed it) and not consult of the Affairs of the Kingdom, nor of his own Estate, Commodity or Discommodity, unless the Duke of *Gloucester*, the two Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the rest of the Commissioners, would swear ; That neither they, nor any in their Name, should accuse them, or urge any Accusation against them.

And they caused it to be proclaimed through the City of *London* ; That none, under Pain of Confiscation of all their Goods, should speak any upbraiding Speeches concerning the King, or the Conspirators ; which was a Thing impossible to hinder.

Not long after it happened, that the King, with the aforesaid five Conspirators, came, from his Manor of *Sheeve*, to *Westminster*, to Saint *Edmond's* Tomb, for the solemnizing of a Pilgrimage. The Mayor and Alderman of the City of *London* met him on Horseback, sumptuously attired, honouring him very much. And when they came to the *Mense*, they descended from their Horses, and went bare-foot to the Tomb of Saint *Edmond* ; whereas the Chaplain of the Commissioners, with the Abbot and Covent, met them with a stately Procession.

In the mean Time, the three Noblemen, viz. the Duke of *Gloucester*, and the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, having mustered their Troops, on the fourteenth of *November*, in the same Year, at *Walsbam Cross*, in the County of *Hertford*, and from thence sent for the Commissioners, who were there at *Westminster*, in Parliament with the King, sending an Accusation, in Writing, to the King against the
afore-

aforesaid Conspirators, viz. the Arch-Bishop of *York*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Sussex*, *Robert Tresilian*, and *Nicholas Brambre*; wherein they accused them of High-Treason: Which their Appellation they did offer to maintain, and that they were willing to prosecute the same; and to prove it to be true, they caused all the rest of the Commissioners to subscribe, as Parties to their Appellation.

When these Things came to the Ears of the King, he sent unto them, requiring to know, What their Request was, and what they wished to have been done: They returned Answer thus: That they did desire, that the Traytors, who were always about him, filling his Ears with false Reports, and did daily commit insufferable Crimes and Injuries, might be rewarded with condign Punishment; for, it were better that some few should dye for the People, than the whole Nation should perish.

And they likewise craved, that they might have safe Liberty of going and coming to his Grace.

When the King heard their Request, he gave them his Royal Consent, and commanded them to appear at *Westminster*: And the King sitting on his Throne, in the great Hall, the three aforesaid Peers Appellants, with a gallant Troop of Gentlemen, entered, and making three lowly Obeysances, they revered the King; and drawing near (the Cause of their coming being alledged) they there, again, appealed the Arch-Bishop, Duke of *Ireland*, Earl Treasurer, and *Brambre*, of High-Treason, according as they had done before at *Walsingham-Cross*: But they betook themselves to the private Corners of the Palace, even as *Adam* and *Eve*, from the Presence of God, not having the Heart to appear, to justify themselves.

The King called forth the Appellants, to prove and prosecute the Appellation; prescribing them a Day and Place for the Trial, which was to be on the Morrow after *Candlemas-Day*; and, in the mean Time, the King commanded them, upon their Honours, not any Party to molest the other, until the next Parliament.

Those Things, thus passed, were publicly proclaimed throughout all *England*, and they departed joyfully.

The Duke of *Ireland*, under the Guide of his Grand Captain, the Devil, marching into *Cheshire*, *Lancashire*, and *Wales*, raised a new Power, amounting to the Number of 6000 Fighting Men, in the King's Name, to overthrow and confound the Appellants; from thence, marched towards *London*, with his Army, with a furious Intent, and Resolution to perform his bloody Design. But God, beholding their foolish Hearts, filled them with vain Hopes, that they should accomplish their Enterprises.

And, while these Plots were laid, the Appellants, being suddenly advertised thereof, raised a Power, and joining with them the Earl of *Derby*, and the Earl of *Nottingham*, and other Commissioners, marched, with long and wearied Marches, into a Field, near a Village called *Whitney*, at a Place called *Lockford-Bridge*: In which Field, the Duke of *Ireland* was with the Army, having a River on the one Side of them, whereas they stood ready prepared to give an Overthrow to the Appellants, and displaying the King's Standard, contrary to the Laws of the Land: But although they were so valiant at the Beginning, yet were they discouraged at the End; for, when they saw the Army of the Appellants march down from the Mountains, like a Hive of Bees, and with such a violent Fury, Fear benumbed them, and they were so amazed, that when they should give the Assault (God not suffering the Effusion of Blood) they stood like a Hive of Bees, or a Flock of Cattel, without a Head, making no Shew, or Countenance of resisting; but, without any Stroke given, they flung down their Arms, and yielded themselves to the Mercy of the Appellants; and a few being slain, and some drowned in the River, gave an easy Victory to the Conquerors. The Duke of *Ireland* himself, putting Spurs to his Horse, took the River,
and

and hardly escaped; and though he was pursued, yet he escaped through the midst of the Troops. And thus, by the Mercy of God, they obtained the glorious Palm of Victory from the Hand of Heaven.

When the News of the Victory was blown to the Ears of the rest of the Conspirators, who were then stricken with Fear, and careful for their Preservation, under Covert of the Night they fled, by Water, to the Tower, drawing the King along with them.

On the other Side, *Nicholas Brambre* with a bold and resolute Courage, in the King's Name, caused all the Gates of the City to be shut against the Appellants, and to be guarded with an able and sufficient Watch: But these worthy and dauntless Members of the Common-wealth marched towards *London*, to confer with the King; but when they heard that the said *Nicholas Brambre* had caused the Gates of the City to be shut against them, and to be strongly guarded, and that the whole City did purpose to keep them out, they stayed their Resolution.

On the 27th Day of *September*, in the same Year, with a melodious Sound of divers Kinds of Instruments, as well of War as of Peace, they incamped themselves in *Clerkenwell*, within the Liberties of the City of *London*; not purposing, on the one Side, rashly or unadvisedly to enter the City, nor, on the other Side, to make any Shew of Fear; but with a stayed Mind (as befitting wise Men) with Deliberation to conclude every Thing in its due Time. And when, as the Mayor, with the Citizens, came unto them with pleasing Words, promising unto them all that the City could afford, with Reason and Equity, the Duke of *Gloucester* said; now I know, that Lyers speak nothing but Lyes, neither can any Man hinder them from the relating: Whereupon, by a joint Consent, in the Evening they removed their Tents, and pitched them before divers Gates of the City.

On the Morrow there happened an Interview between the King and the Appellants, so far, that they opened their Minds one to the other: But because the King loathed to speak with them, with such a Rabble of Men, and in regard of an intolerable Boldness, and some Quarrel which was like to arise; and on the other Side, refusing to go out of the *Tower* to speak with them, and the Appellants fearing some Violence or Wrong to be offered to them, would not speak with the King without a strong Guard of valiant Warriors. Therefore the most wise of the Appellants, after divers Disputations had, resolved to go and confer with the King; but first they sent a strong Troop, well armed, to search all the Corners and Caves of the *Tower*; and Relation being made of the Safety of the Place, with a selected Band of valiant Cavaliers, they entered the *Tower*, and seizing the Gates, and placing a Guard, appeared before the King; and there, the third Time, appealed the aforesaid Conspirators, in the same Sort and Form as before: Which Appellation being ended, the King swore; That he would adhere to their Counsel, as a good King, and a just Judge, so far as the Rule of Law, Reason and Equity did require.

These Things being accomplished, they departed, from the *Tower*, to their Tenements and Lodgings: And then it was published and made known in the Presence of the King, and throughout the Dominions; That, on the Morrow after *Candlemas* Day, the aforesaid Conspirators should personally appear, to answer to the Appellation, whereby they were charged of so many Treasons.

And because the Harvest was now ripe, and Time convenient to cut up those pestiferous Cockles and Thistles, by the Assent of the King, and Consent of the said Commissioners and Appellants, they expelled divers of the Officers of the Household; viz. in the Place of *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Household, they appointed Sir *John Devereux*, Knight, one of the Commissioners; Sir *Peter Courtney*, Knight, was made Chamberlain, in the stead of *Robert*, Duke of *Ireland*: And the aforesaid *John de Beauchamp*, *Symon de Burleigb*, Vice-Chamberlain, *John Salisbury*, *Thomas Trynest*,

Trynnett, James Baratt, William Ellingham and Nicholas Nagworth, Knights; and Officers of the Clergy, viz. *Richard Metford*, Secretary, *John Blake*, Dean of the Chappel, *John Lincoln*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and *John Clifford*, Clerk of the Chappel, were kept under Arrest too, and were as Partakers of the aforesaid Treason; for that they knowing and having Intelligence of the said Conspiracy, they did not discover them.

Others also, as Servants of the aforesaid Conspirators, and drawn in by Craft, yet Guiltless, were dismissed and sent away, as Men unprofitable, and good for no Use.

And thus this hideous Brood of Monsters, so often shaken, was quite overthrown.

And on the Vigil of the Purification of Saint *Mary*, in the Privy-Chamber at *Westminster*, by joint Consent of all the Commissioners, the aforesaid *John* —, *John Holt*, *Roger Fulthorp*, *William Burleigh*, *John Lofton* and *John Carey* were displaced from their Offices, and without any farther Ado arrested for Treason, and by the Command of the Chancellor were clapped into the *Tower*; and *Roger Carleton*, in the Place of *Belknap*, *Walter Clapton*, in the Place of *Tressilian*, were constituted: and so for that Time they departed, and went to Dinner.

And because *Sbrevetide* was thought a fit Time to punish the Delinquents, according to their Deserts; therefore the great Parliament began the Second of *February* following, in this Manner:

All the Peers, as well of the Spirituality, as of the Temporality, being assembled in the great Hall at *Westminster*, the King soon after came and sat down in his Throne: and after him appeared the five Noblemen Appellants (the Fame of whose admired Worth echoed through all the Land) entered the House in their costly Robes, leading one another Hand in Hand, with an innumerable Company following them; and beholding where the King sat, all at once, with submissive Gestures, they revered the King. The Hall was so full of Spectators, that the very Roofs were filled with them: and yet among this Multitude of the People, there could not be found any of the Conspirators, or of their Complices; but *Brambre* was taken a little before, and cast into the Jail of *Gloucester*.

The Clergy then placing themselves on the Right-hand, and the Nobility on the Left-hand of the King, according to the ancient Custom of the High Court of Parliament; the Lord Chancellor standing with his Back towards the King, by the King's Command declared the Cause of their Summons to the Parliament: Which being ended, the five aforesaid Appellants arising, declared their Appellation by the Mouth of *Robert Pleasington*, their Speaker, who thus spake:

Behold, the Duke of *Gloucester* comes to purge himself of Treasons, which are laid to his Charge by the Conspirators. To whom the Lord Chancellor, by the Command of the King, answered: My Lord Duke, the King conceiveth so honourably of you, that he cannot be induced to believe, that you, who are of Affinity to him in a Collateral Line, should attempt any Treason against his Sacred Majesty. The Duke, with his four Companions, upon their Knees humbly gave Thanks to the King, for his gracious Opinion of their Fidelity.

Then after Silence proclaimed, they arose, and delivered in certain Articles in Writing, wherein were contained the Particularity of the Treason. Which said Articles were read by *Godfrey Martin*, the Clerk of the Crown, standing in the midst of the Parliament House, by the Space of two Hours, with an audible Voice. At the Reading of which, there was a wonderful Alteration in the House: For, whereas before the People were glad of the Discovery of the Treason; at the Rehearsal of it, their Hearts were so overcome with Grief, that they could not refrain from Tears. When the Articles were read, the Appellants requested the

King, that Sentence of Condemnation might be given against the Conspirators, and they to receive the Guerdon of their Deserts ; which the King promised to grant. This was the first Day's Work. The second was ended with Variation of divers Consultations, which I will not relate in particular, but treat of the whole Parliament in general.

And when the third Day came of their Proceedings against the Conspirators, the Lord Chancellor, in the Name of the Clergy, in open Parliament made an Oration, shewing ; That they could not, by any Means, be present at the Proceeding, whereat there is any Censure of Death to be passed. For the Confirmation whereof, they delivered in a Protestation ; which being read, they spake : That neither in Respect of any Favour, nor Fear of any Man's Hate, nor in Hope of any Reward, they did desire to absent themselves ; but only, that they were bound by the Canon, not to be present at any Man's Arraignment or Condemnation. They likewise sent their Protestation to the Chappel of the Abbey, where the Commons sate ; which was allowed of. And then, when the Appellants called for Justice against the Conspirators, the Lords of the Spirituality arose, and went into the King's Chamber near adjoining.

But the King, being moved in Conscience and in Charity, perceiving that, in every Work, they are to remember the End, and being willing (contrary to the Rigour of the Law) to favour rather these who were Guilty than the Actors in Treason, if they were able to alledge any Thing in their Defense, caused the Process to cease : But the Peers (being earnest) requested ; That no Business past, present or to come, might be debated, until this Treason were adjudged ; to which Petition, the King graciously granted his Assent.

On the 11th Day of *February*, when nothing could be alledged, nor no Witness produced, in Justification of the Conspirators, but that the definitive Sentence of Condemnation must be pronounced against them, the aforesaid *John Devereux*, Marshal of the Court, and for that Time the King's Lieutenant, adjudged them this heavy Doom. That the said Archbishop of *York*, Duke of *Ireland*, Earl of *Suffolk*, *Tressilian* and *Brambre*, should be drawn from the *Tower* to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged upon a Gibbet until they were Dead, and all their Lands and Goods to be confiscated, that none of their Posterity might be by them any way enriched.

On the 12th Day of *February*, which was the first Day of *Shrovetide*, *Nicholas Brambre* appeared in Parliament ; and being charged with the aforesaid Articles of Treason, he craved Favour to advise of Counsel learned, and some longer Time for his more full Answer to his Accusation ; but yet he desired what was neither usual, nor allowable by the Law ; and required a Thing which the Rigour of the Law, in Cases of that Nature, would not afford. But the Judges charged him to answer severally to every Point in the Articles contained : Whereunto *Brambre* answered ; Whosoever hath branded me with this ignominious Mark, with him I am ready to Fight in the Lists, to maintain my Innocency, whensoever the King shall appoint. And this he spake with such a Fury, that his Eyes sparkled with Rage, and he breathed as if an *Ætna* had lay hid in his Breast ; chusing rather to die gloriously in the Field, than disgracefully on a Gibbet.

The Appellants hearing this courageous Challenge, with resolute Countenance answered ; That they would willingly accept of the Combat, and thereupon flung down their Gages before the King ; and on a sudden, the whole Company of Lords, Knights, Esquires and Commons flung down their Gages so thick, that they seemed like Snow in a Winter's Day ; crying out ; We also will accept of the Combat, and will prove these Articles to be true to thy Head, most damnable Traytor, and so they departed for that Day.

And

And although the Appellants were not idle in the Night, yet on the next Day, to aggravate their Appellation against the Conspirators, there came divers Companies of the City of *London*, complaining of the manifold Injuries they had suffered by *Brambre*, and other Extortions and Exactions wherewith they had been daily charged; and yet they protested, that they did not accuse him either for Hate to his Person, or for Love, Fear, or Hope of Reward from his Enemies, but only they charged him with the Truth.

But before they proceed with his Tryal, they were stayed by most unfortunate *Tressilian*, who being got upon the Top of a House adjoining to the Palace, and had descended into a Gutter, only to look about him, he was discovered by certain of the Peers, who presently sent some of the Guard to apprehend him; who entering into the House where he was, and having spent long Time in vain in looking for him, at length one of the Guard went to the Master of the House, and taking him by the Shoulder, with his Dagger drawn, thus said; Shew us where thou hast hid *Tressilian*, or else resolve thy Days are accomplished. The Master trembled, ready to yield up the Ghost for Fear, answered; Yonder is the Place where he lies; and shews him a round Table, covered with Branches of Bay, under which *Tressilian* lay close covered: when they had found him, they drew him out by the Heels, wondering to see him, as Vipers use, to wear his Head and Beard over-grown, with old clouted Shoes, and patched Hose, more like a miserable Beggar, than a Judge.

When this came to the Ears of the Peers, the five Appellants suddenly arose up, and without expressing any Reason, departed out of the Parliament House, which bred great Alteration in the House; insomuch, that many followed them, and when they came to the Gate of the Hall, they met the Guard leading *Tressilian* bound, crying, as they came, We have him, we have him.

Tressilian being come into the Hall, was asked; What he could say for himself, why Judgment should not pass upon him for his Treason so often committed? He became as one who had been struck Dumb, and his Heart was as it were hardened to the very last, and would not confess himself guilty of any Thing: And for this Cause the Parliament arose, deferring *Brambre's* Tryal till the next Day. But *Tressilian* was without Delay led to the Tower, that he might suffer the Execution of the Sentence passed against him. His Wife and his Children did with main Tears accompany him to the Tower; but his Wife was so overcome with Dolour and Grief, that she fell down in a Swoon, as if she had been dead.

Immediately *Tressilian* is upon a Hurdle, and drawn thorow the Streets of the City, with a wonderful Concourse of People following him: At every Furlong's End, he was suffered to stand still to rest himself, and to see if he would confess and report himself of any Thing: But what he said to the Fryer, his Confessor, is not known, neither am I able to search it out. When he came to the Place of Execution, he would not climb the Ladder, until such Time as being soundly beaten with Bats and Staves, he was forced to go up; and when he was up, he said: So long as I do wear any Thing upon me, I shall not die: Wherefore the Executioner stripped him, and found certain Images, painted like to the Signs of Heaven, and the Head of a Devil painted, and the Names of many of the Devils written in Parchment. The exorcising Toys being taken away, he was hanged up naked: And because the Spectators should be certainly assured that he was dead, they cut his Throat; and by reason the Night approached, they let him hang until the next Morning, and then his Wife, having obtained a License of the King, took down his Body, and carried it to the *Grey-Fryers*, where it was buried.

On the Morrow Sentence was likewise pronounced against *Brambre*, who, being drawn upon a Hurdle from the Tower to *Tyburn*, thorow the City, shewed him-

himself very penitent ; humbly craving Mercy and Forgiveness at the Hands of God and Men, whom he had so grievously offended, and whom he had so injuriously wronged, in Time past ; and did earnestly desire them all to pray for him. When the Rope was about his Neck, ready to be turned off, a certain young Man, the Son of one *Northampton*, asked him ; If he had done Justice to his Father, or not ? For, *Northampton* was sometimes Mayor of the City of *London*, more Wealthy, and more Substantial than any else in the City : Him did *Brambre*, and *Tressilian* accuse of Treason, and Conspiracy against the State, and condemned him to dye, being despoiled of his Estate, he himself, at length, hardly escaped ; to whom *Brambre* answered, and confessed, with bitter Tears, that what he did, was most vile and wicked, and with an Intent only to murder and overthrow the said *Northampton* ; for which, craving Pardon of the young Man, being suddenly turned off, and the Executioner cutting his Throat, he died.

Behold, how pleasant and delightful it is to climb up to Honour ! I suppose it is better to live meanly at Home, with Quietness, among Poor Men, than to lord it among Princes, and, in the End, to climb a Ladder among Thieves. It is even better to undergo the Burden, than to assume the Name of Honour ; therefore, whosoever doth not regard the Laws, let them observe and consider the End of these Men, and with what Period they finished their Days.

These Men being dispatched, the Parliament discontinued their Proceedings against the rest of the Conspirators, till a more convenient Time ; and took into their Considerations, other more weighty Affairs of the Weal-Public. They made the Earl of *Arundel* Lord Admiral, giving him Authority to resist, and to repulse, either by Sea, or Land, the Enemies of the Crown, wheresoever he should find them.

And, it was farther agreed on ; That, for the appeasing of all private Discontents (if any were) the King, and the rest of the Appellants, with the rest of the Commissioners, should dine together, in the great Hall, which they did ; and there was great Joy, at this Reconciliation, thorough all the Kingdom.

When these Things were concluded, they then began again this Arraignment of the Traytors : Whereupon, *John Blake*, and *Thomas Uske*, were Indicted, on the 4th Day of *March* ; who, although they were Men of inferior Quality, yet were found to be Parties in the said Treason. *Uske* was a Sergeant at Arms, and was Indicted among the Conspirators ; so that being late made Sheriff of *Middlesex*, he had Indicted the Five Appellants, and the Commissioners, as Traytors ; and *Blake* was an Intelligencer of *Tressilian's*, one who used to go and come between the Conspirators, and relate the State and Success of the Treason, from one to another.

And, when they could say nothing to prove themselves clear, Sentence was pronounced upon them : And as their Masters were before them, they were carried to the Tower, and from thence were dragged at the Horse-tail to *Tyburn*, and there hanged.

But *Uske* obtained this Favour, that his Head was cut off after he was hanged, and set aloft upon *Newgate*, for Fowls of the Air to take Repast.

On the sixth Day of *March*, there were called to answer, *Robert Belknap*, *John Holt*, *Roger Falsborpe*, *William Burleigh*, *John Locton*, and *John Carey*, Baron of the Exchequer, for their Conspiracy against the Commissioners at *Nottingham* ; but because it is not needful to rehearse every Part of their Indictment, they were all condemned, like as the rest.

While the Peers were trying them, the Clergy were retired into the King's Chambers ; but, when Word was brought to them of the Condemnation of the Judges, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, arose hastily, and went into the Parliament-House, pouring forth their Complaints before the King, and the Peers,
humbly,

humbly, upon their Knees, beseeching them, that, for the Love of God, the Virgin *Mary*, and of all the Saints, even as they hoped to have Mercy at the Day of Judgment, they should shew Favour, and not put to Death the said Judges, then present, and bitterly bewailing their Iniquities; in whose Hearts, the very Life, Soul, and Spirit of our *English* Laws lived, flourished, and appeared: And there appeared great Sorrow, both on the one Part of the Complainants, and also of the Defendants.

The Duke of *Gloucester*, likewise, with the Earls of *Arundel*, *Warwick*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*, whose Hearts began to be mollified, joined with them in their lamentable Petition.

At length, through the Intercession of the Clergy, the Execution upon the Persons was ceased, and their Lives were granted them: But they were sent to the Tower to be kept close Prisoners.

On the 12th of *March*, being *Thursday*, it happened, that the afore said Knights, *Simon de Burleigh*, *John de Beauchamp*, *James Baroverse*, and *John Salisbury*, were brought into the Parliament-House, where their Accusations were read, proved, and they found Guilty, not being any Way able to clear themselves.

From this Day, almost, till the Ascension of our Lord, the Parliament-House was only taken up with the Trial of Sir *Simon Burleigh*; for three Appellants, *viz.* the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Earls of *Arundel* and *Warwick*, with the whole House of Commons, urged that Execution might be performed according to Law; and, on the other Side, the King and Queen, the Earls of *Darby* and *Nottingham*, and the Prior of *St. John*, his Uncle, with the major-part of the Upper-House, did labour to have him saved.

But, because the Commons were tired with so long Delays, and Excuses in the Parliament; and fearing, as it was most like, that all their Pains would be to little or no Purpose, they humbly craved Leave of the King, to go to their Habitations.

There was also some Muttering among the Common People; and it was reported to the Parliament, that the Commons did rise in divers Parts of the Realm, but especially about *Kent*, in Favour of the said Sir *Simon Burleigh*, which, when they heard, those who before spake and stood for him, now flew clean from him; and by joint Consent, on the Fifth Day of *May*, Sentence was pronounced only against the said Sir *Simon*; That he should be drawn from the Tower to *Tyburn*, and there to be hanged till he were dead; and then to have his Head struck from his Body. But, because he was a Knight of the Garter, a gallant Courtier, powerful, and once a Favourite of the King's, and much respected of all the Court, the King, of his special Grace, was pleased to mitigate his Doom, that he should only be led to *Tower-Hill*, and there be beheaded.

On the Twelfth of *May*, the *Thursday* before *Whitson-Tide*, in like Manner, were condemned *John Beauchamp*, Steward of the Household to the King, *James Bereverous*, *John Salisbury*, Knights, Gentlemen of the Privy-Chamber; whereof the two first, *viz.* *John Beauchamp*, and *James Bereverous*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill*; but *John Salisbury* was drawn from *Tower-Hill* to *Tyburn*, and there was hanged.

On the same Day, also, was condemned the Bishop of *Chichester*, the King's Confessor; but, because of his great Dignity, he was pardoned. Now they began to loath the shedding of so much Christian Blood, and so took into Consideration other more weighty Affairs, for the Good of the Realm, concerning the Wars with the *Scots* and *French*; concerning Loans and Subsidies, and of the Customs of Wine and Wooll.

And also, concerning the Translation of some Bishops; because Pope *Urban* the 6th, after it came to his Ears, that the Arch-Bishop of *York* was condemned, to avoid all

all Hope of Irregularity, he created him Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrew's* in *Scotland*, which Arch-Bishop was under the Power of *Scots*, Enemies to the Crown, and in the Gift of the Arch-Pope; and because the Pope did challenge Half the Title of all *England*, to maintain his Wars: But although he craved it, yet he was denied; therefore he dealt warily and craftily, hoping to make up his Mouth by the Translation of Bishops: The Bishop of *Ely*, then Lord Chancellor, was made Arch-Bishop of *York*; the Bishop of *Dublin* succeeded in his Place; the Bishop of *Sarum*, in his Place; and the Lord *John* of *Waltham*, Lord Keeper of the Privy-Seal, in his Place. And thus, by his Translation of Bishops, he gained much Money, according to the Laws of the Canon. And when this came to the Ears of the Parliament, that such a Sum of Money should be transported out of the Land, they strove, what they could, to hinder it; but could not, because the Clergy gave their Consent.

On the last Day of *May*, the King appointed both Houses to meet at *Kemington*, where they made a Conclusion of all the Trials of the said Treason; granting Licence to *Thomas Trenet*, *William Ellingham*, and *Nicholas Nagworth*, Knights, *Richard Melford*, *John Slake*, *John Lincoln*, Clerks, to put in Bail, provided they were sufficient, and to go into any Place of *England*, where they listed, without Let or Hinderance of any of the King's Officers.

Moreover, the Six Justices, with the Bishop of *Chichester*, who stood condemned with them, were sent into *Ireland*, there to remain for Term of Life; and thus they were to be divided, *viz.*

Robert Belknap, and *John Holt*, in the Village of *Dromore*, in *Ireland*; not to remain as Justices, or any Officers, but to live as banished Offenders; not to be out of Town above the Space of two Miles, upon Pain of Death: But the King, out of his Gracious Bounty, was pleased to give a Yearly Annuity of 40 Pounds to *Robert Belknap*, of 20 Marks to *John Holt*, during their Lives; and to *Roger Fulthorpe* the King allowed 40 Pounds, and to *William Burleigh*, 40 Pounds, during Life, confining them to the City of *Dublin*; granting *Burleigh* the Liberty of two Miles, and to *Fulthorpe* three Miles for their Recreation: *John Carey*, and *John Lofton*, with the Yearly Allowance of 20 Pounds, during Life, are confined to the Town of *Waterford*, with the like Liberty, and the like Penalty; and the Bishop of *Chichester* is likewise sent to *Cork*, there to remain, with some Allowance, and the like Penalty.

Behold these Men, who feared not God, nor regarded Men; but having the Laws in their own Hands, wrested them now this Way, now that Way, as pleased best their Appetites, wresting them at their Pleasures, for their own Commodity, were, at the last, brought down to the Depth of Misery, from whence they were never able to free themselves.

On the third Day of *June*, which was the last Day of the Parliament, the King, the Queen, the Peers of both Estates, with the Commons, came to the Abbey at *Westminster*, where the Bishop of *London*, because it was in his Diocese, sung *Mass*; and the *Mass* being ended, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* made an Oration concerning the Form and Danger of the Oath; which ended, although the Peers and Commons had taken the Oath of Allegiance, and Homage to the King, yet because the King was Young when they took it, the Oath was a-new administered to them, as at his Coronation.

These Ceremonies being over, the Metropolitan of *England*, with all his Suffragans there present, having lighted a Candle, and putting it under a Stool, put it out, thereby Excommunicating all such as should seem to distaste, dislike, or contradict any of the fore-passed Acts in the last Parliament: And the Lord Chancellor, by the King's Appointment, caused all who were present, to swear to keep the said Statutes

tutes inviolably whole and undissolved, as good and faithful Liege People of the King's. And the Form of the Parliament was observed throughout all the Realm.

On the Morrow, which was the fourth Day of *June*, many courteous Salutations, and Congratulations, having passed between the King, the Nobility and Commonalty, the Parliament was dissolved, and every Man returned Home.

And now let *England* rejoice in Christ, for that the Net, which was laid so cunningly for our Destruction, is broken asunder, and we are delivered. To God be the Praise for all.

The NAMES of such as were Charged and Condemned of HIGH-TREASON, in this aforesaid Memorable PARLIAMENT.

Alexander Nevill, *Arch-Bishop of York.*

Robert de Vere, *Duke of Ireland, who was Banished into France, where he was killed with a wild Boar.*

Michael de la Poole, *Earl of Suffolk, and Lord Chancellor.*

Robert Tresilian, *Lord Chief-Justice of the King's-Bench.*

Sir Nicholas Brambre, *sometime Lord-Mayor of the City of London, made a Privy-Counsellor.*

John Blake, *made a Serjeant at Arms.*

Thomas Uske, *an Intelligencer of Tresilian's.*

All these, except the Duke of Ireland, were Drawn and Hanged at the Elms, now called, Tyburn.

Robert Belknap,

John Holt,

Roger Falthorp,

William Burleigh,

John Locton,

John Carey, *Baron of the Exchequer.*

All these former Six named Men, were, as it seems, Judges; and although Condemned, yet their Lives were saved, at the Intercession of some of the guiltless Peers; and they afterwards were Banished into Ireland.

Sir Simon de Burleigh was also Condemned, and Beheaded. He was a Knight Banneret, and of the Garter, a great and gallant Courtier; and his Body lieth honourably buried and intombed in Paul's Church.

Sir John Branchamp, *Steward of the Household to the King; and,*

Sir James Beverouse, *were also Condemned and Beheaded at Tower-Hill.*

Sir John Salisbury was Condemned, drawn from Tower-Hill, and then Hanged.

There were also Detected, and Condemned of the aforesaid Treason,

The Bishop of Chichester, the King's Confessor.

Sir Thomas Trinet, *Knight.*

Sir William Ellingham, *Knight.*

Sir Nicholas Nagworth, *Knight.*

Richard Metford, *Clerk.*

John Slake, *Clerk.*

John Locton, *Clerk.*

An

AN ABSTRACT of many memorable MATTERS done by PARLIAMENTS in this Kingdom of England.

By Parliament, Sir Thomas Wayland, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 17 Edw. 1. was Attainted of Felony, for taking Bribes, and his Lands and Goods Forfeited; as appears in the Pleas of Parliaments, 18 Edward 1. And he was Banished the Kingdom, as unworthy to live in that State, against which he had so much offended.

By Parliament, Sir William Thorpe, Chief Justice of the King's-Bench, in Edw. the 3d's Time, having, of five Persons, received five several Bribes, which, in all, amounted to but One Hundred Pounds, was, for this alone, adjudged to be Hanged, and all his Goods and Lands Forfeited.

The Reason of the Judgment is entered in the Roll in these Words :

Because that, as much as in him lay, he had broken the King's Oath, made to the People, which the King had intrusted him withal.

By Parliament, holden Anno 22. Hen. the Second, assembled at Nottingham, and, by Advice thereof, the King caused the Kingdom to be divided into Six Parts, and Justices Itinerants appointed for every Part, with an Oath, by them to be taken for themselves, to observe and cause inviolably to be observed, of all his Subjects of England, the Assizes made at Claringdon, and renewed at Northton.

By Parliament, in the 11th of Edw. the First, the Dominion of Wales was united to the Crown of England. In the Parliament in Anno 16 of Edw. the First, 1289, upon the general Accounts made of the Ill Administration of Justice, in the King's Absence, by divers great Officers, and Ministers of Justice, these Penalties were inflicted upon the chief Ministers thereof, whose manifest Corruptions, the Hatred of the People, to Men of that Profession (apt to abuse their Science and Authority) the Necessity of reforming so grievous a Mischief in the Kingdom, gave easily therunto, by the Parliament, then assembled; wherein, upon due Examinations of their Offences, they are Fined to pay to the King these Sums following :

First, Sir Ralph Hengham, Chief-Justice of the Higher Bench, seven Thousand Marks.

Sir John Loveton, Justice of the Lower Bench, three Thousand Marks.

Sir William Brompton, Justice, six Thousand Marks.

Sir Solomon Rochester, four Thousand Marks.

Sir Richard Boyland, four Thousand Marks.

Sir Thomas Sadington, two Thousand Marks.

Sir Walter Hopton, two Thousand Marks.

These four last were Justices Itinerants.

Sir William Saham, three Thousand Marks.

Robert Lithbury, Master of the Rolls, one Thousand Marks.

Roger Leicester, one Thousand Marks.

Henry Bray, Escheator, and Judge for the Jews, one Thousand Marks. But Sir Adam Stratton, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, was Fined in four and thirty Thousand Marks.

These Fines, as the Rate of Money goes now, amount to near three Hundred Thousand Marks: A mighty Treasure to be gotten out of the Hands of so few Men, which
how

how they could amass, in those Days, when Litigation and Law had not spread itself into those infinite Wreatnings of Contention (as since it hath) may seem strange even to our greater-getting Times !

In the Parliament, Anno 2. of Edward the Third, held at Nottingham, that great Aspirer, Mortimer, was Accused and Condemned, and sent up to London, and drawn and hanged at the common Gallows at the Elms, now called Tyburn.

In the 5th Year of the Reign of Edward the Third, Anno Dom. 1376, was held a Parliament at Westminster, which was called, The Great Parliament ; where were divers Complaints exhibited by the Parliament, charging the King's Officers with Fraud, and humbly craving, That the Duke of Lancaster ; the Lord Latimer, then Lord Chamberlain ; Dame Alice Percy, the King's Concubine ; and one Sir Richard Sturry, might be removed from Court. Their Complaints and Desires are so vehemently urged, by their Speaker, Sir Peter la Moore, that all these Persons were presently put from Court.

By Parliaments, all the wholesome, fundamental Laws of this Land, were, and are established, and confirmed.

By Act of Parliament, the Pope's Power and Supremacy, and all Superstition and Idolatry, are abrogated, abolished, and banished out of this Land.

By Act of Parliament, God's true Religion, Worship, and Service, are maintained and established.

By Act of Parliament, the two famous Universities of Cambridge and Oxford, have many wholesome and helpful Immunities.

By Parliament, one Pierce Gaveston, a great Favourite, and notable Misleader of King Edw. 2. was removed, banished, and, afterwards, by the Lords, executed: So were Hugh Spencer, the Father, and Hugh, the Son.

By Parliament, Empson and Dudley, two notable Pollers of the Common-wealth, by exacting Penal Laws on the Subjects, were discovered, and afterwards executed.

By Parliament, the damnable Gun-Powder Treason (hatched in Hell) is recorded to be had in perpetual Infamy.

By Parliament, one Sir Giles Mompesson, a modern Caterpillar, and Poller of the Common-wealth, by exacting upon Inn-holders, &c. was discovered, degraded from Knighthood, and banished by Proclamation.

By Parliament, Sir Francis Bacon, made, by King James, Baron Verulam, and Viscount St. Alban's and Lord Chancellor of England very grievous to the Common-wealth, by Bribery, was discovered and displaced.

By Parliament, Sir John Bennit, Judge of the Prerogative Court, pernicious to the Common-wealth, in his Place, was discovered, and displaced.

By Parliament, Lionel Cranfield (sometimes a Merchant of London) made, by K. James, Earl of Middlesex, and Lord-Treasurer of England, burisful, in his Place, to the Common wealth, was discovered, and displaced.

By Parliament, one Sir Francis Mitchell, a jolly Justice of Peace, for Middlesex, in the Suburbs of London ; another notable Canker-worm of the Common-wealth, by Corruption, in exacting the Penal Laws upon poor Alehouse-keepers, and Victuallers, &c. was discovered, degraded from Knighthood, and utterly disabled for being Justice of Peace.

By Parliament, Spain's late Fraud was discovered ; and, by Act, the two Treaties, with that perfidious Nation, for the Match of the Prince, our now gracious King, and Restitution of the Palatinate, were dissolved and annihilated ; both which had cost the King, and his Subjects, much Money, and much Blood. We may remember, that that sage Counsellor of State, Sir William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, and Lord Treasurer of England, was oft-times heard to say, He knew not what an Act of Parlia-

ment might not do : *Which sage Saying was approved by King James, and, by his Majesty, alledged in one of his published Speeches.*

Which being so, now the Face of Christendom being, at this present, so torn, and miserably macerated, and the Christian World distracted; the Gospel, in all Places, almost persecuted; both Church and Common-wealth, where the Gospel is professed, in all Places beyond the Seas, lying a bleeding (as we may say) and we, ourselves, at Home, not without Fear and Danger. To conclude, What Good may we hope, and pray for, by this present, and other ensuing Parliaments? the only Means to rectify, and remedy Matters, in Church and Common-wealth much amiss.

The CHARACTER.

RICHARD, Son of the valiant, and victorious Edward, the Black Prince, was Born at Bourdeaux, and Grand-child to King Edward the Third, being eleven Years old, began his Reign the twenty-first Day of June, in the Year of our Lord 1377, and was Crowned King, at Westminster, the sixteenth of July. In Beauty, Bounty, and Liberality, he far passed all his Progenitors; but was over-much given to Ease and Quietness, little regarding Military Matters of Arms: And, being young, was most ruled by young Counsel, regarding little the Counsel of the sage and wise Men of the Realm; which Thing turned this Land to great Trouble, and himself to extream Misery: For, being first Disgraced, by his Cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Hereford, Son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, he was, at length, by him (with the general Consent of the whole Parliament) Deposed from his Crown and Kingdom, the 29th of September 1399, and committed to Prison, and, afterwards, wickedly murdered. For, being sent to Pomfret Castle, to be safely kept, and Princely maintained, he was, shortly after, by King Henry's Direction, and Commandment (who fearing lest his Estate might be shaken while King Richard lived) wickedly Assaulted, in his Lodging, by Sir Piers of Exton, and eight other armed Men; from one of which, with a Princely Courage, he wrested a Brown Bill, and therewith slew four of them; fought with all the rest, until, coming by his own Chair, (in which the base, cowardly Knight, himself, stood for his own Safety) he was, by him, stricken with a Pole-Axe, in the Hinder-part of his Head, that, presently, he fell down, and died, when he had Reigned 22 Years, 14 Weeks, and two Days.

More memorable Things done by PARLIAMENTS.

BT Parliament, Richard Montague, (since made Bishop of Chichester, and now Bishop of Norwich) his pernicious Book, intitled, *Apello Cæsarem*, (first consulted by Doctor Carlton, then Bishop of Chichester, and divers other Reverend Orthodox Divines) was displayed, and, by Proclamation, Dated 1628, the Book was called in, and prohibited; and he, the said Montague, was discovered to be a notable Unorthodox Man, &c.

By Parliament, Roger Manwayring, Dr. of Divinity, and Parson of St. Giles's in the Fields, and the King's Chaplain, was discovered to be an Unorthodox Man, and

and brought, on his Knees, to the Bar of the Honourable House of Parliament; and the Book of his two seditious, printed Sermons, against Parliaments, intituled, Religion and Allegiance, was, by Proclamation, called in, and prohibited; and he, the said Manwayring, was Censured, and Deprived of his Livings; not to come near the Court, nor to exercise, or use any Ministerial Office, &c. But, notwithstanding, soon after the fatal Dissolution of ~~that~~ Parliament, 1629, he, the said Manwayring, by the Power of a little, great Prelate, was, not only restored to his former Livings, but, soon after, he was preferred, and made Dean of Worcester, afterwards a Bishop; and is now Bishop of St. David's, the first Bishoprick in Wales.

And in as much, as so many memorable Things have been done by Parliaments, some whereof, in former Times, have, indeed, done no less, than write Wonders; for Reformation of Corruptions, and Grievances, and exemplary Executions in the State, and Common-wealth. And seeing, the other Day, viz. the 22d of February, there was that Correspondence, and happy Agreement, betwixt his Sacred Majesty, and both the Houses of Parliament, now sitting; which made the Evening of that Day, crowned with Bonfires, and Bells ringing for Joy. Let us not cease to pray, and beseech the Lord of Hosts, ~~still so to unite the Heart of the King's Majesty to the Parliament~~ (his Great Council) that the Upper and Lower Houses may unanimously agree, and be reciprocally united to the King; that many Matters, now much amiss, in Church and Common-wealth, may be reformed; and this Year may be accounted, *Annus Aureus*; and that this present Parliament, begun this Year, may be inscribed, and engraven in Marble, and in Letters of Gold.

By Parliament, the Earl of Strafford, Deputy of Ireland, grievous to the Common-wealth, was discovered; and, after an honourable Tryal, was Attainted of High-Treason, for which he suffered Death, May the 12th, 1641.

SACRED TO MEMORY

POSTERITY THE (LONG EXPECTED)

HAPPY PARLIAMENT,

Begun M. DC. XL.

Ended and made a Session.

Vivat Rex, Floreat Regnum, Bene valeat Parliamentum.
Hallelujah.

CERTAIN

OBSERVATIONS

Touching the Two GREAT OFFICES of the
Seneschalsey, or High-Stewardship,

AND
High-Constableness of ENGLAND.

L O N D O N, Printed for L. Chapman, Octob. 17. 1642.

THE *Seneschalsey, or High Stewardship* of England, is known to be the greatest Office in England, by reason of the Authority it hath over all other Officers, which, since the Norman Conquest, hath long continued, by Descent, inheritably in the Family of the ancient Earls of *Leicester*, after translated to the House of *Lancaster*; and, by K. *Henry* the Fourth, of that Stock, when he had obtained the Crown, was incorporate into the same; as all other the Honours, Lands, and Hereditaments of that House were. For the plainer Manifestation thereof, it will serve well to the Purpose, before the Office it self be described, to shew the first Institution thereof, and to recount, in Order, the Succession of the Officers, while it passed inheritably.

It is, therefore, to be understood, that, among the Persons of chiefest Account, which entered this Kingdom, with Duke *William* of *Normandy*, and were Assistant unto him, in the Conquest thereof, one *Hugh Grauntmesuel*, a Baron of *Normandy*, was of special Reckoning; whose Father, *Robert* of *Grauntmesuel*, one of the chiefest Noblemen of all *Normandy*, retained at Home with him, for his own Comfort, and for the Preservation of this Stock, the Elder of them, named *Robert*, who succeeded him in all the Inheritance in *Normandy*; but sent with the Duke, his second Son, called, Sir *Hugh* of *Grauntmesuel*, who so demeaned in the Enterprize, that when, by Conquest, and Strong Hand, the whole Kingdom was subdued by the *Normans*, their Duke, regarding the good Service of those who adventured, and laboured with him, forgot not the Praise-worthy Deserts of this Nobleman; whom, therefore, he rewarded liberally, with sundry great Territories, and Portions of Land, in many Shires of the Realm; as, namely, with those great Lordships, *Peberworth*, *Mere-*
stone,

Stone, Quenington, Weston and Wilcot, in Gloucestershire; with divers Lands in *Ferrendow, Meristow, Thorp, Wellington, Staverton, Mereford, Newbottle, Middleton, Sutton, Biveld, Wodesford, Edgdow, and Ceroilton, in Northamptonshire*; with *Witchingston, and Hinkley, in Leicestershire*; with divers Lands in *Edwolton, and Sandy-Acre, in Nottinghamshire*; and with *Ley, in Suffolk*; as appeareth by the Record in the Exchequer, commonly called *Domesday*. Moreover, he made him High-Seneschal, or Steward of the whole Kingdom, according to the *Norman Usage*; a Dignity never heard of in this Land before; and did farther advance him in Marriage, with a great Lady, Inheretrix of sundry Possessions, named, *Adalifa, or Alice*, on whom he got two Daughters, his Heirs; the Elder of them, called, *Petronelle, or, Pernell*, was married unto *Robert, Earl of Leicester*, Sur-named, *Avec les blanches Mains*, that is, *Robert, with the white Hands*; who was the Son of *Robert le Rossa, Earl of Leicester*; who was Son unto *Robert of Beaumont, Lord of Pont Adomare, and Earl of Mellent, in Normandy*, Brother to Sir *Henry of Newburgh*, the first Earl of *Warwick*, after the Conquest; unto whom the said *Pernell* brought the one Moiety of her Father's Possessions; and withal, for Increase, because she was the Eldest Daughter, together with the Honours of *Hinkley*, the Office of Seneschalsey, or High-Stewardship of *England*; which were not partable, as the other Inheritances were.

The Younger of the said Sir *Hugh Grauntmesuel's* Daughters, called, after her Mother, *Adalifa*, was given in Marriage unto one *Roger Bygot, a Norman*, with the other Moiety of her Father's Possessions; unto whom she bare divers Sons and Daughters; from the Eldest whereof, named, *Hugh Bygot*, who was the first Earl of the *East-Angles* of this Family, containing, *Norfolk and Suffolk*, the other *Bygots*, who were after Earls of *Norfolk*, are lineally descended: Between which two Families Contention had often been, about the Office of Stewardship; whereof, in this Place to note what is set down in the Record of the Exchequer, called, *The Red Book*, is not impertinent to this Purpose, where it is said; That on the *Sunday before Candlemas-Day*, in the 20th Year of the Reign of *K. Henry*, the Son of *K. John*, commonly called, *K. Henry the Third*, at the Coronation of his Wife, *Q. Eleanor*, who was the Earl of *Provence's* Daughter, *Simon of Mountfort*, then Earl of *Leicester*, and High-Steward of *England*, lineally descended of the before-named *Parnell*, being ready, the Day of the Coronation, to execute his Office of High-Steward, which, by Right, appertained unto him, was forbidden, and gainsaid by *Roger Bygot*, then Earl of *Norfolk*, who, being descended from the before named *Adalifa*, the Younger of Sir *Hugh Grauntmesuel's* Daughters, alledged, That it was his Right to exercise that Office: Which Controversy (as also divers others then moved) was heard judicially before the King. Unto whom Earl *Simon* replying, answered; That it was true, that Contention had been heretofore moved, between their Ancestors, for the same Matters, in the Days of King *John*, the King's Father, which was compounded, and pacified for the Service of ten Knights, or rather ten Knights Fees, given by the Earl of *Leicester*, unto the Earl of *Norfolk*, who therefore released all his Title and Right to the Stewardship.

Whereunto, because Earl *Roger of Norfolk* alledged, who there rested, of these Knights Fees, two and a half to be assigned unto him, Earl *Simon* made Answer; That he might well recover them, with the Arrearages, by the Laws of the Land, in the King's Court, and ought not therefore to hinder him in the Execution of his Office, seeing he acknowledged the former Accord; and, by Virtue of the same, was already in quiet Possession of seven Knights Fees, and a half. And so was Earl *Simon*, by the King's own Doom and Sentence, admitted to the quiet Exercise of the Seneschalsey, at the same Coronation.

And now, to return where we left, *Robert Earl of Leicester*, that wedded Dame *Parnell*, was High Seneschal, or Steward of *England*; and was the Man, for whose Great-

Greatness of Stomach, the Walls of the Town of *Leicester* were rased to the Ground, because he took Part with the young King *Henry*, against his Father, King *Henry* the Second, as Histories make Mention, on her he begat Sons and Daughters; and after, in the Days of King *Richard* the First, warring in the *Holy-Land*, was slain at the Siege of *Acon*, in the Year of our Lord God, 1190, whose Eldest Son, *Robert*, Surnamed, after his Mother, *Fitz-Parnell*, was, after his Death, Earl of *Leicester*, and High-Steward of *England*; of whom many worthy Acts are by Histories remembered, both of his Prowers in the Field, and Fidelity to King *Richard* the First, with whom he continued, as a most faithful Companion, during the *Palestine* Wars; was Partaker of his evil Fortune, by being taken there Prisoner; compelled to pay for his Redemption 2000 Marks of Silver; and therefore constrained to sell his Castle of *Platēy*, in *Normandy*.

But, to be brief, and not to stay upon the Narration of these Things. It serveth only to the Purpose, to note; That he was one of our High Seneschals, and, dying without Issue of his Body, in the Year of our Lord God, 1204, was buried in the Abbey of *Preux*, near *Leicester*, leaving his two Sisters to be his Heirs; between whom, the whole Inheritance was divided, in the Days of King *John*. *Amicitia*, the Eldest Sister, was married to *Simon* of *Mountfort*, Younger Brother to *Almaric*, Earl of *Evreux*, in *Normandy*. And *Margaret*, the Youngest, was Wife unto *Saber* of *Quency*, whom King *John* made Earl of *Winchester*, unto whom she brought the one Half of the Earldom of *Leicester*, and of the Honour of *Hinckley*; and, among other Lands, the Mannor of *Grobye*, *Quiwick*, *Shepeshend*, *Hales*, *Brackley*, *South-Keston*, *Timisbury*, and *Chimnومere*. *Simon* of *Mountfort*, according to the Law and Custom of the Land, was, in the Right of his Wife, being the Elder Sister, made Earl of *Leicester*, and High Seneschal of *England*, in the Days of King *John*; but he enjoyed not long those Honours, being, for his Contumacy and Disobedience, both he, and his Children, shortly after, banished the Land, and his Honours and Possessions bestowed on Earl *Randolph* of *Chester*, who held them a great Time, except only the Patronage of the Abby of *Preux*, near *Leicester*, and the Office of the Stewardship of *England*; which the King kept in his own Hands.

This Earl *Simon*, a great Warriour, was Head and Leader of the young *French* King *Lodowic's* Forces, fighting against the *Albigenses*, about the City of *Tbolause*, where he was after slain. These *Albigenses*, because they began to smell the *Pope's* Treachery, and to controul the inordinate Proceedings and Discipline of the See of *Rome*, the *Pope*, therefore, accounting them as People Heretical, excited the *French* King to lay Siege against the said City of *Tbolause*, to expugn those *Albigenses*, his Enemies: But such was the mighty Protection of God, fighting for his People, against the Might of Man, that the *French* could do no Good, with all their Engines and Artilleries, against the City; but were forced to retire, with great Loss of People; among whom, this Earl *Simon* of *Mountfort*, General of the Army, to whom the *Pope* had given, a little before, the Earl of *Tbolause's* Land, was slain with a Stone, before the Gate of the City, in the Year of our Lord God 1219; as, likewise, was a Brother of his, besieging of a Castle near unto *Tbolause*, at the same Time. He left two Sons of great Fame; Earl *Almaric* of *Mountfort*, Constable of *France*, who was taken Prisoner in the *Holy-Land*; and, after his Redemption, in returning Homeward, died at *Adriantum* in *Italy*, Anno 1241. And *Simon*, the Younger, who, after obtaining the good Grace and Favour of King *Henry* the 3d, whose Sister he married, was restored to the Earldom of *Leicester*, and to the Integrity of his Father's lost Honours, and Patrimonies in *England*. A Man was he of great Courage, and Renown, well-experienced in the Wars, and in Matters of Government; for, long Time had he been Seneschal, and Governor of the Country of *Gascoigne*, for the King of *England*, his Brother-in-Law; which, of his own Accord,

Accord, he resigned, contrary to the King's Mind, who greatly desired to retain him in good Affection towards him; both because he was a Man of great Power, wise, and valiant, and for that the *French* laboured to make him their Seneschal: But such was the Earl's Hap, that, in the new-begun Variance, between King *Henry* and his Nobles, for not observing the Laws of the Land, especially such new Decrees as had been made at *Oxford*, for the expelling of Strangers out of the Realm, he was chosen chief Captain and Leader of the Nobility; and, for the Time, so much prevailed in the Enterprize, that the King was, by them, taken in the Battel, near *Lewes*, in *Sussex*, together with his Eldest Son, and the King of the *Romans*, his Brother. Howbeit, the King's Eldest Son, escaping out of their Hands, renewed the War, and, at *Evesham*, in Battel, slew this Earl *Simon*, and delivered his Father from the Hands of his Enemies, in *Anno* 1265, which was the 48th Year of the Reign of King *Henry* 3.

Those who took Part with Earl *Simon*, were disinherited, and their Lands given to such as stood with the King. Divers fled the Realm, and, among them, *Simon* and *Guy*, and the other Sons of this Earl, who escaped into *France*, leaving no Posterity in this Land.

The King, afterwards, gave the Earldom of *Leicester* to his Younger Son *Edmond*, who was the first Earl of *Lancaster*, and to his Heirs; which ever afterwards continued in the House of *Lancaster*, who bear the Title of *Leicester's* Earldom; and withal, held and enjoyed the Office of the High-Stewardship of *England*, until the same, with all other the Honours, Lands and Hereditaments thereunto belonging, was united to the Crown, in the Days of King *Henry* the 4th, being of that Stock; till that now, of late, it pleased the most Noble, and Vertuous Princess, Queen *Elizabeth*, our Gracious Sovereign, to revive the Honour and Title of *Leicester's* Earldom, in the Person of the Right Noble Lord, *Robert* of *Dudley*, Younger Brother, and Heir to the Right Noble Lord, *Ambrose*, Earl of *Warwick*, and Viscount *Lisle*; both Sons to the High and Mighty Prince, *John*, late Duke of *Northumberland*, lineally descended, and Heir in Blood of the Bodies of *Robert* of *Beaumont*, Earl of *Mellent*, Ancestor to the before-mentioned Earls of *Leicester*, and of *Henry* of *Newburg*, Earl of *Warwick*, Ancestor to the Earl's Son, both Brethren, as before hath been declared, and living in the Time of the *Norman* Conquest, as more plainly is shewed by Pedigrees deduced.

Thus much declared by Way of Preface, or Ingression to the Matter in Hand; and to shew, that the Office of High-Stewardship of *England* hath heretofore passed Inheritably, in divers Families, as other great Offices have done.

It remaineth now to declare what these Stewardships are, with the Authorities, and Prerogations to them belonging, and to produce such Notes and Observations, as are extant touching the same.

And to begin with the chiefest, the Seneschalsey, or Stewardship *Seneschal*. of *England*: As it is not to be doubted of, but that it took its Beginning from the *Normans*, and was, by them, first established in this Land, after their great Conquest, and Victory over the *English Saxons*, in the Year of our Lord God 1066, by the Example of their Home Government in *Normandy*; where the Duke had under him, for his chiefest Officer, a Seneschal, or Steward; so cannot the Right of this Office be better, or in briefer Sort, described, than by setting down the Office of the Duke's Steward, faithfully in such Sort, as it is to be seen written in the old Customary Book of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, in these Words following.

In

IN Times past, was wont to wander throughout *Normandy*, a certain Justicier, greater than these before-mentioned, who was called, the Prince's Seneschal, or Steward. He was wont to perfect and amend that which the other Justiciers had left undone; he kept the Prince's Land; the Laws and Rights of *Normandy*, he caused to be observed; and amended all that was not right done by the Bailiffs, whom he removed from the Prince's Service, if he saw it expedient so to do.

He was once to visit the Prince's Forests and Inclosures; to keep Courts of the Forests; to inquire how they were used; their Customs he commanded to be observed, delivering Right to every one, as the same by Antiquity became due, or, by Charter had been confirmed unto them; so discreetly conserving the Prince's Rights, that, in the Observation of them, he, notwithstanding, hurt none of his Subjects. Such as, upon diligent Inquiry, he found faulty, and to forfeit, within the Forest, either in Trees, or in wild Beasts, or in free Fowl, he was wont to punish by the Purse; or for want of Ability that Way, by long Imprisonment. He chiefly gave his Mind to keep the Country in Peace; and so, wandering hither and thither, throughout *Normandy*, once every three Years, did he visit all the Parts and Bailiages thereof.

To him it belonged, to make Inquiry in every Bailiage, of the Excess and Wrongs done by Under-Justiciers; and, likewise of common Robbers, of violent Desflowerers of Virgins, of Murders, of Burnings, and of all those Things which belong to the Pleas of the Sword, whereof Peace and Reformation had not been had in Courts. Of all other Criminal Facts, he likewise diligently searched, and, upon Inquiry, caused Justice to be done throughout. He caused Inquiry to be made of Treasure digged under Ground; of Wrecks cast upon Sands, and other the Prince's Rights. The removing of Waters, and the stopping and hindering of their Courses, did he reduce unto their old Form, so as their Passage might be hurtful to no body. If any Man were minded to turn the Course of any Water, running thorow his own Grounds, the Banks whereof, on either Side, were situated within his own Fee, he might lawfully do it, so as the said Water, when it passed out of his Ground, might be conveyed into its own Channel, without any Man's Hurt, or Hinderance. It is to be understood, notwithstanding, that none may stop the Course of any ordinary running Streams, within his Banks, or Ditches, longer than from the rising to the going down of the Sun. Neither may any one stay the Course of Waters, with any new Ponds, Ditches, or Sluices, but shall permit them to run their Course, lest the Mills, standing upon their Streams, or Men, in their Affairs (Tanners, Dyers, and such like) should thereby suffer Loss and Detriment. If any shall stay them, for the filling up of his Pools or Ponds, they shall be bound to restore such Losses as the Milners, or others, living by the Passage of those Waters, shall have sustained, by the with-holding of them; and Waters shall be suffered to run their accustomed Course. No Man may erect a Fishing, or build a Mill, unless the Water-Banks, on either Side, be within his own Fee, wherein he hath Liberties, Wears, or other such-like Things: For Fishings may not be made in running Streams, because, by them, oftentimes, the Waters are corrupted; yet, notwithstanding, they may bring the Waters, by Ditches and Trenches, out of the running River, so as the same return not back into the running Stream.

It belongeth, also, unto the Steward, to cause the Bounds and Limits of Towns and Villages; the Streets and Paths to be revoked to their ancient State, and to see that old accustomed High-ways be opened: For no Man may, in these Cases, alledge, for Excuse, any Lett or Hinderance, wherefore he ought not to make due Amends unto the Prince. As for Town-Ditches, and common Streets, which serve to no private Persons Possessions, but are common unto all; if they be, by any, usurped, or incroached upon, they ought to be restored to the common Benefit; and they who do occupy them, ought not to escape Punishment.

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All these Things appertain unto the Office and Charge of the Seneschal, for the due Execution whereof there needeth not neither Plea nor Assize; but wheresoever he found Cause, he did therein, and provided, as he saw needful and expedient.

Thus far-forth, is the High-Steward's Office described in the old Customary Book of *Normandy*, from whence came the first Institution of the same, with us, in this Kingdom; established, no doubt, with no less Authority and Privilege here, under the Kings of this Land, than the same was then practised under the Dukes of that Dutchy; whereof there is an especial Title written; though nothing Clerk-like, among other Matter, in an old Book of Parchment, belonging, as it is said, unto the learned Lawyer, and skillful Antiquary, Master *William Fleetwood*, Esq; one of the Serjeants at the Law, and Recorder of the City of *London*, which Word for Word followeth.

Here is shewed, Who is to be High-Steward of England; and what his Office is.

THE Seneschally, or High-Stewardship of *England*, belongeth to the Earldom of *Leicester*, and of old Time did thereunto appertain: And it is to be understood, that it is his Office, under, and immediately after the King, to oversee and govern the whole Kingdom of *England*; and all the Offices of the Justice, within the same Kingdom, in all Times, both of Peace and War, in Manner following.

The Manner how, and when the Lord High-Steward ought to exercise his Office, by Duty, and Oath of Fealty, is such.

Whensoever any Man or Woman shall come into the King's Court, whatsoever Court it be, and possibly unto the King himself, to seek for Redress, against Injury done unto them; and he, or she, be not able, in due Season, to obtain Remedy, then the High-Steward of *England* ought, and is bound to receive their Petitions and Complaints, and to keep them until the next Parliament then after to be holden, and to assign unto such Complainants, if he think good, a Day wherein they may exhibit and prosecute their Petitions; and in full Parliament, in the Presence of the King, to reprehend and blame that Officer, or those Officers, whoever they be, that so they failed in doing of Justice; and those thereof call to Account, unto whom, in such Cases, every one throughout the Kingdom is bound to answer, the King only excepted.

If the Chancellors of *England* have failed of making original Remedy, and Amends, and the Justices, Treasurers, Barons and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Steward of the King's House, Escheators, Coroners, Sheriffs, Clerks, Bayliffs and other Officers, of what Places and Respects soever they be, in their Processess, Judgments, Executions of Judgments, and Justice to be made to the Favour of the one, and Loss of the other Party, for Gifts, Bribes, or other Procurements, shall fail, or give over, at the least-wise; if any Justicier, when as both Parties pleading before them, shall stand in Judgment, shall, by such false Procurements, defer Judgment, contrary to Justice, and the Laws and Customs of the Land: If then the Chancellor of *England*, or any other of the King's Officers, in such Case, shall alledge in Parliament, and say for their Excuse, That in that Case such Hardness and Doubtfulness of the Law and Rights did arise, when the same was heard, and propounded before them; that neither he, nor the Court of Chancery, or any other Court wherein he is

an Officer, were able, or knew to attain unto the safe Determination of the Right : Then shall he open and declare the same Ambiguity and Doubt in Parliament : Then if it be found that the Law was doubtful in that Case, the Chancellor, or other Officer, shall be held excused ; and then shall the High-Steward of *England*, together with the Constable of *England*, in the Presence of the King, and other of the Parliament, make Choice of twenty-five Persons, more or less, according as the Case shall require ; together with such other Cases in that Parliament rehearsed ; among whom shall be Earls, Barons, Knights of the Shire, Citizens and Burgeses, who there shall ordain, agree upon, and establish Remedy by Law, in such Cases, for ever after to endure : And those Laws shall be recited, written and allowed in full Parliament, and sealed with the Great Seal, and delivered forth to all Places of Law and Justice, from thence forward to be holden for Laws ; and in public Places, where it shall be thought expedient, they shall be proclaimed and divulged ; whereas all other Common Laws, and chiefly Statute Laws, throughout the whole Kingdom, ought to be publickly proclaimed.

If so it happen, that there was, in such like Case, either Common Law, or Statute Law, so that the King's Steward, and others of the Parliament, may understand, and perceive, that such Default and Delays, in Processes and Judgment, do happen by such Officers ; when as the Deceit and Malice of such Officer hath openly, and often before been apparent, then shall he be removed out of his Office, and some other fit Officer put in his Place. If they shall presume against the Justices, and such other Officers, as by excusing themselves, shall say, That they have not heretofore known themselves and the Courts, whereby they are, in such Cases, to deliberate and take Advise ; then shall they be admonished by the Steward, on the Behalf of the King and Parliament, to study, and search better the Common Law, that no such Ignorance, or Negligence be found in them, in the like Cases afterward.

If they shall happen to offend in the like again, they are then to be put out of their Offices, and other discreeter and more diligent Persons, shall, by the King and his Council, be assigned to their Rooms.

Likewise it is the Steward's Office, if the King have evil Counsellors about him, who advise him to do Things tending openly and publickly to his Dishonour, or to the Disinheritance, or public Hurt and Destruction of his People.

Then the Steward of *England*, taking with him the Constable, and other great Estates, and other of the Commonality, shall send to such a Counsellor, forbidding him in such Sort to lead and counsel the King, and of such his evil Counsel shall make Rehearsal, injoining him to depart from the King's Presence, and longer not to abide with him to his Dishonour, and the public Hurt, as is aforesaid, which if he should not do, they shall send unto the King, to remove him from him, and to give no more Ear unto his Counsel ; for that among the People he is esteemed to be an evil Counsellor to the King against his Subjects.

If hereupon the King do not put him away, again, and often shall they send as well unto the King as unto him.

If at the last, neither the King, nor such Counsellor of his, have Regard unto the Messages and Requests made unto them, but shall refuse to do thereafter ; then, for the Weal-Public, it is lawful for the Steward, Constable of *England*, Noblemen, and other of the Commonality of the Realm, with Banner in the King's Name displayed, to apprehend such Counsellor, as a common Enemy to the King and the Realm, to commit his Body to Ward until the next Parliament, and in the mean Time, to seize upon all his Goods, Lands and Possessions, till Judgment be pronounced of him, by the Advice of the whole Kingdom in Parliament, as it happened unto *Godwin*, Earl of *Kent*, in the Days of King *Edward* the Confessor,

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next Predecessor to *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, Conqueror of *England*, who for such ill Acts and Counsels of his, was deprived of his Earldom, eicheated to the aforesaid King, notwithstanding, at the King's and Noblemens' Permission, *Godwin* came again into *England*, and did after forfeit as before.

And as it happened likewise to *Hubert* of *Burgh*, Earl of *Kent*, in the Time of King *Henry*, who was Son of King *John*, who for his evil Deeds and bad Counsel, was apprehended, and, by the High Seneschal and other Peers, deprived of his Earldom, by the Allowance and Consent of the whole Parliament.

And likewise did it befall unto *Pierce*, of *Gavestone*, who, in the Days of King *Edward*, the Son of King *Henry*, for such his evil Acts and Counsels, was banished out of all the King of *England's* Dominions, as well on this Side, as beyond the Seas, which *Pierce*, of *Gavestone*, afterwards by the King's Means, and by the Favour and Permission of the Nobility, returned into *England*, and had of the King's Gift, the Earldom of *Cornwal*, yet was he after that for his evil Deeds and Counsels banished the Realm again, by the Nobles and Commons, and his aforesaid Earldom escheated to the King, but returned afterwards without the Noblemens' Leave and Consent, and did resort and associate himself unto the King, as before he had done, which, when the High-Constable, and others of the Nobility, understood, he was, by them apprehended, and beheaded at *Blacklow*, in *Warwickshire*, as a public Enemy to the King, and to the Realm.

So have you as much as in the said old Book is to be seen, touching the Office of the High-Steward of *England*.

After the Death of any King, or Queen, absolute of this Land, the High-Steward of *England*, by Virtue of his Office, sitteth judicially, and keepeth his Court in the *White-Hall* of the King's Palace, at *Westminster*, near unto the King's Chappel, and there receiveth the Bills and Petitions of all such of the Nobility, and others, as by reason of their Tenure, or otherwise, claim to do Services at the new King's Coronation, and to receive the Fees and Allowances therefore due and accustomed. As did *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Leicester*, High-Steward of *England*, &c. at the Coronation of King *Richard* the Second; and *Tho. Pierce*, Earl of *Worcester*, who exercised the same Office at the Coronation of King *Henry* the Fourth, as Substitute and Deputy to *Thomas*, the Son of the said King *Henry*, being very young, unto whom his Father had assigned that Office, being Parcel of his own Inheritance; who, before he had obtained the Crown, was not only Duke of *Lancaster*, as his Father *John* of *Gaunt* had been, but also was Earl of *Darby*, *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Hereford* and *Northampton*; and, by the Earldom of *Leicester*, inheritably also Lord High-Steward of *England*.

And, since the Time that the said Office hath been extinct in the Crown, by the Descent of the same unto King *Henry* the Fourth, as Heir to Dame *Blanch*, his Mother, Daughter and Heir to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, Earl of *Leicester*, and High-Steward of *England*, Experience sheweth, that, upon the Arraignment and Trial of any Peer of the Realm, that is to say, Duke, Marquis, Earl, Viscount, or Baron, or any of their Wives, or Widows, upon Indictment of Treason, or Felony, it was usual to grant the Office of the High-Stewardship of *England* (*pro illa vice tantum*) to some Peer of the Realm, by Letters Patents, the Tenor whereof hereafter ensueth; who, instead of the Lord High-Steward, who, by Law, hath been holden for a competent and indifferent Judge between the King and such Peers, ought, and always hath used to be Judge, and give Sentence of Acquittal, or Condemnation upon the Peer arraigned.

The TENOR of the PATENT.

Regina, &c. *Præclarissimo Consanguineo & Consiliario suo, A. B. &c. saltem scitis quod cum C. D. Marchio E. indictas. existit, &c. ac pro eo quod officium Seneschall. Angliæ cujus præsentia pro administratione Justitiæ & executionis ejusdem in hac parte facienda requirit, ut accepimus jam vacat: de strennitate, fidelitate, provida circumspèctione & industria vestris plurimum confidentes, ordinavimus, & constituimus vos ex hac causâ Seneschallum Angliæ, ad officium illud cum omnibus eidem officio in hac parte debitis sive pertinent. hac vice gerendis, occupandis, & exercendis. Dantes & concedentes vobis tenore præsentium plenam potestatem indictmentum prædictum cum omnibus idem tangendis a præfat. Justitia nostris recipiendis & inspiciendis, ac ad certos diem & locum quos ad hoc provideritis ipsum Marchionem, &c. coram vobis evocandum & ipsum superinde audiendum, examinandum & respondere compellendum ac sine debito terminandum. Nec non tot & tales Dominos, Proceres, & Magnetes hujus Regni nostri Angliæ, ejusdem Marchionem, &c. & alios pares per quos rei veritas in hac parte melius scire poterit, ad diem & locum prædictum ex causa prædict. coram vobis comparere astringendum, &c.*

Thereupon the Lord High-Steward directeth forth a Precept to the Justices before whom the Indictment is taken, willing them to certify the same Indictment at a Day and Place by him assigned.

And doth likewise direct another Precept to one of the Serjeants at Arms, for the Summonition of the Peers, against the Day of Trial, in these Words:

A. B. Comes, &c. I. N. servienti Domini Regis ad Arma salutem; tibi præcipio quod summon. tot & tales Dominos, Proceres, & Magnetes, hujus regni Angliæ prædict. C. D. Marchionis: E. &c. & aliorum pares, per quos rei veritas melius scire poterit, quod ipsi personaliter compareant coram me apud Westmon. die Junij, &c. ad faciend. ea quæ ex parte Domini Regis, tunc ibidem in præmissis injungent, &c.

The like Precept doth he also send to the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for bringing forth the Peer, being Prisoner, to his Trial and Judgment.

It appeareth, that, at the Common Law, before the twentieth Year of King Henry the Third, a Subject, having a Title to Lands, which are in the King's Possession, might have a Writ to the Sheriff of the County, where the Land doth lie, against the King, after this manner:

Præcipe H Regi Angliæ quod reddat S. L. centum Acres Ter. in D. &c.

But whether the Writ should be a Ward under the Teste of the High-Steward, or Constable of England, that is to be doubted of.

Touching the Office of the Lord Steward of the QUEEN'S House.

OF the Lord Steward's Office of the Queen's House, being thoroughly well known to the chief Officers of the Household, it seemeth needless to set down any Notes, or Observations at all, by reason of the daily and continual Execution thereof, still in Practice: Howbeit, because there is left unto us, from Elder-Age, a Form thereof, is greatly to be regarded in these our Days, this Place serveth fitly for the Exemplification of the same; so in such Sort as it is set down in an old Book of Record, called, *Domus Regis Angliæ*, preserved in the Counting-House of the Household, wherein the whole State of the King's House is orderly described; and this Office, among the rest, after this Manner ensuing.

The

The Steward of the KING's Household.

THE Steward of the *King's Household*, receiveth his Charge of the King's high and proper Person, and the Household-Staff, in those Words following: Seneschal, *venetz le Baston de notre Maison*. By which, forthwith, he is also Steward of the *Marshalsey*, that is, the Court of Household, of which he is a Judge of Life and Limb: And, except those Cases, the Treasurer, Comptroller, Cofferer, two Clerks of the Green-cloth, and the chief Clerk of Comptrolment, for any Matters else done within the Household, or appertaining thereto. They sit with him at the *Board of Doom*, that is, at the *Green-cloth* in the *Compting-house*, as Recorders and Witnesses of the Truth.

The State of all this excellent Household, is wholly committed to be ruled and guided by his Discretion; and all his Commandments, in Court, to be obeyed and observed.

Also, within the Household, except the King's Chamber, always to be observed, he is covered out of the King's Presence; what great Estate else that be present, as for a Cup, a Cupboard, and Dishes, but none Assay.

Also, while he is present in Court, there ought no new Commandment, Changes of Officers, or any other Person, be made, without Commandment first of his Person, for the Offices more sure Discharge.

Also, in the Household-Rules and Judgments, he representeth the King's Estate; his Staff is taken as for a Commission.

Also, he may, in the Household, of his Power, annul any Custom, not meddled with Worship and Profit; or change it, and erect a-new such as shall seem to his Wisdom, by Advice taken at the Compting-Board, for the better, and, to the King and his Household, of more Honour and Profit.

And, in that he is Head Officer, he giveth Example to all others to be of Governance with inordinate Rule, to be contented with moderate Costages, within the Court, in Liveries and Services; taking Dinners and Suppers in the Hall, and in his Chamber, or in any other Office, as often as it pleaseth him to search, and see the said good Rules, and the Directions in them.

He hath daily in the Hall, eating, one Chaplain, two Esquires, four Yeomen; and in his Chamber daily, for his Breakfasts, and his Chamberlain's Meat at Supper, and Livery for all Night, eight Loaves, four Messes of great Meat, two Rewards of Roast, two Pitchers of Wine, six Gallons of Ale, from *Holland-Tide* till *Easter*, one Torch to attend upon himself, one Tortays to fetch his Livery, by three Perches of Wax, six Candles of Wax, eight Candles, *per 5. viii.* Tallow, four Faggots, Litter, and Rushes all the Year, of the Serjeant-Usher of the Hall and Chamber: And, after Winter-Season, four Shyddes, two Faggots; and, when he liketh to have more largely, in any Thing, then his Chamberlain, who doth fetch it, or receive it, must record thereof, by Tail or Bill, into the Compting-House.

Also, the Steward taketh, of the Compting-House, for his Fee at *Easter* and *Michaelmas*, twenty Marks; and for his Robes, for Winter and Summer, at the Feasts of *Christmas* and *Whitson-tide*, sixteen Marks; and, for his Napery, at the four Feasts of the Year, by even Portions, three Pieces of Linen Cloth, in the great Spicery; or in Money, therefore, of the Compting-House; in all, 13*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.*

And he hath one Yeoman of his Chamber still abiding, while himself is out of Court, to keep his Staff; taking, for his Livery, daily one Cast of Bread, two Messes of great Meat for Noon and Night, one Gallon of Ale.

The

The Steward, and Treasurer of this honourable Houshold, represent, within it, the State of an Earl.

Item, The Steward, or Treasurer, or one of them, bound to be at the Compting-house, at the Await of the daily Accompts of Houshold. And, by the Writing of Noble King *Edward* the Third's Statutes, in case it pass, for lack of them, three Days unaccompted, that then they Two shall acquit the Costages of the King's Houshold for one Day, of their own proper Costs.

The Steward and Treasurer make a Warrant, Yearly, at *Michaelmas*, to the Chief Butler of *England*, assigning him for how much Wine, and in what Places of the King's House he shall lodge the same, for the Year following; for the Daily Expence of his Houshold, which hath, and must, with good Oversight, be sure of three Hundred Tuns. And, for other Things, look the Statute of Noble *Edward*, *Anno* 15. *Edw.* 3. *Cap.* 21.

Thus much out of the Book called *Domus Regis Anglie*. Sir *William Stamford*, the Judge, in his Book of the Pleas of the Crown, under the Title of, *Qui judgera Treason*, &c. who shall judge of Treason and Felony, by reason of their Offices, without Commission, and who not, mentioneth the Statute made *Anno* 33. 44. 8. *Cap.* 12. whereby it is ordained, that the Great-Master, or Lord-Steward of the King's House, only, and, in his Absence, the Treasurer and Comptroller of the Houshold, with the Steward of the Marshalsea, or two of them, whereof the Steward of the Marshalsea to be one, may, without Commission, hear, and determine of Treasons, of Misprision of Treasons, of Murders, Man-slaughters, and Bloodsheds, perpetrated within the King's House; for these (saith he) are great and chief Personages, in whom the King reposeth such Trust, that he hath ordained them especially for the Safety and good Government of his Realm and Houshold.

More hereof is to be read in the Volumes of the Statutes, 25 of *Edw.* 3. *Cap.* 21. 3 *Hen.* 7. *Cap.* 14.--33. *Hen.* 8. *Cap.* 12. wherein the Preheminences of the Lord Steward of the King's Houshold are rehearsed; needless, therefore, in this Place, to be recited.



The E N D and C O N F E S S I O N

O F

J O H N F E L T O N,

The Rank TRAYTOR, who set up the *traytorous BULL* on the Bishop of *London's Gate*.

Who suffered, before the same Gate, for *High-Treason*, against the QUEEN's MAJESTY, the 8th Day of *August* 1570. With an *Exhortation* to the PAPISTS, to take Heed of the like.

By J. P A R T R I D G E.

Imprinted at *London*, by *Richard Jobnes*, and *Thomas Colwell*. 1570.

The *Confession* of JOHN FELTON; with the *Manner* of his *Death*.

JOHN FELTON, he who set up the *traytorous Bull* on the Bishop of *London's Gate*, being attainted of *High-Treason*, and, on *Friday*, being the 4th Day of *August* 1570, was arraigned, and condemned for the same Offence, at the *Guild-Hall* in *London*; and being there, was then judged to be drawn, hanged and quartered, as most worthily he had deserved. He was had from thence to *Newgate*, where he remained till *Tuesday*, being the 8th Day of the same aforesaid Month of *August*. The same *Tuesday* Morning, before he came out of *Newgate*, came to him two or three godly and learned Preachers, who diligently counselled him, yea, and very earnestly exhorted him, persuading him, as touching his Opinion, by divers good and learned Arguments, as well out of diverse and sundry Places of the Scriptures, as also, out of the Ancient Fathers, the Doctors of the Church; and he, with much Arrogance, answered them, as well as his Opinion served him, till, at last, he saw it was so plain, by the manifest Scriptures by them alledged; and so, being overcome, he could say no more. And, moreover, his subtile and crafty Dealing, being laid to his Charge, concerning those whom he had deceived, and was yet indebted to, he made light of it, and said little, or nothing to the Matter. Then, being ready to go down to the Hurdle, the Preachers willed him to reconcile himself to God, and the Queen; to take his Death patiently; and to acknowledge his heinous Fact to be most wicked and detestable, in that he did, so maliciously, set up the traytorous and malignant Scroll (termed a *Bull*); and, moreover, most traytorously denied the *Queen's Supremacy*; with other heinous, and traytorous Words against the Queen's Majesty, not worthy to be rehearsed; as plainly it did appear at
his

his Arraignment. He answered wilfully, and very obstinately; as for that, he knew well enough what he had done; howbeit, he said, he was sorry for it. Another willed him to remember himself, and put his Trust in Christ's Death, and thereby only hope to be saved. He answered arrogantly, and contrary to Christ's Doctrine (which is the true and sincere Religion) That he believed the Ancient, and Catholic Faith, which the Holy Father (the *Pope*) hath long defended, and said; Whosoever believed any other Faith, or held any other Opinion, it was most wicked, and erroneous.

Then he came down the Stairs, having on a Sattin Doublet, and a Gown of Grograin; and, being come down to the Stairs-foot, he desired the People to pray for him, and besought God, and all of them, to forgive him. Then he was laid upon the Hurdle, and drawn along the *Old-Bailey*, to *Paul's Church-Yard*, where he must suffer; and, by the Way, he said the *De profundis*, in *Latin*, to himself. And, being exhorted, by Master *Young*, to call for Mercy, and only to hope to be saved by Christ's Death, and Blood-shedding, he answered never a Word, that could be heard, or perceived. Then Master *Beechar*, the Sheriff, said; Ask God Mercy, and thy Prince, and be sorry for thy Treason committed. Quoth *Felton*, I am sorry for it; and I ask God heartily Mercy. Then, being come to the Place of Execution, he was loosed off the Hurdle, by two Serjeants, and then stripped, by the Hangman, of his Grograin Gown, and Sattin Doublet. Then he standing up, quivering and shaking with Fear, said, *Ah, ah, Lord, have Mercy upon me!* Then, being led by the Hangman to the Foot of the Ladder, Master Sheriff *Beechar*, commanding Silence, willed Master *Christopher*, the Secondary of the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, to publish a Proclamation, in Form and Effect as followeth:

THE QUEEN, our Sovereign Lady, ELIZABETH, by the Grace of GOD, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the true, ancient, and Catholic Faith, straitly chargeth and commandeth, by us, her said Officers, all, and every her loving Subjects, on Pain that shall fall thereof, that all, and every of them, whosoever, not appointed to the Execution of John Felton, late Attainted of High Treason, and thereof found Guilty, by the Oath of Twelve honest and discreet Men, according to her Highness's Laws, to depart the Place; that is to say, twenty Foot from this Place, where the said John Felton must receive Execution for his High-Treason, according to his Judgment; which said John Felton is here ready to receive Execution, according to the Tenor of the Judgment to him appointed. Thus willing all, and every one, to depart (as aforesaid) that each Officer, according to his Office, in this Matter appointed, may do his, or their Office, without Lett, or Disturbance in this Behalf. And thus, GOD save the QUEEN.

At which Words, all the People, being there then assembled (as it were, with one Voice) cried, *GOD save the QUEEN!* And, moreover, many wished all those who mean otherwise, might come to the same End. Then *Felton* hung down his Head, and said nothing, that either might be heard, or supposed by Sight.

The Proclamation being ended, he kneeled down, and said the 51st *Psalms*, in *Latin*. Then he stepped up the Ladder, and turned his Face to the Bishop's Gate, and said; Good People, I desire you all to bear Witness, that I take it on my Death, that I never meant Hurt, or Harm, or any Treason toward my Prince, but only *that*, which I did, in setting up the *Bull*. Then Master *Young* said; Lo, will ye see how he would clear himself of the heinous Treason by him committed? Then the Secondary said; *Felton*, thou hast been Attainted of High-Treason, and found Guilty by the Oath of twelve true and honest Men, and, therefore, acknowledge thy Treason, and be sorry for it, and ask God, and thy Prince, Forgiveness. And then Master *Beechar*, the Sheriff, openly, before all the People, said; Thou wast justly condemned of High-

High-Treason, and, surely, so thou art the rankest Traytor that ever I heard of; and, therefore, ask the Queen Forgiveness, and I pray God that he may forgive thee. Then *Felton* said; I desire you, good M. Sheriffs, to show the Queen's Majesty, that I never meant any Treason against her Grace. Mr. *Beechar* said; She shall be certified as we have found by thee. Then *Felton* willed them to show to her Grace, That he was most heartily sorry for his Fact that he was condemned for, and that he besought her Grace to forgive him. That is well said (quoth Master Sheriff *Beechar*) and bad him will all the People to forgive him, and to pray for him; and even so he did. And then he said, O Lord, into thy Hands I commend my Spirit, in *English*; and, as he was saying it in *Latin*, *In manus tuas Domine*, he was turned off the Ladder; and, hanging there six Turns, he was cut down, and carried to the Block, and there his Head was smitten off, and held up, that the People might see it: Whereat the People gave a Shout, wishing that all Traytors were so served. Then he was quartered, and carried to *Newgate* to be parboiled, and so set up, as the other Rebels were.

G O D save the Q U E E N.

ADVERTISEMENTS to the rest of the rebellious PAPISTS, of F E L T O N's S E C T.

ALL Papists now beware,
take Heed by Felton's Facts:
Example be it, to you all,
to shun like trays'rous Acts.
Let Faith to Prince be true,
let Duty aye be shown;
And, as each Subject ought to do,
let Subjects Truth be known;
Let Foreign Pow'r go pack,
and Prince have Honour due;
Let each one show Obedience,
which he is bound unto.
That Hand shall kill it self,
that lifts it self on high;
And he who strives against his Prince,
shall perish finally.
No Treason hath been so,
in stony Walls, inclos'd,
But, at the last, the Lord of Hosts,
the same abroad hath loos'd.
And that which hidden was,
and no Man did suspect,
For England's Wealth, and Princess Health,
his Mercy doth detect.
Then let your stubborn Hearts,
you Papists, now relent;
And yield yourselves to her, whom, for
your Queen, the Lord hath sent.
VOL. I. NUMB. V.

What Blindness doth bewitch
your Eyes, you cannot see?
Or else, what lying Sprite deludes,
and makes you thus to flee
The Fountain of your Wealth,
and seek such Ways unknown,
Renouncing him whose Death hath bought
us Wretches for his own?
No Pardon, sure, can give
Remission of our Sin;
But ev'n the Blood of Christ, our Lord,
whose Death our Life did win.
He only, saith St. John,
Remission doth obtain
For us; he only was the Lamb
which, for our Sins, was slain.
In Earth, and eke in Heav'n,
our Advocate is he,
With pierced Wounds, who begs for us
before the Deity.
What Fondness then should move
you, other Aid to crave?
Renouncing him, from whom you must
your Comfort only have.
And blindly (as of late)
John Felton, sure, hath done,
In filthy Dregs of Papistry,
your lying Days to run:
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Who

*Who no Ways could retire,
 when Death his Part should play,
 Ne yet persuaded on the Wounds
 of Jesus Christ to stay.
 In Time, therefore, renounce
 that Church Sodomicall;
 And fly that filthy poison'd Cup,
 she poisons you withal.
 Cast off that Yoke, wherewith,
 of long, you have been kept;
 For, sure, the Garden of the Lord,
 of Force must now be swept.
 The Lord will take his Fan
 in Hand, to purge his Grain,
 Casting the Chaff in fiery Flames
 of endless Woe, and Pain.
 Where nothing can once quench,
 or ease them of their Woe,
 Who took themselves to Help of Man,
 and Christ did so forego.
 Who would have judged this,
 that Felton late hath wrought,
 Would quickly have so come to Light,
 it passeth some Mens Thought.
 There's nothing that you do
 by Night, or else by Day,
 But that, if Men do hold their Peace,
 the Birds will it betray.
 He sees it well enough,
 who knows your Thoughts of Mind;
 To stir 'gainst his anointed One,
 you sail against the Wind,
 And, therefore, since, with Saul,
 ye thirsted after Blood,
 Return in Time, and trust in Christ,
 his Death shall do you Good.
 And leave that Antichrist,
 your dire, and deadly Foe;
 Whose Pomp doth seek no other Thing,
 but you to overthrow.*

*Let now, unto your Prince,
 your Hearts addicted be,
 Love her, as she hath well deserv'd,
 by Mercy unto ye.
 And Warning take by him,
 whose Fall each one may view;
 And learn to Prince, and Public-weal,
 for ever to be true.
 And lay before your Eyes,
 the Guerdon of his Crime;
 Renouncing quite all Papistry,
 while thou hast Day and Time:
 For, surely, else he will
 enforce the Stones, to show
 The Poison of thy Heart, which late
 did Felton overthrow.
 And thus, to make an End,
 the Living Lord, I pray,
 To turn the Hearts of Papists all,
 to embrace this golden Day;
 Wherein our gracious Queen,
 most graciously doth reign,
 To overthrow all Papistry,
 and Truth for to maintain:
 And send them Hearts, to rue
 their wretched Wilsfulness,
 And yield her Thanks, who doth provide
 to save them from Distress,
 And all whom Error doth,
 as yet, provoke to stray,
 God grant they may return, at last,
 and take a better Way.
 And such as Malice doth
 provoke awry to shoke,
 God grant them all to pass that Way
 where Felton's gone before.*

J. P.

GOD save the QUEEN.



The Several

CONFESSIONS

O F

Thomas Norton, and Christopher Norton,

Two of the *Northern Rebels*, who suffered at *Tyburn*, and were drawn, hanged, and quartered for Treason, *May 27. 1570.*

Imprinted at *London*, by *William Hew*, for *Richard Jobnes*.

The Confession of THOMAS NORTON, which he made at his Death, in Form as hereafter followeth.

ON *Saturday*, being the 27th Day of *May*, *Thomas Norton*, and *Christopher Norton*, of *Yorkshire*, being both condemned of High-Treason against the Queen's Majesty's Person, were delivered, by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to the Sheriffs of *London*; and were both laid on a Hurdle, and so drawn from the *Tower*, thorow the City of *London*, to *Tyburn* (the Place of Execution) having, besides many Officers, and a Multitude of others, a Godly Preacher riding beside them, always comforting, and earnestly exhorting them, all the Way, to acknowledge their Fact, to discharge their Conscience, and to be truly repentant, and heartily sorry for the same.

And, being come to the Place of Execution, Proclamation was made of the Cause of their Death. *Thomas Norton*, the elder Man, was first executed, who took his Death in this wise. He being come up, and standing upon the Cart, with the Rope about his Neck, the Preacher requested him, earnestly, to acknowledge his Offence, in rebelling against God and his Prince, and to ask God Mercy for his Sins, and of the Queen's Majesty Forgiveness for his Disobedience. He answered; That for the Offence made and committed towards the Queen's Majesty, he had the Law for it, and therefore must suffer Death, and to that End he was come thither, and so asked God Forgiveness for his Offences. Then, he being requested by the Preacher, to say the *Lord's Prayer*, he immediately began to say the same in *Latin*. And, being disturbed by the Preacher, who willed him to say it as God hath commanded, and, as every true Christian ought to do (that is to say, in the Vulgar Tongue, that all the Audience might bear Witness how he died a true Christian. Sir, (quoth he) and

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answered very obstinately, that he would pray in *Latin*, and therefore prayed him, that he would not molest his Conscience. Then the Secondary bad him, if he would needs say it in *Latin*, to say it then secretly to himself; and so he did. His *Latin* Prayers being ended, the Preacher, not neglecting his Duty, exhorted him very earnestly, to say the *Lord's Prayer*, and the *Belief*, in *English*, from the Bottom of his Heart, as every true Christian ought to do. At last, after much Exhortation, he granted to say it in *English*; and so said the *Lord's Prayer* in *English*, whereunto he added, the *Ave Maria*, and then the *Belief*. And then he desired, not only the Audience, but also all the Saints in Heaven, to pray for him, both then, and at all Times, as well, after his Death, as then he being alive. Then the Preacher bade him put his whole Hope, and Trust in the Death and Blood-shedding of Christ, our Saviour, and by him only hope to be saved. With that the Cart was drawn away, and there he hung a certain Space, and then was taken down, and quartered, in the Presence of his Nephew, *Christopher Norton*, who then presently must drink of the same Cup.

The End and Confession of Christopher Norton, who, as it seemed, died more repentant, and more Christian-like, than his Uncle did.

*C*hristopher Norton, the younger Man, after he had beheld the Death of his Uncle, as well his Quartering, as otherwise, knowing, and being well assured, that he himself must follow the same Way, seemed to be very repentant, and heartily sorry for his Offence, and immediately kneeled down on the Ground, before he came up to the Cart, with his Face *Eastward*, and made his Prayers unto God; and, afterward, stepping up to the Cart, and then, being asked by the Preacher; Whether he did believe, and hope to be saved by Christ's Death, and Blood-shedding? he made Answer; That he did verily so believe, and hoped to be saved by no other Means; and, therefore, besought all the Audience, who then were present, to bear Witness, that he there died a true Christian. And being asked: Whether he did acknowledge, and confess that he had deserved to dye? and whether he had not both offended God, and the Queen's Majesty? he made Answer, That he had worthily deserved that Death, and therefore besought God, and all Men to forgive him. And farther, did earnestly exhort all Men, to take Example by him, for committing the like. And immediately he did inquire; Whether any there did know one *Philip Sturley*, who now is Captain in *Scotland*? There were some made Answer; that they did know him. Then he declared, how he was the Causer of his Death, nevertheless, he did forgive him; and, moreover, besought any who knew him, when Time would serve, to let him understand it. This Talk being ended, he desired the People, that they would pray with him; and, when he and the People had said the *Lord's Prayer* together, then he made his Confession to God in this Wise:

I Christopher Norton, who am come hither to take my Death, being justly condemned, by the Laws of the Realm, being sound of Body, and of a perfect Remembrance, do here acknowledge and confess, my good Lord and Saviour, before the Throne of thy Majesty, my heinous Offence, by me committed between God and my Prince; desiring thee, good Lord, from the very Bottom of my Heart, to have Mercy on me, miserable and wretched Sinner, who am now coming to thee, being here now ready to die. O most
merci-

merciful Lord, receive me, a sinful Wretch, and refuse me not, but hearken to my Voice.

With that, the Hangman executed his Office; and, being hanged a little while, and then cut down, the Butcher opening him, and as he took out his Bowels, he cried, and said, *Ob, Lord, Lord, have Mercy upon me!* and so yielded up the Ghost. Then being, likewise, quartered, as the other was, and their Bowels burned, as the Manner is, their Quarters were put into a Basket, provided for the Purpose, and so carried to *Newgate*, where they were parboiled; and, afterwards, their Heads set on *London-Bridge*, and their Quarters set upon sundry Gates of the City of *London*, for an Example to all Traytors and Rebels, for committing High-Treason against God and their Prince. God grant it may be a special Warning for all Men; and God turn the Hearts of all those who are maliciously bent against *Elizabeth*, our Queen, and Sovereign of this Realm, and send her a triumphant Victory over all her Enemies. *Amen.*

G O D save the Q U E E N.

THE F A T A L V E S P E R :

O. R.,

A true and punctual R E L A T I O N, of that lamentable, and fearful A C C I D E N T, happening on *Sunday*, in the Afternoon, being the 26th of *October* last, by the Fall of a Room in the *Black-Fryers*, in which were assembled many People at a *Sermon*, which was to be preached by Father D R U R Y, a *Jesuit*.

Together with the *Names* and *Number* of such Persons as therein unhappily perished, or were miraculously preserved.

L U K E xiii. 3.

Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.

By W. C.

LONDON, Printed by John Haviland, for Richard Whitaker. 1623.

To the R E A D E R.

GENTLE Reader, whether Protestant, or Papist, Reformed, or Romish, or if there be any other Religion, of what Religion soever thou be; thou seest an Object presented unto thy View full of Pity and Compassion, in respect of divers Circumstances, which make it more dolorous: And those are, if you desire a particular List of them, the Quality of the Persons, the Time, Place, and Number of them, which sunk under the Burden of this Misfortune. Concerning the Quality of the Persons; They were Men different in Nation and Profession, as English, Scots, Welsh, and Irish, Priests and Jesuits, Clerks and Lay-men. Concerning the Place; It was in Father Redyate's Chamber; over the Gate-house, which gives the Entry into the French Embassadors Lodgings. For the Time, it was between three and four of the Clock, upon Sunday, which was the six and twentieth of October (according to the English Computation) as they were hearing a Sermon, and celebrating after the Even-Song (if God had not prevented it) according to the Rites of the Roman Church. Last of all, for the Number of them, they were esteemed to be about fore-score and odd Persons, whose Lives ended together with their Devotions; besides those who were bruised, maimed, or wounded, by this unlucky Downfall. Now for the Judgment concerning this doleful Event; Judge not, lest thou be Judged; but follow our Saviour's Counsel and Advice, delivered unto us, in the thirteenth Chapter of St. Luke; in the Beginning of the Chapter (which, by the Church of England, is appointed the second Lesson for the next Day following) a Matter worthy Admiration and Observation. Unto whom, when certain Men spake of those Galilæans, whose Blood Pilate mingled with their Sacrifices: Our Saviour's Answer unto them was; Think you that those Galilæans were greater Sinners than the other Galilæans, because they suffered such Things? Or think you, that those eighteen Persons upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell and slew them, were Sinners above all those in Jerusalem? I tell you nay; but except you amend your Lives, ye shall likewise perish. Neither think you who are Readers of this mournful Object, that those Men who perished thus together, were greater Sinners than your selves; for except ye repent, ye shall also likewise perish. Moreover, concerning thy Ballance and Estimate of the Relator, think not him to be an Adiaphorist, because, he doth give every Man his due Attributes, and doth not lean partially either to the Protestant or Papist in this Relation; for although he be an Adiaphorist and indifferent in this Report, according as the Conditions of your historical Faith do require, yet believe it, he is not so in Religion. Neither inveigh against him, because he doth not speak invectively against the Sufferers; for it is a Case which deserves Elegies, and mournful Ditties, rather than Satyrs and invective Speeches. Thus hoping that thou wilt turn the Wormwood and Bitterness of this Accident into the Honey and Sweetness of a good Use, and make their Afflictions thy Instructions, and their Cross-House thy School-House: I leave and rest,

Thine, if thou wilt be thy own, W. C.

T H E

F A T A L V E S P E R.

ALthough the Mercy of God, which, out of the Storehouse of his Bounty, he doth extend unto all the Children of Men; and for their Sakes to all other Creatures Sublunar, whatsoever be *opus operum*, a Work of Works, and superlative unto all the rest exceeding: In respect to us and our Redemption so dearly bought, his Power though infinite, his Goodness though eminent, his Justice though terrible, and his Truth though unchangeable: Yet notwithstanding his Judgments, which do proceed from the overflowing Current of his Mercy and Justice, whereby he doth reward the Good, and recompence the Wicked, according to the Works of their own Hands, is *inscrutabilis abyssus*, an unsearchable Abyss; also, the Height whereof Man's Understanding cannot aspire unto, although, with the High-Priests, it should enter into *Sanctum Sanctorum*, into the most secret Cabinet of God's Councils, and, with *Moses*, it should scale the Top of Mount *Sinab*, and see our God and Maker Face to Face: For if our Understanding, Power, and Faculty (which make us almost equal with Angels) and supereminent, in respect of all other earthly Creatures of this inferior and corruptible World, could comprehend these incomprehensible Mysteries of Divinity, Man should be like unto God, and the Creature equal to the Creator; there being required a convenient Similitude and Proportion between the Thing understood, and the understanding, between the Object comprehended, and the Subject comprehending. For this Cause, the wise Man gives this Counsel, unto those Fools whose Curiosity transports their Spirits after needless and unprofitable Inquisition: *Altiora te ne quaeris, & fortiora te ne scrutaris*: Seek not for Things that are too high for thee, nor search after Things that are too mighty for thee. For although in this Life, wherein thou dost see only all Things in a Glass, and that darkly; thou mayst find out, *quod sit Deus*, that there is a God, by Contemplation of the vilest Creatures, and by Speculation of the meanest Effects, which, either for their Use and Ornament, their Creator and Preserver hath bestowed upon them. Yet to know, *quid sit Deus*, what God is, either his hidden Essence, or in those unrevealed Attributes which do flow therehence, is more impossible for us, so long as we are clad in this Veil of Mortality, than for a Gnat to swallow an Elephant, or a Shrub to overtop a Cedar. The Evidence and Assurance whereof, although it doth most plainly appear, by the List and Number of several precedent Examples, whereof the World is a Theater, and the Actions thereof a continued Scene; whereby, our Lord hath manifested unto us, these Designs of his impartial Judgments, the Effects whereof he doth reveal; although the Intention and Purpose of them be kept secret unto himself. Yet notwithstanding, if we should search and strain Antiquity too far for Precedents, we shall not find, in many Centuries and Hundreds of Years, an Example more remarkable than that which happened upon *Sunday*, being the six and twentieth of *October*; a Day as black, for the frowning
and

and fore-dooming Aspect of the Heavens, as it was for the Issue and Event of this disastrous Accident. The Manner of it was thus:

There were upon that Day (being dedicated to the Service of God) assembled together, in the *Black-Fryers*, near the *French* Ambassador's House in ordinary, above three hundred Persons of sundry Nations, as *English*, *Scotish*, *Welsh*, and *Irish*, to hear a Sermon, and after that, to celebrate Even-Song, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the *Romish* Church: Of which Number it is certainly known and confidently reported, that about the Number of threescore of them had, that Morning, both Confessed themselves, and received the Sacrament, according to the Order of the *Romish* Church. He who was to supply that Exercise, for the present, was Father *Drury*, a Jesuit by Profession, and by Birth a Gentleman; being extracted out of the House of the *Norfolcian Druries*, and Son unto Doctor *Drury*, late Professor of the Civil-Law, and Practiser thereof in the Court of the Arches, here in *London*. He was, by those of the *Romish* Religion, reputed to be a Man of great Learning, as having studied many Years beyond the Sea, with much Approbation and Allowance of his Superiors. And although he were opposite in Point of Faith and Belief unto the Religion now professed in *England*, yet was he held, by the Generalty of our Nation, both Protestants and Papists, who knew him, and could make a true Estimate of his Virtues and Vices, by the outward Circumstance and Appearance of his Actions, to be a Man of a laudable Conversation. So that, in respect of these Endowments, there could nothing have been desired more, by those of the Reformed Church, than that he had not been a Papist, but a Member of their Church, Religion, and Profession. All the Day before (which was the last that ever his Eyes beheld) he was observed to be wonderful sad and pensive, contrary to his wonted Humour and Disposition (he being a Man of a free, merry, and affable Conversation) as though that some Spirit of Prediction had foretold him of the fatal Disaster, which was at Hand. Thus we read of *Cesar*, that he was possessed with a strange and unwonted Sadness, that Morning when he entred into the Senate-House, where he was stabbed to death by the Senators. And so was that Assassine *Cassius* much perplexed and troubled in Mind, before that mortal and bloody Battel of *Pharsalia*. By means of which Affection, Father *Drury*, finding an Indisposition in himself, would (if with his Reputation he could) have made a Retraction of his Promise, and a Demur of the intended Exercise. But being pressed on by divers of his Friends, who told him the Audience was great, and their Expectation far greater, he did then resolve to go forward with the Enterprize.

The Place wherein this Congregation was assembled, was not the *French* Ambassador's Chapel, according as the first Report went current; for that was reserved for the Use of himself, and his Family, to celebrate their Even-Song after their own Manner and Custom; but it was a Chamber near unto the Gate, some three Stories high, being some threescore Foot long, and twenty Foot broad, or thereabouts. The Walls were not made of Lome, composed of Laths and Rafter, and covered over with Clay and Lime, as some at first reported: But were of Brick and Stone, which are held, by all Architects, to be the strongest and the surest Building. But howsoever, a Gentlewoman of a noble House, and of a quick and judicious Spirit, who was then present, and had taken a curious View of the pressing Multitude of the People, which was at length their own Oppression, and of the Unfitness and Uncapacity of the Place besides, told him; that she thought it would prove an Action full of Danger, if he should offer to preach in that Place respectively, in respect of the Premises. But he being led on by a divine and fatal Necessity, which blinds the Judgment of the Wisemen of this World, he told her; that he did mean as then to preach, and to go forward, with the greatest Expedition he could, with his intended Sermon. For the Accomplishment of which Design, the Father Predicant,

dicant being clad in those Robes and Oanaments which are used by those of his Order, being a Jesuit, having a Surplice girt about his Middle with a Linen Girdle, a red Cap, with a white one underneath, turned up about the Brims of his Cap, and his other Accoutrements belonging, which the *Ignatian* Orders have imposed upon them: And being placed in a Chair about the Midst of the Room, which Chair, was raised up something higher than the ordinary Level of the Floor: He crossing himself with the Sign of the Cross, and having ended some private Prayers, accommodated himself to his Text, between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon, of the foresaid *Sunday*. The Words of the Text were Part of the Gospel appointed for the present Day, according to the Order and Institution of the Church of *Rome*, being their fifth of *November*, which Account is thought to be the truest, by the *Roman Catholics*, and begins ten Days before that of *England*. The Gospel was written in the eighteenth Chapter of *St. Matthew's* Gospel, and delivered unto us by the Holy Spirit, in these Words: *Therefore the Kingdom of Heaven is likened unto a certain Man, who was a King, which would take Account of his Servants. And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him ten thousand Talents. But forasmuch as he was not able to pay, his Lord commanded him to be sold, and his Wife and Children, and all that he had, and Payment to be made. The Servant fell down, and besought him, saying; Sir, have Patience with me and I will pay thee all. Then had the Lord Pity of his Servant, and loosed him, and forgave him the Debt. So the same Servant went out, and found one of his Fellows, which owed him an hundred Pence: And he laid Hands on him, and took him by the Throat, saying; Pay that thou owest. And his Fellow fell down, and besought him, saying; Have Patience with me, and I will pay thee all. And he would not, but he went out, and cast him in Prison, till he should pay the Debt. So when his Fellows went, and saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told their Master all that happened. Then his Lord called him, and said unto him, O thou ungracious Servant, I forgave thee all that Debt thou desiredst me, shouldest not thou also have had Compassion on thy Fellow, even as I had Pity on thee? &c.*

The Words which he insisted especially upon, were these, * *O thou ungracious Servant, I forgave thee the Debt thou owed me, shouldest not thou also have had Compassion on thy Fellow, even as I had Pity on thee?* Upon which Subject discoursing with much Vehemency, and implying out of it, the infinite Mercy and Goodness of God, whereby, he doth not only give us all that we have, but forgiveth us all our Trespases and Offences, be they never so deeply stained with the scarlet Dye, and Tincture of our Guiltiness: Which merciful Act of God, is parabolized unto us by a certain Man who was a King, who took Account of his Servants, and after much Intreaty and Submission, forgave one ten thousand Talents, which he owed him. And also dilating, by way of Blame and Reprehension, of the ungrateful, and unrelenting Heart of Man, who doth not forgive Trespases, as God doth forgive him; but out of his swelling and malignant Humour, writes Benefits in the Sand, and Injuries in Marble; which Uncharitableness of theirs is intimated in the Parable, by the ungracious Servant, who would not forgive his Fellow a small Debt, although his Master had forgiven him one of a far greater Value. Moreover, upon the Application of these Words, he did inveigh, with much Bitterness, as some give out (but I know not how truly) against the Manners and Doctrine of the *Protestants*.

* Note, That this Text was divided into three Parts; whereof, the first Part treated of God's Mercy; the Second, of Man's Ingratitude; the Third, of the Remedies which Man might use, for the procuring of God's Mercy and cure himself from this contagious Dilect of his Ingratitude. Which first Part, only in Part he handled.

But having proceeded thus far, lo, what a sudden and unexpected Accident fell out! The Sermon inclining towards the Midst, and the Day declining towards an End, it being almost four of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Multitude and Crowd of the Assembly breaking down, with their over-bearing Weight, the Beams and Side Timber, wherewith this Room was supported; they fell down into the next Chamber. the Floor whereof being broken down also, with the descending Weight of them and the Ruins, they fell at last, upon the lowest Chamber of the Edifice, where some of them perished, some were hurted and maimed, other some were free from all Hurt and Danger, except of that, which the present Fright and Terror did impose upon them, and those especially, who fell not at all, but remained in one Angle or Corner of the Chamber, which was free from falling: Which Persons being thought, to be between twenty and thirty in Number, as I heard by one who was one of them, perplexed and frightened thus as they were, by Consideration of that most fearful Danger, whereunto they had seen their Fellows and Brethren to fall, who did lift up their Hands for Help, and beat their Breasts for Life, whereof they then were Spectators; and being doubtful that they should be Actors with them presently in that Scene of their Calamity, the Place being weak, tottering and unassured: For this Cause, Fear and Necessity giving Motion and Strength unto their Arms, they opened, with their Knives, a Lome Wall, which parted that Room and a Chamber belonging to the Ambassador's Lodging. By which Means, after much Difficulty and Labour, they got their Passage, and live, as yet, to glorify God for their Deliverance.

Presently, upon the Report of the Fall and Cry, divers Persons of all Sorts resorted unto the Place, some out of Charity to help those who were thus distressed, for which Cause, they brought Spades, Pick-axes, and Instruments fit for that Purpose; others out of mere Curiosity came thither to see this wonderful Event, and this Object so full of Admiration. Where, after the Guards were set upon all the Avenues and Passages, leading into the *Black-Fryer's*, and from thence into the Ambassador's House, by the Direction and Command of Serjeant *Finch*, Recorder of the City, who was so exceeding careful, that my Lord Ambassador, and his Servants should not suffer any Detriment in their Goods or Persons, being jealous in this Point of the King's, his own, and the City's Honour: and Matters being thus disposed for the Safety and Assurance of the Strangers, after they had broken down a Wall, and opened some Doors, they fell to work upon the Ruins itself, with all possible Diligence and Dexterity: Where, at the opening of every Board, Plank, and Piece of Timber, there were Objects which presented themselves full of Horror and Confusion. Here you might have seen a Man shaking of his Legs, and striving for Life: There you might have seen another putting forth his bloody Hands, and crying for Help: Here you might have seen one, like some Specter, thrusting his Head out of the Grave: There you might have seen his Fellow half dead, and half living, intombed in that Grave, which he was not long to keep. Here you might have seen the Living, thus pressed as they were, mourning for the Dead; and there the Dead senseless as they were, embracing of the Living. So that, since the *Sicilian Vespers*, there were never an Even-Song more dolorous unto the *French*, nor more lamentable unto the *Scots* and *English*. The Count of *Tillier*, who is Ambassador here in Ordinary for the most *Christian* King, which Place he hath executed with great Dignity and Authority, for many Years together, to the general Liking and Applause of both Nations; although he was fortunate in this, that not one of his Retinue perished, was much aggrieved with this unlucky Accident, with whom the *Spanish* Delegates did condole, as by mutual Reference feeling that Grief, which Fellow-feeling had made their own.

Moreover, it was reported, by one, who had good Intelligence in *Ely-House*, that *Don Carlos Colonnas's* Steward should say; That his Master would not, for a Million of Gold, this Accident should have fallen out in his, or *Exeter-House*. A Report

port likely enough to be believed of those who know how strangely zealous this Nation is in their Religion, and how jealous they are, besides, of their own, their King's, and their Country's Honour. Neither were the Sorrows meaner among the Naturals of this Kingdom, and the Inhabitants of the City of *London*. So that here some Men lost their Wives, Women their Husbands, Parents their Children, Children their Parents, Masters their Servants, and one Friend lamented the Loss of another. So that *Rachel* was weeping for her Children, because they were not; *Job* was lamenting for his Sons and Daughters, because they were slain together, by the Downfall of a House, while they were eating of their last Banquet; insomuch, that the Streets did echo with their dolorous Moans; the Walls and Houses did resound with their Cries and Lamentations. The subsequent Night was so full of Horror unto many, that it may be truly said of it, as was said of another dismal Night, in the like Kind:

*Quis cladem illius noctis, qui funera fando
Explicet? aut potis est lachrymis aequale dolorem.*

When the Bodies were drawn forth of those Heaps of Earth and Timber, which Task of Charity they were accomplishing all that Night, and Part of the next Day following, they were found to be 95 Persons, or thereabouts, of divers Conditions; besides those who were bruised, maimed, or wounded; among whom were divers Persons of Worth and Quality: As Father *Drury*, who was the Preacher; Father *Redyate*, in whose Lodging this Calamity befel; the Lady *Web*, descended of the Family of the *Treshams*, and Sister unto my Lady *Morley*; and my Lady *Sturston*; and many more, beside, of that weaker Sex, who then and there were assembled together, at their accustomed Devotions. Yet were there many, who were in that unfortunate Downfall, which escaped the Danger strangely and wonderfully. Among whom, was Mrs. *Lucy Penruddock*, extracted from a worthy and noble Family, who fell between my Lady *Web*, and her own Maid-servant, both of which perished, yet she was preserved alive, by Means of a Chair which fell hollow upon her, and sheltered her from farther Danger. So was young Mistress *Web*, Daughter unto my Lady *Web*, who fell near unto her Mother, and *Ellenor Saunders*, who was covered, with many others, whose Lives were saved within the Heaps of these Blood-guilty Ruins.

There was also a Minister, whose Name I cannot learn, and, therefore, although he survives this Misfortune, it must be buried, as yet, in Silence, who being present at the Sermon, as being invited, by some *Romish Catholics*, to that Exercise, who also gave him the Conduct unto the Place: He fell, with the rest of the Multitude, assembled there together; and, being covered with the Rubbish, Boards, and other Timbers, which fell upon him from the Rooms, and pressed with the Weight of divers Persons besides, whereof some were dead, and some were living: Being in this Agony, which his present Pain, and the Fear of Death, in his own Judgment, even hanging over his Head, did impose (and that not without just Cause) upon him. Being, I say, thus distressed, and striving, under those Heaps and Ruins, for Life. the Hope whereof, in respect of the promised Impediment, had almost forsaken him, one of the *French* Ambassador's Gentlemen, hearing the Noise and Report of this great and dismal Fall, suddenly (as he could) opened a Door which gave Entrance into that Chamber, upon the Floor whereof the Heaps and Ruins, together with the oppressed Multitude, as then lay there; who perceiving Light, by the Door then opened, the Place before being covered over with Darknets, he strove, with all the Strength and Agility he could, which, in him, was not mean, he being a Man of a very strong and able Body; and, at last, after the Loss of his Cloak, and rending

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of his Cloaths; he recovered himself, without any farther Hurt. Which the Embassador's Gentleman perceiving, came and demanded of him; Whether or no he were hurt? or, if he stood in Want, or Desire of any Thing, which might do him Service, or procure him Comfort? But he, being almost exanimated and astonished, could not, at first, apprehend those courteous Proffers, which were tendered unto him by this Stranger, who presently went and brought him into a Chamber, where, after he had sat a-while, and refreshed himself with Wine, which was brought unto him, and, having thus recovered his Strength and Spirits, he returned to the aforesaid Place again, and used his best Endeavours for relieving of others from that Calamity whereof, but even now, he was a Fellow-sufferer. His Man, who attended on him, was recovered among the rest, he being something bruised, and hurt in the Arm.

"[Who this Minister was, I cannot truly learn. But the Reverend Mr. John Gee (a Convert) A. M. of Eaton-College, Cambridge, was one of those who were there miraculously preserved.—In his Quarto Pamphlet, of about eighteen Sheets, intitled, The FOOT out of the SNARE, &c. Printed at London, in 1624, P. 5. he has these Words, viz.]"

Surely, of those who escaped the Danger of Black-Fryers (an Accident for which I have been much noted, and often pointed at) none bath greater Cause to offer the Calves of his Lips, a grateful Sacrifice to the Almighty, than my self. For as my Escape was not the easiest, so my Offence the greatest; whereof one moveth me to Compunction, the other to Gratulation. Being in the Midst of the Room which fell, and tho' that omnes Circumstantes, all (in a manner) who stood about me, perished in that Calamity, and I involved in the Down-fall, and falling, being covered with the Heaps of Rubbish and Dead Carcasses, yet it pleased God to hasten my Escape.—Again, in Page 6.

For others who escaped, I wish they would not, so presumptuously, tempt God, as some of them do, who I have heard repine, because they had not a Share in this Slaughter. And what is the Reason? Forsooth! Because ever since that Accident befel, at all the Places, about the City of London, where Priests are harboured, which are not few (there being to my Knowledge, besides those I know not, more than 200 of them, within the City and Suburbs) after every Mass of theirs, the Priest, or Clerk, starteth up presently upon the Benediction, calleth aloud unto the People to say three Pater-Nosters and three Ave-Marias for the Souls of those who died at Black-Fryers. So that they think it cannot otherwise chuse, but that their Souls must be by this Time in Heaven.—Lower down in Page 8, 9, he adds.

I cannot but, by the way, tell you of one who narrowly escaped the Danger of Black-Fryers, and accompanied me that Night to my Lodging. His Name was Parker; one who had long been a Trader and Factor for Papists, here in England, to and fro beyond the Seas. He told me, by the way, that nothing did grieve him more, than that he had not been one of those who died by the aforesaid Mischance. What should make him so prodigal of his Life I know not. But sure, not long after, God did cut the Thread of his Days. For the Week following, he being the Man who must carry the News over-Sea to Douay, and going then to take Priestly Orders (there being then Need of a Supply, F. Drury, F. Redyate, and one F. Moore being so unexpectedly, as they term it, Martyred) at London-Bridge, on his first setting forward, Mr. Parker was drowned, with a Kinswoman of his, bound for Brussels, there to take on her the Habit of a Nun.]

Moreover, there was a young Girl, about the Age of ten Years, as is supposed (when this Minister, out of his charitable and commiserating Disposition, was labouring

ing for the Safety and Preservation of them, whose Necessities did then require it) came crying unto him, and said, *O my Mother, O my Sister, which are down under the Timber and Rubbish!* But he wished her to be patient for a Time, and, by God's Grace, they should get forth quickly. Upon which Speech, the Child replied presently; That, howsoever, this Accident would prove a great Scandal to their Religion. A Speech which is worthy of Admiration in all Men, as this Relator did truly admire it, that a Child of so tender Years, wherein, among the most towardsly, there is scarce Ability to discern between Good and Evil, should, next unto that Grief, which the Danger of her Mother and Sister did inflict upon her, lament for nothing more than for the Scandal which their Cause was like to suffer by the Disaster.

It was reported, also, that many more were drawn out alive, the next Morning: But I will not stand too much upon the Justification of this Report, lest I should seem to be too credulous of those Things which are contrary to the Rules of Reason and Nature.

The Day following, which was *Monday*, and the Eve of *Simon and Jude*, there was great Care had for viewing the Place, and for Burial of the Dead. For this Cause, the Recorder and Sheriffs, about one of the Clock, in the Afternoon, met at the *French* Embassador's House; having, first, shut up *Ludgate*, to prevent the Throng and Resort of the People, which was exceeding great and turbulent in those Places; and then, having doubled their Guards, upon every Port and Passage, and given express Charge unto the Warders, upon Pain of their Displeasure and Punishment, that no Man should enter in, without theirs, or the Coroner's Warrant, they fell, at length, to consult about the Business; and, after mature Consideration, concluded; That this doleful Accident fell out, not by any indirect Practise, or Conspiracy (as was, by some, maliciously reported) but that those Fourscore and odd Persons, fell by means of their own Weight, and the Weakness of the Timbers, which did support the Chamber. The Jury having thus brought in their Verdict, they disposed presently for the Burial of the Dead; some of whom were carried, by their Friends, unto Churches, far remote, there to receive their due Obsequies; others were buried in the same Place, and those were of the meanest Rank, whereof some twenty, or thereabouts, were laid in one Sepulcher, having a common Grave, as they had a common Death and Down-fall. The Conjectures, concerning this Event, were diverse: For some gave out, that it was the just Punishment, and Vengeance of God, inflicted upon them for their Idolatry. Moreover, there were divers doubtful Spirits, among the *Roman Catholics*, who thought that this was some Conspiracy of the *Protestants*: But, if the Building had been demolished, and overthrown by their indirect and treacherous Means, it must have been done, either by blowing it up with Gun-powder, by sapping away the Earth from the Foundation, by undermining it, or by cutting off, or taking away those Supporters, and Pillars, upon which the Frame, and Machine of the Building was grounded: All which were found to be false, upon most diligent Search, and Inquiry made in that behalf. But that which carried apparent Appearance of Truth, and that which the *Protestants* and *Papists* did allow, who were of the milder, more temperate, and sounder Judgment, was thus: That this Disaster happened not by Means of any Divine Miracle, or Human Malice, but by the Defect and Weakness of the Place, into which such a Multitude were crowded and assembled together, the Judgment of God concurring therewithal. The Society of the *Jesuits* did suffer much, in losing the Persons of Father *Drury*, and Father *Redyate*. And diverse Persons, of both Religions, but especially the Priests, who are Men of as great Care and Vigilancy, but of a far greater Moderation, did tax and blame them, for that they brought their Flock into a Place of no greater Safety, nor Assurance: And, besides, because their Conventicle was so public, there being divers *Protestants* assembled at it, some of whom were reported.

reported to have a Share in this Calamity, and the Times, as yet, not serving for such Assemblies, the King's Pardon being not yet published, which was granted, as they say, unto all the *Roman Catholics* of these Kingdoms. But, whatsoever thou be, *Protestant* or *Papist*, who dost see this mournful Object, judge not, lest thou be judged. Neither think thou, that those eighteen Men, on whom the Tower of *Siloam* fell, or those Persons whose Blood *Pilate* mingled with their Sacrifice, were more grievous Sinners than all the rest of the Children of *Israel*; or, that these, who perished thus together, were more notorious Offenders than all the rest of their Brethren and Religion; for, assure thy self, *that except thou repent, thou also shalt perish*. And this Repentance of thine, must not be *propter scandalum Mundi*, for the Scandal and Offence of the World; for so did *Saul* repent, when, out of a foolish, and State-spoiling Pity, he had spared *Agag*, the cursed Tyrant of *Amalek*; and but of a fair, yet foul Pretence, had spared the fairest of the Cattel for Sacrifice; for being rebuked by the Prophet *Samuel*, he doth repent, and desires him to honour him in the Sight of the Elders, and turn unto him, and he would turn unto the Lord his God. Neither must it be *propter pœnam peccati*; for their Punishment, that is due unto Sin: For so did *Achab* repent, when he was reproved by *Elias*, for killing of *Naboth*, and detaining of his Vineyard, he rent his Cloaths, and girded himself in Sack-cloth, as the Text hath it: But, after that the Fright and Terror of God's most terrible Sentence was worn out of his Mind, and the Custom of Sin began to prevail again, he sold himself to commit such Abominations, the like whereof were never committed in *Israel*. But our Repentance must be *propter reatum peccati*, for the Guilt of Sin; as Sin is a Breach of the Law, and a Transgression of God's Commandment. *Quæ sic dolet commissa, ut non doleat committenda*. Which Repentance doth grieve for Sins committed, as though it meant to commit no more; and mourns for Offences past, as though it did mean to pass over no more. We must take Repentance, as *Job* did, in Dust and Ashes: Being Dust, we must take it in Dust; and, being Ashes, we must take it in Ashes. Our Transgressions, in this Kingdom, and in this City, have been most grievous, therefore our Contrition should be eminent and exemplary. Our Pride hath made us, with *Lucifer*, to *superbire* & *superire*, to look over ourselves, not into ourselves; and to esteem ourselves like unto God, when we are scarce Men. Neither is this Pride *simplex peccatum*, a simple and single Sin; but it draws after it Excess and Riot, as it were with a Cart-rope: Unto which Luxury of ours, neither *Persian* nor *Roman* were ever equal. After which, follow Fornications and Adulteries; which are so frequent in this Place, that in vain may we speak of the *Bordellas* of *Rome*, or the Stews of *Venice*, since the Suburbs of this City are as bad as the Suburbs of *Rome*, or *Venice*. Moreover, our Drunkenness is such, that, although our Eyes look red, and our Hearts are as fat as Brawn with drinking of Wine, yet we rise up early to drink strong Drink; which, when it hath inflamed our Blood and Spirits, we are ready, with *Lot*, to fall into all Pollution and Uncleaness. And, last of all, we are so uncharitable, so stony-hearted, and close-fisted, that we may fitly be compared unto Lumps of Clay, tempered with Blood, although we are Statues of Flint, without the Blood, or Life of Charity. For this Cause repent, O *England*; repent, O *London*; repent *Protestants*; repent *Papists*, for your Transgressions, and Offences: Repent, repent; for, by these wonderful Signs and Tokens, it doth appear, most clearly, that the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand.

A Note of such Persons as were slain by the
fall of the Room wherein they were, in the
Black-Fryers, at Father *Drury's* Sermon, the
26th of *October* 1623.

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| <p>M <i>R Drury, the Priest.</i> <i>Mr. Redyate, the Priest.</i> <i>Lady Webb.</i> <i>Lady Blakstone's Daughter.</i> <i>Thomas Webb, her Man.</i> <i>William Robinson, Taylor.</i> <i>Robert Smith, Mr. Hicks's Man, the Apothecary.</i> <i>Mr. Davison's Daughter.</i> <i>Anthony Hall, his Man.</i> <i>Anne Hobdin, Maria Hobdin, lodging in Mr. Davison's House.</i> <i>John Galloway, Vintner.</i> <i>Mr. Peirson's Wife and two Sons, in Robinhood-Court, in Shoe-Lane.</i> <i>Mistress Vudall, Abigal her Maid, and two more in her House.</i> <i>John Netlan, a Taylor.</i> <i>Nathaniel Coales.</i> <i>John Hallifax.</i> <i>Mrs. Rugby, in Holborn.</i> <i>John Worrall's Son in Holborn.</i> <i>Mr. Becket, a Cornish-Man.</i> <i>Thomas Merfit, his Wife, and his Son, and Maid, in Montague-Close.</i> <i>Mrs. Summel, Maria her Maid, in Black-Fryers.</i> <i>Andrew White's Daughter in Holborn.</i> <i>Mr. Staker, Taylor, in Salisbury Court.</i> <i>Elizabeth Summers, in Grays-Inn-Lane.</i> <i>Mr. Westwood.</i> <i>Judith Bellows.</i> <i>A Man of Sir Lewis Pemberton's.</i> <i>Elizabeth Moore, Widow.</i> <i>John James.</i> <i>Morris Beucress, Apothecary.</i> <i>David Vaughan.</i> <i>Anne Feild.</i> <i>Mr. Ployden.</i> <i>Robert Heifime.</i> <i>One Medcalfe.</i> <i>Mr. Maufeild.</i> <i>Mr. Simons.</i> <i>Dorothy Simons.</i></p> | <p><i>Thomas Simons, a Boy.</i> <i>Robert Pauerkes.</i> <i>Anne Davison.</i> <i>Anthony Hall.</i> <i>Mrs. Morton, and her Maid.</i> <i>Francis Downes.</i> <i>Edmund Shey.</i> <i>Joshua Perry.</i> <i>John Tullye.</i> <i>Robert Drury.</i> <i>Thomas Draper.</i> <i>John Staiggs.</i> <i>Thomas Ellis.</i> <i>Michael Butler, in Wood-street.</i> <i>Edmund Rivals.</i> <i>Edmund Welsh.</i> <i>Bartholomew Bavin.</i> <i>Davie, an Irish-man.</i> <i>Richard Price.</i> <i>Thomas Wood.</i> <i>Christopher Hobbs.</i> <i>Elizabeth Astime.</i> <i>John Butler.</i> <i>Clarentia, a Maid.</i> <i>Jane Turner.</i> <i>Mrs. Milbourne.</i> <i>Frithwith Anne.</i> <i>Mrs. Elton.</i> <i>Mrs. Walsteed.</i> <i>Margaret Barrom.</i> <i>Henry Becket.</i> <i>Sarah Watfon.</i> <i>John Bethoms.</i> <i>Mr. Harris.</i> <i>Mrs. Thompson.</i> <i>Richard Fitguist.</i> <i>George Ceaustour.</i> <i>Mr. Grimes.</i> <i>One Barbaret,</i> <i>One Hucble,</i> <i>Walter Ward</i> <i>Rigaret,</i></p> |
|---|---|

} *inquired after.*

[The following Lists are placed, by Way of Appendix, after the before-quoted (in Pages 357 and 428) Mr. Gee's Pamphlet, intituled, *The Foot out of the SNARE: The Book itself not being very much to our present Purpose, I only extract this Piece of it, which seems to be more so.*]

A

CATALOGUE, or NOTE, OF SUCH ENGLISH BOOKS,

To the Knowledge of which I could come, as have been Printed, Re-printed, or Dispersed by the Priests, and their Agents in this Kingdom, within these two Years last past, or thereabouts.

IMPRIMIS, the *Doway Bible*, that is, the *Old Testament*, only in two Volumes, with Notes; Revised by Doctor *Worthington*, and Re-printed here *London*: Sold for forty Shillings, which at a ordinary Price, might be afforded at Ten.

The New Testament, translated by the *Rhemists*, and Re-printed in *Quarto*: Sold for sixteen, or twenty Shillings, which might be afforded for a Noble or less.

The same Testament in English, lately Printed in *decimo sexto*: Sold for twelve Shillings, which might be well afforded for Four.

The Anchor of Christian Doctrine, In four Parts, Written by Dr. *Worthington*: The three last Parts printed in *London*, and sold by him, at his Lodging, in *Turnbull-street*, for fourteen Shillings, which might be afforded for five Shillings.

The Protestant Apology. Written by *Brerely*, Re-printed and Sold for seventeen Shillings, and might be afforded for six Shilings, or less.

St. Augustine's Confessions; translated by *Tob. Matthew*, and Sold for sixteen

Shillings, being but a little Book in 8vo. and might be afforded for two Shillings and six Pence.

Two other Books in 8vo. lately Written by *Tob. Matthew*, and Sold very dear.

The Author and Substance of Protestant Religion. Written by *Smith*, a Priest now in *London*, and Sold for six Shillings, and might be afforded for twelve Pence.

Luther's Life and Doctrine, a railing Book, Written by *Lovell*, a Priest, who is at this present in *London*: Sold for eight Shillings, worth two Shillings.

An Antidote against the pestiferous Writings of English Sectaries, in two Parts. Written by D. *Norice*, a Priest, now resident in *London*: Sold for eight Shillings, and might be afforded for four Shillings.

The Guide of Faith. Written by the said Author, and Sold at an unreasonable Rate.

The Pseudo-Scripturist, by the same Author: A Book of twelve Sheets of Paper, and Sold for five Shillings.

The Christmas Vow, by the same Author, a Book of ten Sheets of Paper, and Sold for two Shillings and Six-Pence.

The

The loud lying Pamphlet, termed, *The Bishop of London's Legacy*. Written by *Musket*, a Jesuit, and Re-printed with a Preface of a new Disguise. They squeezed from some *Romish* Buyers, six or seven Shillings-a-piece: A dear Price for a dirty Lye: Yet I wish, they who have any Belief in it, might pay dearer for it.

The Summary of Controversies, Written by *D. Smith*, Sold as dear as the rest.

The New Religion, no Religion. Written by one *Floud*, a Priest now in *London*, sold at a high Rate, and so are all the rest following.

The Sum of Christian Doctrine. Written in *Latin*, by *Petrus Canisius*, and translated into *English*, by *J. Heigham*, a Priest now in *London*.

The True Christian Catholic. By the same Author.

The Life of St. Catherine of Sienna. By the same Author.

The Protestant Consultation. A dangerous Book, lately written by an unknown Author.

Jesus, Maria, Joseph. Lately come out of the Press, printed in *London* by *Simons*, a *Carmelite*, now in *London*.

Two other Books, written by the same Author; called, *The Way to find Ease, Rest, and Repose unto the Soul*.

Bellarmin's Steps, in *English*.

His Art of dying well, in *8vo*.

The Exercise of a Christian Life. By *S. B.*

The Vocation of Bishops. By *D. Champney*, now in *London*.

The Image of both Churches. By *Mr. Pateson*, now in *London*, a bitter and seditious Book.

The Exposition of the Mass.

A Treatise of the Real Presence. By *Goddard*, a Priest now in *London*.

The Love of the Soul. Printed in *London*.

The Followers of Christ. By *F. S.*

Demands to Heretics; in two Parts. By *Dr. Bristow*: Re-printed.

St. Bede's History of England. Translated into *English*.

Mr. Wadsworth's Contrition.

Cardinal Peron's Oration.

News from the Low-Countries.

VOL. I. NUMB. V.

History of Sichern.

Auricular Confession.

Missale Parvum pro Sacerdotibus.

The Office of our Lady: Or, the Primer. Two or three Sorts of them lately Printed, with Rubricks.

The Judge. By *G. M.*

The right Way to God. By *Pursell*, an *Irish Monk*, now in *London*.

Six Books full of marvellous Piety and Devotion. By *G. P.*

The Appendix. By *Dr. Norrice*.

A Defense of the Appendix. Written by *Mr. Sweet*, a Jesuit living in *Holborn*.

An Answer to the Fisher caught in his own Net; by the same Author. These three last Books containing but some six Sheets of Paper, either of them are sold, by the Authors and their Factors, for two Shillings or half a Crown a-piece.

Soliloques. By *R. T.*

The Rosary of our Lady.

Meditations upon the Rosary.

An Exposition of the Rosary.

The Mysteries of the Rosary.

An Introduction to a Devout Life. By *J. York*, a Jesuit now in *London*.

Miracles not yet ceased. By *P. L. P.* a saltless Book.

The Key of Paradise.

A Heavenly Treasury of comfortable Meditations. By *Anthony Bat*, a Friar, now in *London*.

The Word of Comfort. Written upon Occasion of the Fall of the House in *Black-Fryers*.

The Uncausing of Heresy. By *O. A.*

The Treasury of Chastity.

The Widow's Glass.

The Ecclesiastical Protestant's History. By *Dr. Smith*.

The Grounds of Old and New Religion.

The Hidden Manna.

The Wandering Saints.

The Little Memorial.

An Overthrow of the Protestants' Pulpit-Babels.

The Unity of God's Church. By one *Mr. Stevens*, a Jesuit, now in *London*.

Pointers Meditations.

The Proof of Purgatory.

A Comfort against Tribulation.

I i i

Ledismc's

Ledisme's *Catechism* ; lately printed here in England.

The Reconcilement of the Dalmatian Bishop.

The Pope's Power.

The Life of St. Bede.

A Treatise of Free-will. By Dr. Kel-lison, Rector of the College at Douay, now in London.

The Sacrament of the Catholic Church. By F. S. P.

Davis's Catechism.

The Visibility of the Church.

The Catholic Guide.

A Treatise against the Marriage of Priests. By Wilson, a Jesuit.

A Gagge of the New Gospel.

A Second Gagge.

The Honour of God. By Anthony Clerk. An idle, frothy Book, by a Brain-sick Man, a concealed Priest.

The Prelate and the Prince. A seditious Book.

The Rules of Obedience. By G. A. P.

Saint Peter's Keys. By Edmund Gill, Jesuit.

Saint Augustin's Religion. Written by Brerely, and re-printed.

The Reformed Protestant. By Brerely. There was a Printing-house suppressed, about some three Years since, in Lancashire, where all Brerely's Works, with many other *Popish* Pamphlets were printed.

The Virginal Vow. By F. S.

The Mirror of Women.

Meditations on the Passion.

A Dialogue betwixt our Saviour and the Saints.

Observations concerning the present Affairs of Holland. By You know the Hand.

The Ingratitude of Elizabeth of England, unto Philip of Spain.

The Spirit of Error. By D. Smith.

Meditations on our Saviour's Words on the Cross.

Every Saint's Prayer.

The Catholic's Crown.

The three Conversions. Re-printed. Written by F. Parsons.

Granado's Memorial.

Granado's Compendium.

Granado's Meditations translated.

The Life and Death of Cardinal Bel-larmin.

Bellarmin's Death and Burial.

The shedding of Tears.

Parsons's Resolutions. Re-printed Anno 1625.

Sion's Songs, or, The Melody of the Blessed.

An Epistle of Jesus to the Soul.

An Epistle of Comfort to the persecuted Catholics.

The Following of Christ.

The Life of Christ.

Puenta's Abridgment.

The Saints Lives. Translated of late by Kinsman.

Saint Peter's Complaint, and Mary Magdalen's Tears.

The Office of Saint Benedict.

Saint Ignatius's Life.

Saint Teresa's Life.

Saint Clare's Life.

Saint Catharine of Bologna's Life.

Saint Mary Magdalen's Pilgrimage.

The Spiritual Conflict.

Dowley's Catechism.

The Paradise of the Soul.

The Paradise of Delight.

Molina, of Mental Prayer.

Of the Excellency of the Mass.

Of Perfection. By Pinel.

Of Communion. By the same Author.

Villacastina's Exercises.

Of Christian Works. By F. Borgia.

Contempt of the World.

The Four Capuchins.

Treatise of Indulgences.

The Daily Practice.

The Enemies of God. By M. Barlow, a Priest, now in London.

The Holy Triumph.

The Prosperity of the Visible Church.

The Manual of Prayers. Re-printed.

A Watch-word. By F. Baker.

The Apologist. By Richard Conway.

A Treatise of the Invocation and Adoration of Saints. By Thomas Lee.

The Principles of Catholic Religion. By Richard Stauniburst.

Of the Conversion of Nations, of the Miracles, of the Martyrdoms, and of the Union

Union of the Members of the Catholic Church. By George Allanson, Jesuit.

A Treatise of True Zeal.

F. Drury's Reliques. Somewhat found in his Study after his Death.

Flagellum Dei, or, A Sword for Contradictors. A ridiculous Pamphlet. Written by P. D. M.

Coffin, against an Epistle of D. Hall, concerning the Marriage of Ecclesiastical Persons. Mistaken in the former Edition, for the Answer to D. Hall's Book,

intituled, *The Honour of the married Clergy.*

Walsingham's Search. In Quarto.

Walpole against Doctor Downham, Of Antichrist.

Fox's Calendar. Re-printed Anno 1623.

Fitz-Herbert, Of Policy and Religion. Reprinted.

Treatise of Faith. By F. Percy.

Saint Bede's History of England, translated into English.

A certain notorious *Jesuit*, lodging in a Sanctuary, not far from the *Savoy*, is himself a great Merchant, for the Commodity of these *Popish* Pamphlets; and, as I have heard some of his Brethren say, he hath thriven well thereby, especially while he fished in troubled Waters. My self have seen greater Store of Books, in Quires, at his Chamber, than I ever beheld in any *Stationer's* Ware-house about *Paul's*; he having two or three large Rooms filled out with Heaps in this Kind, to the very Top.

THE NAMES

OF THE

Romish PRIESTS and JESUITS,

Now resident about the City of LONDON,
March 26. 1624.

OLD Father *Bishop*, the Nominal Bishop of *Chalcedon*.

F. Overton, his principal Chaplain.

D. Kellison, Rector of the *English* College at *Donay*.

D. Worthington, the Translator, or Corrector of the *Donay* Bibles, and Author of, *The Anchor of Christian Doctrine*.

D. Collington, the Titular Arch-Deacon of *London*, lodging in *St. John's*.

D. Wright, a grave, ancient Man; Treasurer for the Priests, and very rich, thought to be worth Thousands of Pounds. He lodgeth in the *White-Fryers*.

D. Norice, one who hath written divers Books, of late, mentioned in the former Catalogue.

III 2

D.

D. *Smith*, senior, sometime of the College of *Rome*, and Author of divers pestilent Books.

D. *Smith*, junior, Author of divers other Books, no less dangerous.

D. *Champney*, Author of the Book called, *The Vocation of Bishops*.

D. *Bristow*, sometimes of the College at *Donay*.

F. *Blackfen*, a Jesuit, an ancient Man, lodging in *Drury-lane*.

F. *Sweet*, a Jesuit, well known, lodging at the upper-end of *Holborn*.

F. *Musket*, a Secular Priest, lodging over-against St. *Andrew's* Church in *Holborn*; a frequent Preacher, and one who hath much Concourse of People to his Chamber.

F. *Fisher*, a notorious Jesuit, lodging near the *Savoy*.

F. *Harvey*, a very dangerous Jesuit.

F. *Austin*, a Jesuit, an aged Man.

F. *Boulton*, a Jesuit.

F. *Macham*, a Jesuit, lodging near the *Custom-house*.

F. *Barlow*, a Jesuit, lodging about the *Custom-house*.

F. *Townsend*, alias *Ruckwood*, Brother to that *Ruckwood*, who was executed at the *Gun-powder Treason*, a Jesuit; a little Black Fellow, very compt and gallant, lodging about the Midst of *Drury-lane*, acquainted with collapsed Ladies.

F. *Brown*, a Jesuit, lodging in St. *Martin's-lane*.

F. *Palmer*, } both Jesuits, lodging about *Fleet-street*, very rich in Apparell; the one
F. *Palmier*, } a flaunting fellow, useth to wear a scarlet Cloak over a crimson Sattin Suit.

F. *Rivers*, } both Jesuits.
F. *Rivers*, }

F. *Lathom*, a Jesuit; he was sometime a Bird in the Stone Cage at *Lancaster*.

F. *Goddard*, a Jesuit, lodging about *White-Fryers*.

F. *Patteson*, a Jesuit, lodging in *Fetter-lane*.

F. *Hammershed*, lodging in *White-Fryers*.

F. *Armstrong*, a Jesuit; one who insinuateth dangerously, and hath seduced many.

F. *Floud*, a Jesuit, lying about *Fleet-lane*.

F. *Floud*, a Secular Priest, lodging in the *Strand*.

F. *Kerkbam*, a Jesuit.

F. *Anderson*, a Jesuit.

F. *Moore*, a Jesuit.

F. *Moore*, a Secular Priest, Kinsman to D. *Moore*, the *Popish* Physician.

F. *Skinner*, a Jesuit.

F. *Simons*, a *Carmelite*; Author of divers late foolish Pamphlets. His Lodging is in the Lower-End of *Holborn*.

F. *Low*, a Jesuit.

F. *Simons*, next Neighbour.

F. *Knox*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Shellay*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Price*, a Secular Priest, who was long a Prisoner in *Newgate*.

F. *Wilson*, lodging about *Bloomsbury*; and one who escaped at the *Black-Fryers*.

F. *Hilton*, a Secular Priest; one who escaped the same Time.

F. *Medcalf*, now lodging in *Shoe-lane*; a good Companion, but not guilty of much Learning, He is often deep laden with Liquor.

F. *Richardson*, a *Benedictin* Fryer, of great Acquaintance about the Town. He lodgeth at the farther End of *Gray's-Inn-lane*.

F. *Root*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Hunt*, a *Carthusian* Fryer, lodging in *Holborn*; an old Man.

F. *Conway*, a Jesuit.

F. *Stevens*, a little Man; a Monk.

F. *Wilde*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Smith*, } two Secular Priests, besides
F. *Smith*, } the two Jesuits of that Name, now resident in *London*.

F. *Green*, lodging over-against *Northampton* Stables.

F. *Houghton*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Southworth*, } both Secular Priests.
F. *Southworth*, }

F. *Edmunds*, } the one, as I have heard,

F. *Edmunds*, } a Jesuit; the other, a *Franciscan* Fryer.

F. *Mel-*

F. *Melling*, a Secular Priest, lodging in *Holborn*.

F. *Lovel*, a Secular Priest, lodging in *Holborn*.

F. *Townley*, a Secular Priest, lodging about the *Strand*.

F. *Bonham*, alias *Eveson*, a Jesuit, lodging at Mr. *Whiting's*, in *Fetter-lane*.

F. *Farmer*, a Jesuit, Prisoner in the *Clink*.

F. *Mattocks*.

F. *Marshall*, a Secular Priest, lately come to Town.

F. *Ward*.

F. *Greenway*, a Jesuit.

F. *Heath*, a Jesuit.

F. *Turner*.

F. *Price*, Superior of the *Benedictins*.

F. *Ploydon*, a Jesuit.

F. *Holt*.

F. *Copley*, senior, a Jesuit.

F. *Copley*, junior, one who hath newly taken Orders, and come from beyond Sea.

F. *Faulkner*, a Jesuit.

F. *Hart*, a Jesuit.

F. *Cleak*, the Gentlewomens Confessor.

F. *Blunt*.

F. *Jackson*, alias *Nelson*, a Secular Priest, an ancient Man.

F. *Poulton*.

F. *Bacon*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Grainer*.

F. *Ash*.

F. *Worthington*, a Jesuit, Nephew to Dr. *Worthington*.

F. *Jo. Bennet*, } Secular Priests.

F. *Ed. Bennet*, }

F. *Cannow*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Southcot*, a Jesuit.

F. *Mannock*.

F. *Lovet*, Brother to the three *Papish* Goldsmiths of that Name.

F. *Fairclough*, born in *London*.

F. *Lurtice*, a Jesuit; his Brother a *Pewterer*, a *Papist* in *London*, dwelling in *Tower-street*.

F. *Joseph Haines*, alias *Harvy*.

F. *Tho. Everet*.

F. *Shepherd*.

F. *Blackstone*, alias *Ford*.

F. *Prescot*.

F. *Wainman*.

F. *Laitbwait*.

F. *Reynolds*.

F. *Bangor*.

F. *Harrington*.

F. *Davenport*.

F. *Allinson*.

F. *Thomas*.

F. *Dawson*.

F. *Man*.

F. *Hugan*.

F. *Hugan*.

F. *Porter*, a Jesuit, lately come out of *Lancashire*.

F. *Bunney*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Blackman*.

D. *Stanley*.

F. *Maxfield*, a Secular Priest, lodging in *Holborn*.

Simon Maxfield, a Deacon, lodging in *Fleet-street*.

F. *Gerard*, a Secular Priest, lodging about *Westminster*.

F. *Hensworth*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Davyes*, an old blind Man, lodging about *Holborn-Conduit*.

F. *Bentley*. I know not of what Order.

F. *Pursell*, an *Irish-man*; a Monk, a young, proud Fellow.

F. *Walsingham*, alias *Knot*, lodging about the *Custom-house*.

F. *Brabant*.

F. *Linch*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Gerald*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Sherlock*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Stanniburst*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Carrig*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Hoaling*, an *Irish-man*.

F. *Gowin*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Chamberlain*, a Secular Priest, lodging about the *Black-Fryers*; a Man of great Employment, born about *London*.

F. *Turpin*.

F. *Annieur*, a *French-man*; but one who hath long lived in *England*, and insinuateth with some of our Nation very dangerously.

F. *Castle*.

F. *Jones*, alias *Hay*, a Jesuit.

F. *Jones*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Martin*, alias *Quarleys*, a Monk, a Citizen's

Citizen's Son of London.

F. *Bastin*.

F. *Wood*, a very dangerous Fellow.

F. *Bellingham*.

F. *Young*.

F. *Parkins*.

F. *Harris*, very shallow-pated; and yet some say, he is a Jesuit, which I much wonder at.

F. *Baldwin*.

F. *Conyers*.

F. *Coppinger*, a Jesuit.

F. *Woodson*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Woodson*, a Secular Priest.

F. *York*.

F. *Brookes*.

F. *Arncot*.

F. *Hughes*.

F. *Galloway*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Scroop*, a Jesuit.

F. *Langtree*.

F. *Umpton*, a Jesuit, an old, short Fellow.

F. *Bold*, a *Benedictin* Monk.

F. *Bradshaw*, a Jesuit.

F. *Line*, an *Augustin* Fryer. He now and then fetcheth a Voyage into *Buckinghamshire*.

F. *Doughty*.

F. *Jenison*, a Jesuit.

F. *Read*.

F. *Chambers*.

F. *Halsal*, an *Ignaro*.

F. *Jackson*, a *Franciscan* Fryer, Brother to *Nelson*.

F. *North*.

F. *Cox*, a Jesuit.

F. *Banister*.

F. *Everard*, } two of them Jesuits,

F. *Everard*, } and one a Secular

F. *Everard*, } Priest.

F. *Eveleigh*.

F. *Powel*.

F. *Skinner*, a *Benedictin* Monk.

F. *Edwards*.

F. *Jo. Wortbington*.

F. *Peters*, alias *Wilford*.

F. *White*.

F. *Stroud*.

F. *Jennings*.

F. *Albam*, a Jesuit.

F. *Bast*.

F. *Sanders*.

F. *Dyer*.

F. *Heigham*, Author of many loud-lyin Pamphlets.

F. *Clavil*, alias *Lusber*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Mompford*, a *Benedictin* Fryer.

F. *Bishop*, alias *Brabant*.

F. *Rimington*.

F. *Molynaux*.

F. *Dade*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Birket*, disguised under the Name and Profession of a Physician, or Surgeon.

F. *Kinsman*.

F. *Durham*.

Two Priests, lodging in Mistress *Fowler's* House, in *Fetter-lane*, whose Names I cannot learn.

F. *Ireland*, sometime School-master of *Westminster*.

F. *Weston*, a Jesuit.

F. *Tomson*, a Jesuit, lodging in *Shoe-lane*; otherwise called, *Tom Post*, his right Name, *W. Weathered*, born in *London*.

F. *Lawrence*.

F. *Charles*, a limping, hobbling Priest.

F. *Stone*, a Jesuit.

F. *Newton*, lying behind the *Old Exchange*.

F. *Towers*, an *Augustin* Fryer.

F. *Lancaster*, a Jesuit.

F. *Radford*, a Jesuit.

F. *Stubbley*, a boon Companion.

F. *Montague*, a Jesuit.

F. *Banks*, a Secular Priest, lodging in *Field-lane*, born in *London*; Deputy *Banks's* Son.

F. *Taylor*, late Confessor to the Fryers in *Ireland*, and newly come into this Kingdom.

F. *Stanley*, Brother to Sir *Wm. Stanley*, Governor of *Marklin*.

F. *Ward*, a Ruffler, with a Rapier at his Side.

F. *Ashton*, alias *Fisher*, Mr. *Musket's* Brother.

F. *Knot*, a Jesuit, lately come from *Rome*.

F. *Roe*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Farmer*, Brother to the former *Farmer*.

F. *Andrew Fryer*, a Secular Priest.

F. *Turbervil*, alias *Herbert*.

F. *Bab-*

F. *Babthorp*.
 F. *Camp*.
 F. *Colbeck*.
 F. *Yeomans*.
 F. *Tong*, alias *Trolope*.
 F. *Santon*, alias *Constance*.
 F. *Dauby*.
 F. *Mordant*.
 F. *Charnock*.
 F. *Boughton*.
 F. *Gregory*.
 F. *Malleard*.
 F. *Kenunion*.
 F. *Gray*.
 F. *Jervise Pool*, a Jesuit.
 F. *Lentall*, a Jesuit.
 F. *Doctor Tempest*.
 F. *Milford*, a Jesuit.

F. *Morrice*.
 F. *Edward Chetwin*, a Jesuit.
 F. *Cyprian*.
 F. *Lockwood*.
 F. *Alban Rowe*, a Secular Priest.
 F. *Joseph Mettam*.
 F. *Blimston*, a Secular Priest.
 F. *Pettinger*, a *Benedictin* Monk.
 F. *Atkins*, a Secular Priest.
 F. *Jones*, a Jesuit.
 F. *Coaley*, a Jesuit.
 F. *Buckley*.
 F. *George Hestone*.
 F. *Arthur Read*.
 F. *Carre*.
 F. *Vaughan*.
 F. *Barret*, a Secular Priest.

These be all the Birds of this Feather, which have come to my Eye, or Knowledge, as residing in, or resorting to this City; yet above seven Times so many there are, who overspread our Thickets, through *England*, appeareth by the empty Nests beyond the Seas, from whence they have flown, by Shoals, of late; I mean, the *Seminary Colleges*, which have deeply disgorged, by several Missions of them, and also is gathered, by particular Computation of their divided Troops; when-as, in one Shire, where I have abode some Time, there are reputed to nestle almost three Hundred of this Brood.

Though they be here set down by one Name, they are not unfurnished of diverse other Names, which they change at Pleasure, as oft as Gallants do their Suits: yet, sometimes they double-Line themselves with many Names at once.

The Number of these Romish PRIESTS, is 255.

A

C A T A L O G U E

Of such *Popish* Physicians in and about the City of *London*, as the Author either knoweth, or by good Information heareth of.

DR *Moore*, a Man much employed, and insinuating with great Persons in our State. His Abode is in *St. Brides*, at Mr. *Vicks* the Apothecary.

D. *Fryer, Sen. Nomine &c re fraterculus.*

D. *Fryer, Jun.* He agreeth with his Brother in *Popery*; though in other Respects they differ. D. *Cade-*

D. *Cademan*: A fair-conditioned Man, sometime of *Trinity College*, in *Cambridge*.

D. *Flond*: Not he of the Colledge of that Name, but one who liveth in *Fleet-street*.

D. *Lodge*, dwelling on *Lambert-Hill*.

D. *Berry*, in *Fleet-street*, against *Water-lane*.

D. *Baldwin*, in *Holborn*.

D. *Price*, in *Chancery-lane*, one who lived many Years in *Rome*.

D. *Hawkins*, in *Charter-house-Court*.

D. *Web*, in the *Old-Baily*. He pretendeth to teach a New Way to learn Languages, and by this Occasion may inveigle Disciples.

D. *Gifford*, dwelling without *Ludgate*, in the little Alley.

D. *Hinchlow*, without *Temple-Bar*.

D. *Eglestone*. a Scotsman, in *Noble-street*.

M. *Prugeon*, in *Silver-street*, a Can-

didate of the College. He put up his Grace of late for Doctor, in the University of *Cambridge*: But Oath there being to be taken, doth stop his Proceeding.

D. *Read*, a Doctor of *Padua*, lodging in *Holborn* or *Bloomsbury*. Not he who is of the College of that Name, who is a Religious Gentleman, and learned in his Profession.

D. *Edward's*, lately come to Practise in this City.

D. *Jaquinto*, an *Italian*.

M. *Lucatilli*, a Mountebank, lodging without *Temple-Bar*.

M. *Covert*, an Emperical Man, in *Holborn*.

M. *Sharpleys*, such another.

M. *Dice*, who saith he is a Doctor. *Vix credo*. Yet a little Learning might serve, if he had his Proceedings from *Padua*.

Monfieur, a *French* Doctor, lurking about the *Strand*: He sometimes goes to hear a Mass near the *Savoy*.

Whether these, or any of them be allowed by the Approbation and Authority of the College of Physicians, I know not. But sure it is, that those who take their Degrees Publickly in *Popish* Universities, beyond the Seas, do take a solemn Oath of Obedience to the Pope. And it is vehemently suspected, that some of these have a private Faculty and Power from the See of *Rome*, to exercise the Authority of *Romish* Priests, in reconciling and absolving their Patients, *in articulo mortis*, upon Point of Death or great Danger.

Besides these, there are other Physicians, not unsuspected. And there are divers Surgeons and Apothecaries known to be *Recusants*. Of whom Notice may be taken.

Bacon,
Hickes,
Bridges,
Hen. Lusher.

} *Popish* Apothecaries in
Fleet-street.

Robert Vawdrey, on *Snow-Hill*.
Bates, without *Newgate*.
Sylvester Plunket, in *Holborn*.

Non de arte, nisi
Artifex.

The Raser-Surgeon, very many of them *Popish*, though altogether illiterate, have been of late very presumptuous, and take on them to administer Physick, by means whereof many Men's Lives have been indangered. *Ne futor ultra crepidem*.

ROBERT

ROBERT, Earl of ESSEX's GHOST;

Sent from ELYSIUM; to the Nobility, Gentry, and
Commonality of ENGLAND.

Virtutum Comes Invidia.

Printed in PARADISE. 1624.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality of *England*.

Nobles, Gentlemen, Commons:

ALthough in this most holy and glorious Assembly of Angels and Saints, in the most High Star-Chamber Court of Heaven, where Almighty God, and his Son *Christ Jesus*, are King and Prince, we the Saints, do neither participate nor sympathize of the Good or Evil Condition of you Mortals on Earth: Yet, seeing it is a Part of that Glory, which God affordeth us in Heaven, to have a Measure of Knowledge of your Condition on Earth; and I, particularly taking Knowledge of the Miserable and Distracted present Estate of the whilome flourishing Realm of *England*, in the Days of my then dread Sovereign (now fellow Saint) Queen *Elizabeth* (of blessed and immortal Memory on Earth, and in Heaven) could do no less than give you this *sacred Declaration* and *Admonishment*, which I send you, by this my *blessed Genius*, written with a Pen made of an *Angel's Pinion*, and agreeing with my *Apology*, which I left behind me on Earth, in mine own Defense, and for the Good of my Country, after my Decease.

The lawful Succession of your now King, when I was among you on Earth, I never questioned, but maintained, and was ever ready to maintain (with Dint of my Sword, if need had been) his Title, against whomsoever offered to question the same, as was, and is well known to his Majesty. That he was a prudent, learned, and religious (educated) Prince, I also never doubted; but, that such a Prudent, Learned, and Religious Prince, should be so far misled, by some false-hearted Counsellors at home, and fawning Foreign Embassadors, from the Enemies of God and his Gos-

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pel professed in *England*, to the Detriment of the Kingdom: That, I say, makes me not a little to marvel; and mourn I should for my Native Country, but that, here in Heaven, we are not subject to Passion.

Upon my certain Knowledge, notwithstanding all the fair Shew of League and Amity, between *James* King of *Scots*, and *Philip* King of *Spain*, the Crown of *Scotland* was no longer safe on King *James's* Head, than while my Sovereign Lady and Mistress, Queen *Elizabeth*, by her valiant Men of Action, curbed King *Philip*, and kept him in Awe: For, had his ambitious, wicked, and devilish Design of *England's* Invasion, in 88, taken Effect, is there any so childish to think, that his Invasion would have had any Period at *Berwick*? Sure I am, King *James* had Wisdom enough to know, that his Crown and Kingdom lay then at the Stake, in the second Place, next unto *England*. For King *James*, then of *Scotland*, made a *fewert Sonnet*, as a Monument and Commemoration of his and our Deliverance, from that *Foreign* and *godless Fleet*, as he then termed *It*: Which *Sonnet*, as I then received it, I here present unto your View and Consideration.

*The Nations, banded 'gainst the Lord of Might
Prepar'd a Force, and set them to the Way:
Mars dress'd himself in sick and awful Plight,
The like whereof was never seen, they say;
They forward came in monstrous Array,
Both Sea and Land beset us every where,
Bragg threatened us a ruinous Decay.
What came of that? The Issue will declare:
The Winds began to toss them here and there,
The Seas began, in foaming Waves, to swell:
The Number that escap'd it fell them fair,
The rest were swallow'd up in Gulfs of Hell.
But how were all these Things mirac'ulous done?
God looks at them out of his Heav'nly Throne.*

The same *Sonnet* is extant, in *Latin*, by *Metellanus*, Lord Chancellor of *Scotland*.

Matters so standing, the Marvel is; That upon the mature shutting in of the Evening of your long Summer's Day, of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, King *James* lawfully and peaceably succeeding to the Crowns of *England* and *Ireland*, he so suddenly concludes (as it were) an inviolable League, with that ambitious King *Philip* of *Spain*, who never made League with any King, Prince, or State, but for his own End and Advantage.

If I were on Earth, I know some of you would answer me; King *James* was a peaceable Prince, and so loved to be at Peace and Amity with other *Christian* Princes: Yea, and it seems, your King himself is much affected with the very Name of *Peace*, alledging; That he had been a peaceable King from his Cradle; That *Beati Pacisfui* is his happy destined *Motto*; and with such like self-pleasing Songs, hath a long Time sung a *Requiem* to himself, &c. I must confess, it is a happy Thing for *Christian* and *Religious* Kings, Princes, and States to be at Peace, in Unity and Amity one with another. But on the other Side, it is as unhappy and dangerous a Thing, to have League and Amity with *Roman Catholic* Kings and Princes, who are, I say, sworn and professed Enemies to God, and his Gospel, as was, and is, this great *Catholic* King *Philip*, and his *Austrian-Castilian* Family.

When I was a Servant to my Prince and Country on Earth, my Affection in Nature was indifferent, *tam Marti, quam Mercurio*, and I was more enflamed with the Love of Knowledge, than the Love of Fame: Which some of your * *Men of State*, and great Place, yet living, who knew my Heart, can bear me Witness.

* Henry Earl of Southampton, &c.

But

But my Noble, and Religious * Father, *Walter Earl of Essex*, upon his Death-Bed, gave me in Precept three main and weighty * He dyed Earl Matters, viz. First, *To serve God according to his Ordinances in his* Marshal of Ire-
Word. Secondly, *To obey my Prince.* Thirdly, *To love and serve* land. An. 1576.
my Country; unto which he added, *To beware of and to hate all Po-*
pish Superstition and Idolatry. All which he Religiously enlarged, and pressed unto
 me; the more, in Regard of my tender, youthful, and unripe Years. Which *Swan-*
like Song of my dear Parent took so deep an Impression on me, that I being called
 by my Sovereign, the Queen (and, being but a Youth, she was pleased to call me her
 Boy) to serve her Majesty and my Country, did the willinger yield and *obey* the Com-
 mand of her *my Prince*, and entered into Action.

First; In the Year of our Lord 1585, and 19th of my Pupil-Age, I went, with the
 Earl of *Leicester*, my Father-in-Law, into the *Netherlands*, where I had the Honour-
 able Charge of General of the Horse, in a fair Army: Where, I adventured my Life,
 and subjected my self to many Kinds of Wants, disagreeing with my Education and
 Years, &c. Which I did for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

Secondly; In the Year 1589, I enterprized my Voyage into *Portugal*, with a poor
 distressed and exiled King, Don *Antonio*, whom I many Times (with Pity) heard re-
 peat, with Tears, the Story of his Oppressions by *Philip* King of *Spain*, who, by Force
 and Tyranny, had Usurped his Crown of *Portugal*: Also, considering the Enemy a-
 gainst whom I went, an insolent, cruel, and usurping Prince, who disturbed the Com-
 mon-peace, was a general Enemy to the Liberty of all *Christendom*, and in particu-
 lar aspired the Conquest of my Country; and the Cause I went was, to deliver the
 Oppressed out of the Hands of the Oppressor; and (by giving the *Castilian* his
 Hand-full at home) to free both mine own Country, and our Confederates from the Fear
 and Danger of his Attempts: And, Lastly, a Time in which I went, when as mine
 Eyes, full of Disdain, had so lately seen his (falsely called) *Invincible Armada* sail by
 our Shore: When all brave Hearts in *England* boiled till they saw that *insolent Enemy*
 taught, both to know himself and value us. And had the *Portugals* risen and assisted
 me, I should have gone nigh to have plucked *Portugal's* Crown off the Usurper's Head,
 and placed it on the lawful King's Head; but they, for Fear of *Philip*, were faithless
 to *Antonio*. Yet, in that my Voyage, what I attempted in Aid of the wronged and
 banished King, and for Honour of my Prince and Country, if you know it not, let
 your Chronicles resolve you.

Thirdly; In the Year 1591. I conducted and was General of her Majesty, my So-
 vereign's Succours to *Henry* the *French* King, a Prince, who for his admirable Valour,
 and often fighting, with his own Hands, against his Enemies, was not only the most
 Famous, but the most Renowned and Redoubted Captain of *Christendom*: And the End
 of that my Service, was, to free the Maritime Parts of *Normandy* from the Hands
 of the League and Power of the *Spaniards*; that thereby, he our Enemy should find
 less Succour or Favour in those Seas, &c. This also was done, for Honour of my
 Prince and Country.

Fourthly; In the Year 1596, I undertook my *Spanish* Voyage to *Cadiz*; where,
 not only I soon seized on, sacked and burned the Town, and enriched my Followers and
 Soldiers, but we burned his best Shipping, and brought away his Ordnance, and some
 Ships, destroying his Sea Provision: Yea, put him to such Charge and Loss, as he
 shortly after played Bankrupt with all his Creditors, &c. And this also I did, for Ho-
 nour of my Prince and Country.

Fifthly; In the Year 1597, my *Spanish* Voyage towards the *Tercera's*, was intended,
 with her Majesty's Leave, and by her Command, for *Fayal*, to assail the *Adelantado* there,
 and thither I shaped my Course; and had it been prosperous and fortunate, I had made my
 Sovereign such an absolute Queen of the Ocean, and disarmed and disabled the Enemy

at Sea, as that she might either have enforced him to any Conditions of Peace, or made War on him, to her infinite Advantage, and his utter Ruin.

But that my Design was fatally frustrated, by violent and long Tempests, which took us in the Height of 46, which scattered our Fleet, disabled, and almost drowned most of our principal Ships; and (when we could no longer bear it up against the Wind) drove us back upon our own Coast. And to what a desperate Case my own Ship was brought, there were Witnesses enough! My Attempts, and Endeavours were not the less, my Dangers, and Indurance of Hardness, the more, &c. and all, for the Honour of my Prince and Country.

When *Philip*, King of *Spain* (that mortal Enemy of my Prince, and Country) had made many Attempts, and Assaults upon us, but failed, and was frustrated in all, then he begged of the *Pope*, my Sovereign's Kingdom of *Ireland*, and sent his [reputed] Bastard-Brother, *Don Juan de Aquila*, to take Possession of it

But this Messenger (a *Vice-roy* in his Conceit) was soon sent back, with an *English* Flea in his *Spanish* Ear, which made such a Buzzing in his Head, that, either with *that*, or else, by a *Spanish* Fig, the good *Don* discontentedly departed this Life, in a short Time after his Return into *Spain*.

At length (and it was my last Voyage) by Command of my Sovereign, I was made, and sent Lord-General into *Ireland*, of all her Majesty's Forces. And there, when I had begun to subjugate those head-strong Rebels, and brought their Ring-leader (that notable Rebel *Tyr-oen*) upon his Knees, I was forced, abruptly, to return back into *England*; and my Commission was conferred upon another Noble

* *Charles Lord Mountjoy* * my Inferior, who was sent over to wade against those Rebels, after I had broken the Ice afore-hand; and he had the Honour happily to perform what I had carefully and painfully projected and

intended. In the *interim*, the fatal Thread of my Mortal Life was almost spun, and my Glass nigh thorow run; my Enemies laying many heinous Crimes unto my Charge, and therewith abusing my Sovereign's Ears, and incensing her Sacred Majesty against me.

But, Beloved Mortals, it is not my Meaning (neither would I have you expect it) to touch the Injury of the Times, in those my later Days; nor the *State-Faction* of *Men in Place*, my *then* Enemies. I forbear to touch, also, how, by the Machinations of Men, my gracious Sovereign was forced to Sign the Hastening of my Death: For, before my Head was severed from my Shoulders (with which Stroke my immortal Soul was separated from my mortal Body) I forgave them all, and left my Cause to God, to whom Vengeance is due: And, *certainly*, my God hath been thorowly avenged of them all (my Enemies) to their Dishonour, and Disgrace on Earth; yea, before Men and Angels. And all was but like an impetuous Storm, to hasten my arriving in the Harbour of Heaven: Here, where there is no Room for Revenge, nor ought else, but holy Love; which hath moved me to send you, of my *quondam* Country, this my Declaration, or Discourse (call it what you will) wherein, I list not neither to meddle with the *Arcana Imperii* of your King and State, farther than shall beseem a zealous Patriot, who tendereth still, and wisheth the Welfare and flourishing State of his once dear and native Country.

And now, well-beloved *Englishmen*, in the Premises, I have given you a short Account of my Life, and, as it were, an *Epitome* of my Time-spending on Earth. In which Employments, I impaired my Hereditary Estate; * *Mr. Walter Devereux slain at the Siege of Rouen, 1591.* lost my dear, and only * Brother, the Half-Arch of my House; and buried also many of my nearest and dearest Friends; subjected my self to the Rage of the Sea's Violence, general Plagues, Famine, and all Kind of Wants; Discontentments of undisciplined, and unruly Multitudes; and Reception of all Events; and all, for the Honour and Renown of my gracious Prince,

Prince, and dear Country ; keeping in Mind my Father's Charge, *Sit tota Britannia Testis.*

Now, Beloved Mortals, let me come more nearly to counsel and advise with you.

First ; That the *Spanish* King's revengeful Humour was insatiable, appeared, when, in my Time, *Anno 1597*, he came newly out of a Trance, which was thought would have been his last Swoon, he asked (the first Word that he spake) Whether the *Adelantado* were gone for *England* ? And, if Remorse of Conscience would have quenched his Thirst of Revenge, he would not, a little before his Death, in his Devotions (being all *Mass*) have vowed to be revenged on *England*, though he sold all those *Candlesticks* upon the Altar before him.

Secondly ; That all Treaties with *Spain* (an idolatrous and irreligious Nation) were both unsafe, and dangerous, I proved, by unanswerable Arguments, in my *Apology*, Page 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30. And how injurious the zealous Peace-makers of those Times, were to the State, I proved, Page 35, 36. How necessary, gainful, and honourable it was, for the State of *England*, to have Wars with *Spain*, I proved, Page 36, 37 ; and so to the End of my *Apology*. But some of you, haply, will now say, *That now the Times are changed, and, with the Time, the Spaniard's Mind is altered.* Indeed, I remember the old Poet said ;

Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.

But that is quite contrary in the *Spaniard* : For, although old King *Philip* be dead, yet there is a young (*Jesuited*) *Philip* sprung from his Loins. It is an old, and homely Proverb, *That which is bred in the Bone, will never out of the Flesh* : But it is a true, and observable Saying, and in *that House*, above all others.

“ For, as I told you, in my *Apology*, whenever old King *Philip* *Apol.* Pag. 19.
“ should dye, his Son's Blood would be as hot, and hotter than his Father's ; and
“ his Humour of Ambition like to be greater, as having been bred in *Domo Reg-*
“ *natrice*, and his Mind swoln, *vetere & insita Austriacæ Familie suberbia*”. So as, in the *Spaniards* seeming peaceable Proffers, there is no Hope, &c.

Nay, if it chance there be *Infancy*, or *Idiotism* found in any *Heir*, or *Offspring* of *that Race*, the States of *Spain* are politic enough, as being sworn thereunto (though by never so dishonourable, and degenerate Means, and Machinations) to promote the Enlargement of his *Western Monarchy*. And, *certainly*, he having, of late Years, since the Death of my Sovereign Lady *Elizabeth*, gotten such Footing in *Christendom*, by dispossessing of, and incroaching upon some Princes, and States, their ancient, and lawful *Inheritance*, *Princedom*, and *Territories*, by which Means he hath, as it were, begirded *France* with his Garisons : Is, I say, his Ambition thereby lessened ? Surely, no ; but, as his *Conquests* are enlarged, so his *Ambition* and *Malice* are abundantly increased towards other *Christian* Princes and States : Witness, his late cruel, and bloody Attempts, and perpetual Designs to his *Universal Monarchy* ; and the Progress of his *Conquests*, with the Help of his Confederates of the (terrestrial) Omnipotent *Austrian House*, in *Italy*, the *Grisons Country*, *Switzerland*, *Bohemia*, *Germany*, and, I say, the *Frontiers* of flourishing *France*, since the Death of *Henry the Fourth*, the *French King*, of famous Memory. And, in all these Places, he, and the Emperor, his Confederate and Cousin, do labour to extirpate the Gospel, and persecute the Professors thereof, even unto Death.

It would be known, what King *James* saith to all this, who is *Defender of the Faith*, and Head of all the united Kings and Princes of the Religion in *Christendom*.

We have, here in Heaven, secret Intelligence, that he, not contenting himself with making that League with *Spain*, hath also entertained a Treaty of Marriage, for the Prince

Prince his only Son, with the Daughter of *Spain*: And *certainly*, the very Angels have blushed at this News, that your King, who is of so profound Judgment, Learning, and Knowledge in Divine Matters, should ever assent to Treat of Matching his only Son with a Wife of a contrary Religion; especially with an Imp, sprung from such an incestuous Generation, as is that of *Austria* and *Spain*, or *Spain* and *Austria*, chuse

* *Sandy's* Relation of the *West* Parts, pag. 26, 27.

you whether; which is unanswerably proved, by one of your most acute and ingenuous * Writers. Without doubt, King *James* cannot but know in his Conscience, that it is directly against the revealed Will of God, in Holy Writ, for *Christian* Princes and People, who profess the Gospel, to Match with *Roman Catholics*; which made himself Match with *Denmark's* Daughter, a *Protestant* Princess; and

afterwards he matched his Daughter with the Count *Palatine*, a *Protestant* Prince; Witness also his Majesty's own Pen, in his *Basilicon Doron*.

How comes it then to pass, that he is so misled, as not only to entertain of this Treaty with *Spain*, but suffer himself to be so baffled and abused, as that, about the said Treaty, he hath wasted the Treasure of the Kingdom, in a far greater Measure than his Royal Predecessor, Queen *Elizabeth*, my gracious Sovereign, did to maintain Wars against *Spain* and all his Adherents? I fear, I fear, you of his Nobility, and Council (unto whom it belongs) are not so faithful, true hearted and stout, as Religiously to advise, and counsel your King, as you ought, not to suffer himself to be abused, his Kingdom to be well-nigh ruined, and his Subjects impoverished.

Oh! the flourishing State of your *Fairy-Land*, in the Days of Yore, while I was on Earth, under the Government of that Glorious Queen, of Eternal Memory! The *Christian* World did admire her Government, and your flourishing State; nay, the very *Makometan* * Monarchs did admire and acknowledge the same.

* *Speed*, in *Hist.* pag. 852. 853.

* But now the Case is altered! and I can hardly forbear to weep, to see what a *piteous Petition* that Glorious Queen (my now fellow Saint) *Elizabeth*, lately received from you, the Commons of *England*; but thereof I say no more, considering she, according to her Commission from the Highest Power, answered that your Petition.

Let me now admonish you all, of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality: First, seriously, and yet submissively, to dehort and dissuade your King, to leave off and absolutely dissolve all Treaties of Matches, or whatsoever else, with that perfidious and dangerous *Spanish* Nation, and, in Lieu of the *Spanish* Match, to promote the *English* Match. What though his Majesty's Treasure be drawn deep into, the poor Country-man by these late hard Years be impoverished, the Merchandize and Trading of your Kingdom, much decayed, &c? Yet, if your sumptuous Buildings, your surfeiting Diets, your Prodigality in Garment, your infinite Plate, and costly Furniture in your Houses, and the Pride of your Wives especially, be considered, *England* cannot be thought so poor. Can you exceed all Nations in *Christendom*, in wastful Vanity? And can you not arm your selves against one Nation, which you have ever beaten, for your necessary Defense? Was *Rome* so brave a State, as that the very Ladies, to supply the common Treasure, and to maintain the Wars, dispoiled themselves of their costly Jewels and rich Ornaments? And is *England* become so base a State, as that the People therein will not bestow some Part of their superfluous Expences, to keep themselves from Conquest and Slavery! (The only End of all *Spain's* Treaties: Witness their Treaty of Peace in 88, when as, even at that Instant their mighty Navy came to invade us.) Did the Godly Kings, and Religious People, which you may read of in the *Old Testament*, to maintain the Wars against the Enemies of God, sell the Ornaments of the Temple, and Things Consecrated to Holy Uses? And will you,

[* Look back for the *French* and *English* EPIGRAMS, in P. 324.]

who

who have as Holy and as Warrantable a Cause of War, spare those Things which you have dedicated to your idle and sensual Pleasures! Could your Nation, in those former Ages, when the Country was far poorer than now it is, levy Armies, maintain Wars, atchieve great Conquests in *France*, and make the powerful Arms known as far as the *Holy-Land*? And is this so degenerate an Age, as you will not be able to defend your own Land! No, no, I hope there is yet left some Seed of that ancient Virtue. Remember with what Spirit and Alacrity the Gentlemen of *England* did contribute and put themselves voluntarily in Action, in my Time on Earth. And, doubtless, there will ever be found *VALERII*, who (so the State may stand and flourish) will not care though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves, though other-some bury their Money, not caring in what Estate they leave the State.

You had a Queen, in my Time on Earth, who was ever open-handed to *Men of Desert*, yet never wasteful in her private Expences; but maintained *Armies* and *Garrisons*, not a few, a *well-rigged Navy*, assisted and lent Money to her *Neighbouring States*. And why will ye doubt but, with your seasonable Counsel, in a Parliamentary Course (the ancient and laudable Course of *England*) your King will rather sell his *Plate*, and *Jewels* in the Tower, which in my Time were of inestimable Value (if yet they be not sold, nor given away) rather than his People should be undefended. And ye his People, I hope will turn your Golden and Silver Coats into Coats of Mail, or Iron Jacks, and your Silver Plate into Iron Corsets of Plate, rather than your Sovereign and Country shall be unserved. But what need all this? A free and chearful Contribution to the Wars, according to your Abilities, will serve the turn. And so, oh Noble Prince, and Valiant People! agree to go on, the one to send forth, the other to lead on God's Armies, to fight his Battles, against his and your Enemies, lest they suddenly surprize you, unawares, by some now Invasion; and remember that the Almighty, as he is God of Peace in the Consciences of his Elect, so is he a Man of War to his Enemeis; even so his Divine Majesty hath expressed himself in Holy Writ.

Again, in any wise beware of disuniting your selves from the United States of the *Netherlands*; for it will be to your infinite Disadvantage so to do: But rather assist, cherish and hearten them; they are the best Confederates you have. Remember in what Stead they stood you in that memorable Year 88. And they being firmly knit unto you, are of more Use unto you, than all the Friends you have, or can have in *Christendom*. In my Time on Earth, they were able (upon my certain Knowledge) to find 60 or 80 Thousand fighting Soldiers, 300 Ships of War, besides an infinite Number of transporting Vessels, and commodious Ports, which are but a Day's Sailing from the very Heart of *England*: Since my Time on Earth, they are increased in Men, in Munition, in Shipping, and in Wealth; and, which should make the Knot of Unity more strong and fast with you, they were and are of the same True Religion, which you profess: And moreover, now, which should not be of least Consideration with your King and you, they are, of late Years, Harbourers of the Exiled Princes, his Majesty's Children, who are beaten out of their Lawful Inheritance by *Spain* and *Austria*.

And verily, were it not that my Condition here, I say, were free from all Passions, my very Heart would bleed, to think of the deplorable State of *Christendom*; how drunk those two Houses of *Spain* and *Austria* have made themselves, in the Blood of *Christians*, Professors of *Christ's* Gospel; and the very Angels do wonder, to see how they are suffered to go on, in their inveterate Malice, and furious Rage against God's Church; and that other *Christian* Princes do not stop the Current of their Fury; especially, that your King, who is a Professor of the Gospel, and Faith's Great Defender on Earth, is so backward in the Business.

Which considered, it is your Parts, especially, who are of his Majesty's Council and Nobility, with faithful Hearts to persuade and stir him up, not to let the Lion in his Princely Breast any longer to sleep and slumber, but to awake and rouse up himself,

himself, and to go forth against the *Romish* Wolves and *Spanish* Foxes, who have devoured so many of *Christ's* Sheep, and laid his Vineyards to waste; yea, the Blood of the Saints doth continually cry, at Heaven Gates, for Vengeance.

To draw to an End, I will not cease to intercede, to the Almighty, my ever-glorious God, that he never denounce the Curse against your King, or ye his Nobles, which he once, in his Word, denounced against *Meroz*, &c.

My Conclusion still is, and shall be, *Justissimum iis Bellum quibus necessarium, & pia Arma quibus nullum nisi in Armis spes est*. And for an *Ultimum Vale*, as in my *Apology* I advised, to remember how *Bernardino Mendoza* (the then *Embassador* of Spain) spent his Time here in England: So I now advise you, Remember how your late *Spanish Embassadors* have spent their Times, and behaved themselves here in England, &c.

The Peace of God, which passeth all Earthly Understanding, be with you, and dwell in your Hearts.

*My Declaration ended, I must no longer stay,
Because Heav'n's Cornets summon me away:
The Blessed Quire of Heaven I do hear,
Tuning their Voices to the Almighty's Ear.*

Hallelujah, Hallelujah, Hallelujah.

A

POSTSCRIPT:

Or, a Second Part of ROBERT Earl of ESSEX's GHOST.

To the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonality of ENGLAND.

THREE beloved Mortals: I being still studious of your Welfares, and having obtained Leave of the Almighty, I am now to give unto you, and commend unto your Consideration, a Catalogue and Commemoration of such cruel Plots, as were practised in my Time on Earth, by the King and State of *Spain*, against the Queen of *England*: Wherein, I will not meddle with Practises and Cruelties to other Nations, and therefore I omit to tell you how far their Cruelties extended to the poor naked *Indians*, in *America*; though I remember, while I was on Earth, I have seen a Book, as well in *English*, as in *Spanish* and *Latin*, intituled, *The Cruelties and Tyrannies of the Spanish Colony, perpetrated in the West-Indies, commonly called the New-found World: Written in the Castilian Tongue, by the Reverend Bartholomeo De las Casas, a Frier of the Order of St. Dominic, and Bishop of the Royal Town called Chiapa; serving as a Warning to the twelve United Provinces of the Low-Countries: Translated into English, and Printed (as I take it) in the 25th Year of the happy Reign of that Virgin Empress, Queen Elizabeth, my gracious Sovereign*

vereign. The lamentable Relation whereof, if you would particularly know, I wish you have Recourse unto the said Book. And if their Cruelties and Tyrannies, exercised, by their Arch-tyrannous General, Duke of *Alva*, towards the *Netberlanders*, if you know them not, look but in their Chronicles. And for their Plots and Practises towards *England*, before my Time look but into your own Chronicles.

But before I come to my Catalogue, I must commend unto your Consideration: When I was an Infant, there came a certain *Bull* from *Pius Quintus*, that impious Pope of *Rome*, against *Queen Elizabeth*; the Copy of which *Bull* is also to be seen in your Chronicles. But the Copy of her Sacred Majesty's Answer unto the said *Bull*, because you have not elsewhere seen it (as most worthy your Reading and Observation) I here insert it:

*The Lord, who reigns on high, in Heaven's Throne,
Doth Kingdoms rule below; 'tis he alone
Who Earth doth govern with high thundering Might,
And moderates the Staff of Kingdoms right;
'Tis he who guides, with his Almighty Name,
The Wheel of all this Universal Frame;
'Tis he who Kings, Anointed and Elect,
And sacred Captains, strongly will protect.
Why should this Bull-head Bishop, therefore, full
Of Rage, against me roar with Basan-Bull,
To pluck me from my Sacred Seat, and Throne,
T'out-root the Plant which Christ himself hath sown?
Why doth this Pius seek, with impious Guilt,
To pull down that which God himself hath built?
Christ me anointed, and Anoint, I hope,
Will keep me from the Jaws of this proud Pope:
His powerful Hand hath kept me yet from Harm,
Nor will the Lord make short his out-stretch'd Arm.
If God be on my Side, why doth this Popish Wonder
Seek to affright me with his beastly Thunder?
Why doth this new-born Giant seek to ride
Above the Clouds, with his prodigious Pride?
'Gainst Heav'n, why doth this Nimrod make new Wars,
And, with Jehovah, breed these impious Fars?
Pius, this Anchor of thy Peter's Boat
Is broke; thy Hope and Faith, alas! doth float.
Ye, in whose Hands th' Almighty God ordains
To put the People's, and the Kingdom's Reins,
Do not Yourselves, and faithful People, bring
Under the Yoke of this vile, barb'rous King.
Away with him who doth for Scepter fight,
And royal Crown; that is not Bishops Right.
What! must the Pope so many States devour?
'Tis not Priests Part to use the Carnal Pow'r:
To make these madding Bulls, fits not their Names;
And set on Fire these hot, rebellious Flames.
Their Sword, the Word should be; the Word's Interpretation,
Their Key should be: This is the true Foundation
Whereon Christ's Saints do fight; such Men Christ's Sword do wear;
Such do his holy Keys, and Standard bear.*

[An Exhortation to other Princes.]

O Kings! the Father's Blessed Son then kifs :
 The King of Kings, the Head of Heads, he is :
Who serves not him, not reigns ; a Shadow vain,
And Cypher is : Learn this all by my Reign.
He'll never fail you whom a Woman bore ;
Away with Popes, to them set ope the Door :
 Set wide the Gate ; *shut forth these new-made Kings ;*
 Let in the Lord, *who with him Justice brings.*
Dear England, my own Bowels, Daughter, Mother,
Fear not this Bulling Pius, or such other.
What have I done, that thou should'st angry be ?
Ob! England, 'cause thou'rt happy, hat'st thou me ?
'Cause God, by me, so many Gifts hath given,
And I these Gifts, on Earth, God loath'd, in Heaven ?
Why do my English love th'Egyptian Pot ?
Why looks on Sodom back the Wife of Lot ?
While that my Sister was at Romish Call,
There was a Stage, and Scene most tragical :
Religion was corrupted ; all your Right-
Divine was stain'd ; Faith wrapp'd in Error's Night ;
Home-jars, and strange, my Muse now shall not show ;
Ev'n I, my self, drank Cups of Gall with you.
Now Manna rains from Heaven, heav'nly Food ;
Now floweth Peace, and Joy, and ev'ry Good :
He who feeds Ravens, makes my Lilies flourish,
Hairs of my Head, and Diadem doth nourish :
Judah's strong Lion keeps our Lion's Nest,
The Romish Leo's but a fearful Beast ;
Fear ye the Ensigns of a mitr'd Priest ?
Can we, with Sword, Keys, Club, be e'er oppress'd ?
Rather thank Christ ; pray him, that he all Evil
Firmly resist, all Ambushes of th'Devil.
Double your Pray'rs to Christ, that he would deign
T'assure your Good, and let no Rhombus reign :
Double your Pray'rs for Church, and purest Faith ;
Pour forth your Pray'rs for Queen Elizabeth.

Psalm 2.

Psalm 24.

I have inserted this Answer of Queen Elizabeth, purely for the Worth of it, which, indeed, ought to be written in Letters of Gold : And although I cannot say that Philip, King of Spain, was an Instigator of Pius, Pope of Rome, to send that cursed Bull, yet it was plain, and more than probable, that this Bull was the Ground which set on Fire the Hearts of her Popish Romish Subjects, to rise in Rebellion against her ; and, sure I am, that Spain soon backed them, and suborned them in their Rebellion, and evil Practises, against her Sacred Person, and flourishing State ; Witness the Bead-roll of their cruel Practises, here following.

In the Year of our Blessed Saviour 1583, and 25th of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, Francis Throgmorton, being solicited by Bernardin Mendoza (the then Spanish Embassador Liger, lying in London) undertook a most dangerous Design against his Dread Sovereign, and Native Country ; which was, to bring in a Foreign (Spanish) Army, and to alter Religion, with the Alienation of the Crown and State : And, for the Charges of which Attempt, the said Mendoza promised, that the King, his Master, would bear Half the Charge of the Enterprize.

In

In the next Year, viz. 1584, *William Parry* (as he named himself) being instigated by *Benedicto Palmio*, and *Christophero de Salazar* (Secretary to the Catholic King *Philip*) undertook to murder her Sacred Majesty; and one *Hanibal Codreto*, a *Spanish* Priest, approved the same diabolical Design.

In the Year 1586, *Babington* and *Ballard*, with their Fellows, conspired with the afore said *Mendoza*, to betray the Land to a *Spanish Invasion*: Which being discovered, they enter into a new Resolution to kill the Queen, whereof they were prevented.

But *Philip* of *Spain*, seeing that all former Attempts failed, in the Year 1588, he set forwards his long-premeditated *Invasion* of *England*, sending a mighty *Armada*, which he termed, *The Invincible Navy*; meaning then, as it were, to devour *England* at a Bit: But he found so many Bones in the Bit, that, in attempting to swallow it, they stuck so fast in his Throat, that he was the worse for it every Day of his Life after.

This *Great, Noble, and Invincible Army* (as Pope *Sixtus* termed it) and, *Terror* of *Europe* (as the *Papals* both term it, and took it to be) consisting of 134 Sail of lofty, towering Ships, besides Gallies, Galliasies, and Galleons; threatening, as it were, the Heavens; and, spreading in the Wind their Flags, Streamers, and Ensigns, seemed to darken even the Sun; and were furnished with this Provision following: Bullets for great Shot, 22000; Powder, 40200 *Quintals* (every *Quintal* an Hundred Weight) Lead for Bullets, 1000 *Quintals*; Match, 10200 *Quintals*; Muskets and Calievers, 7000; Partizans and Halberts, 1000; besides Murdering-pieces, Double-cannons, and Field-pieces for the Camp; and Store of Mules, Horses, and Asses: So as they were sufficiently provided by Sea, and for Land. Bread and Bisket was baked, and Wine laid a-board for six Months Provision; Bacon, 60,500 *Quintals*; Cheese, 3000; besides other Flesh, Rice, Beans, Peas, Oil, and Vinegar, with 12000 Pipes of fresh Water. Store they had of Torches, Lanterns and Lamps; Canvas, Hides and Lead to stop Leaks; butcherly Knives, Iron Givies, Shackles, Wire-Whips, Whips with Spur-rowels, and other torturing Instruments, intended to torment us, Old and Young; all such, I mean, as would not suddenly submit to the *Spanish Yoke*.

This *mighty Navy*, thus prepared, as you have heard, loosed Anchor from *Lisbon*, the 19th of *May*, 1588, and made to the *Groyn*, in *Galicia*, it being the nearest Haven to *England*; whence, I say, hoisting Sails, with great Hope, and no less Pride, bent their Course hitherward. But, suddenly, the Heavens, hating such hostile Actions, poured down Revenge, by a fore and unexpected Tempest, which drove the Duke of *Medina* (the chief General) back again into the *Groyn*; and divers others were dispersed, and driven upon the Coast of *Bayonne* in *France*, and there perished. Not long after, their Navy, nevertheless, appeared in the *Narrow Seas*, between *England* and *France*, in Manner of a *Half-moon* (the Arch-Enemy of *Christ's* Ensign) where our *English Fleet* gave them such an Encounter (the God of the *Main Ocean* fighting for us in the *Narrow-Seas*) that we soon defeated and dispersed that *Invincible Navy*, and made it *Vincible*.

Now, because the Subject I am upon, is a Catalogue of *Spanish Cruelties*, I would fain know, Whether there was ever invented a greater Cruelty towards, and against a famous, and flourishing State and Kingdom? Surely, in my Judgment (which did concur with the Judgment of the *Christian World*) there was never such, and so great a Cruelty, hatched under Heaven, as that *Spanish Invasion*, in 88; our Deliverance from which, hath made the Year, ever since, famous and memorable. Upon my Knowledge, when I was on Earth, there was a *Day* set a-part, and commanded, by my Sovereign, to be kept *Holy*, for that our great and miraculous *Deliverance* from the Jaws of the *Spaniard*; and I wish that your Unthankfulness, in the Neglect of celebrating

brating *that Day*, *hoh*, be not required at some of your Hands. And, *certainly*, those Reverend Divines, who never cease, in their public Prayers, to give God Thanks for *that* your great *Deliverance*, do shew their Zeal, not a little, and deserve Commendation: Yea, and let my Posterity not live and prosper, than so long as they have thankful Hearts to God for that *general Deliverance*; and let the Posterity of all religious People say, *Amen*.

For, all Men and Women, who would not have bowed the Knee to (*Spanish*) *Baal*, had then, doubtless, been put to the Sword; their Children (now, haply, living Men and Women) had been tossed at the Pikes-ends; or else, their Brains dashed out, by some ill-faced *Dons*, or other. Strangers have not been wanting to commemorate that Time of *England's Deliverance*; and, among others, I remember the Reverend and Religious *Theodore Beza* (of Pious Memory) wrote a sweet and pathetic *Poem-Gratulatory*, on the aforesaid *Tragi-Comedy*, in *Latin*, inscribed to the Queen, my Sovereign, and sent unto me, to deliver into her Royal Hands; the which is thus excellently rendered into *English*:

*Spain's King, with Navies huge, the Seas bestrew'd,
T'augment, with English Crown, his Spanish Sway.
Ask you, What caus'd this proud Attempt? 'Twas lewd
Ambition drove, and Av'rice led the Way.
'Tis well Ambition's windy Puff lies drown'd
By Winds; and swelling Hearts, by swelling Waves.
'Tis well the Spaniards, who the World's vast Round
Devour'd, devouring Sea most justly craves.
But Thou, O Queen, for whom Winds, Seas do war,
O thou sole Glory of the World's wide Mass,
So reign to God still, from Ambition far,
So still, with bounteous Aids, the Good embrace.
That Thou do England long, long England Thee enjoy,
Thou Terror of all Bad, Thou ev'ry Good Man's Joy!*

Oh, let the Remembrance of that Time have an eternal Being in the Minds and Mouths of Men!

I have been somewhat long in the Commemoration of this Part of my *Catalogue of Cruelties*: I now proceed to the Residue, as followeth.

In the Year 1594, *Roderigo Lopez*, Doctor of Physic, a *Portuguese* by Birth (and entertained Physician in Ordinary to Queen *Elizabeth*) being instigated by *Christopher de Moro* (a special Counsellor of King *Philip's*) covenanted to take away the Life of her Sacred Majesty, by a poisoned Potion; for Performance of which Deed of Darkness, *De Moro* promised him 50,000 Crowns; and he had Earnest given him, a *Jewel of Gold*, with a *Diamond* and *Ruby*, of rich Value: But that Plot was detected, by God's Providence, and *Lopez* received condign Punishment.

In the Year 1595, *Edmund York*, and *Richard Williams*, being set on Work by one *Stephano Ibarra*, King *Philip's* Secretary at *Brussels*, who promised them the Reward of 4000 Crowns, undertook to kill the Queen, by some Means or other: But that, also was detected, by the vigilant Eye of the *English* State, and they received the Reward of their Deserts.

When King *Philip* saw all his Practises still frustrated, he, as Audacious as Ambitious, began to tamper with my Self, and, by his Instruments, sought out me, as a fit Man, to betray both my Sacred Sovereign, and dear Country. I forbear to trouble your Ears with the Latitude of his large, bombasted Promises of Reward unto me, to effect the same; but, in Lieu of accepting his cursed Proposition and Offer, I
vowed

vowed a farther Revenge on him; and, with my Sovereign's Leave, and God's Assistance, I had performed what I vowed and intended, &c.

The last public Attempter, in my Time, which in no wise I must forget, was one *Edward Squire*, who, being taken Prisoner in *Spain*, was set on Work by *Walpole*, the Jesuit, and divers Officers of King *Philip*, to murder her Sacred Majesty, and my Self; which he undertook, and, for that Purpose, brought over a new-invented *Castilian* Confection; first, to poison the Pommel of her Majesty's Saddle, and then the Pommels of a Chair wherein I usually sat at Sea: Both which he failed not to attempt; but, by God's Goodness, his cruel and treasonable Attempts proved also successless, and this proper *Squire* had the Reward of his devilish Practises.

Of all these cruel *Spanish* Practises, I was more than an ordinary Witness: And these Premises considered, What Treason was ever attempted against her Majesty's Sacred Person, or flourishing State, but the *Spaniard* was at one End or other of it? Nay, since my Time on Earth, and the Death of her Majesty, that horrid *Gunpowder Plot*, hatched in Hell, was it not consulted on, and approved of in the *Spanish* King's Court? Look well to the Confessions of the Traytors. And, did not King *Philip* promise one Hundred Thousand *Speed, in Hist.* Crowns towards the Expedition of that damnable Deed of Dark- *pag. 124.* ness? Look into your own *Chronicles*.

Now, all the Premises, well weighed and considered, *certes*, the *Turk* ought not to be more hated and abhorred by *Christendom*, than the *Spaniard* deserveth to be detested by *England*, &c. *Discite O Mortales. Iterum in Christo Valete.*

[An ingenious Friend of mine lately drew this *Design*; viz. A *Globe* supported, cross-wise, by a *Sword* and a *Pen*: Out of a *Cloud* appeared a *Hand*, to above the *Elbow*, armed with a *Scepter*, seemingly striking at the *Sword*, which, with a former *Stroke* therewith, was almost broken. Under the *Design* are these *Verses*.]

On Sir WALTER RALEIGH.

O Had'st thou serv'd thy Heroine all thy Days!
 Had Fate from Storms of Envy screen'd thy Bays!
 Had'st thou still flourish'd in a Warlike Reign!
 Thy Sword had made a Conquest, like thy Pen:
 But nought to such untimely Fate cou'd bring
 The Valiant SUBJECT, but a Coward KING.



T H E

SCOTS SCOUTS Discoveries,

B Y T H E I R

L O N D O N *Intelligencer*.

And presented to the LORDS of the COVENANT
of SCOTLAND, *Anno Domini*, 1639.

L O N D O N, Printed for *William Sheares*, 1642.

To the Right Honourable, most Worthy and Noble LORDS,
the Noblemen, and others of the *Covenant of Scotland*.

May it please your LORDSHIPS,

ACCORDING to your Honours Directions, the Scouts (which were sent into England, to discover the State of Things there) came unto me, their Intelligencer, at London, who have collected together all such Observations, as they, in their several Travels, have found, or my self observed, either in my own Abode, now two Years, at London, or in my returning Home: But by reason of all Passages shut up at Sea, and all Land-ways belaid, I was forced to put my self in Armenian Attire, and so came Home through England, and so remained, some certain Time, in the Camp-Royal, where my Collections may manifest my Love to my Country, and Care of the Trust, by your Lordships, imposed upon me. But if my Observations be not answerable to your Lordships Expectations, I am heartily sorry: Yet, you may see, I have not been altogether Idle, nor will be more Careless hereafter (as Occasion is offered) than formerly I have been, and shall, in my Northern News (which is also now in collecting) make good what is omitted; and in Confidence of your favourable Acceptance hereof, I rest,

Your Honours most humble Servant,

D. L.

THE First SCOUT's Discovery.

I Came to *Dover* in a *Flemish* Bottom, where (after a Day's Rest) I went to see the Castle; but I was forced to feign my self one of *Madam Nurse's Kindred*, and spoke nothing but *French*, or else I had not been admitted.

This Castle is called, *The Key of the Land*, but it is grown rusty for Want of Exercise; for most of the Ordnance are dismounted, their Carriages standing one Half in the Ground, and the other out. Here lay one Wheel, and there lay another. In the *Eastern* Out-work, lay one Piece all over-grown with Grass; and, hard by that, lay another, along by the Wall, on two Logs of Timber. I wondered to see such a Confusion in so eminent a Place; but I was told, that the last great Wind was the Cause thereof; and, if the *Lieutenant* were once able to walk round the Walls to see it, all would be made good, and mended; but, till then, it must stand as it doth. Their *Lord* is at *London*, to be cured of the *Gout*; the *Deputy-Lieutenant* was at the *Downs*, seeing the King's Ships, and most of the Men were at Bowls on the *Green Beach*. I came down to the Town, and left the Castle with a *Memento* to look to it self, lest the *French* do it for them. This I observed, that if the *French* had been as provident as the *Dutch*, to have seated themselves in *Dover*, then the *Most Christian King* might have had this Castle at his Command, and so might have been Master of the *Narrow Seas*, and have had *Calais* and *Dover* for two Bulwarks, and Block-houses, and so have kept the *Dunkirkers* from domineering on the Seas. All the News I could learn here, was; That six of the King's Ships lay ready for a Convoy of sixty Vessels, with Provisions for *Dunkirk*.

The next Day I came to *Canterbury*, where I went to view the Glass Windows, and see *St. Thomas à Becket's Tomb*; to which the People had prayed so often, as they had made two Holes in the Stones with their Knees. The next Day, being *Sunday*, I went to hear a Sermon, where (they said) the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's* was to preach: I was in Amaze to see him there; but the Noise of the *Organs* soon put me out of my Dumps. Now (thought I) he is in his Kingdom, for he hath danced a long Time after this Music. When *Service* was done, I thought to have heard him tell the People some News out of *Scotland*; but the old Carl spake not one Word thereof. The next Morning I took a *Charcoal*, and drew on the White Wall, in the Church-porch, these three Words (*Archi. Cant. Auli.*) and so departed out of the Town, lest I should have been apprehended for the Author of it. All the News that I could learn in the Town, was, That the Arch-Bishop's Grace was too great to dwell among them; that he loved *Croydon*, better than *Christ-church*; that he had some Engineers to see if they could remove *Christ-church* to *Croydon*, by Land, or to *Lambeth*, by Water; for he meant it should stoop to him, and not he to it: But, lest it should fall to be forfeited, for *Non-Residency*, he hath put the other Arch-Bishop there for his Deputy.

As

As I came through *Kent*, I saw much mustering and preparing of Men and Arms to send into *Scotland*. This had almost made a Mutiny among them; some said, it was done purposely to weaken the Country, others said, it was an ill Example for other Ages: And an old '88 Captain, said; They might well retain the Name of *Kentish Long-tails*, but to be called any more, Men of *Kent*, they could not claim it.

As I came along, I saw, the King's Store-house at *Chatham*, and some of the King's Ships, which are of such Bigness, as a small Ship may be builded, ere they can be rigged, and brought to Sea, to do any Service. When I came to *Gravesend*, I saw the Grand Fleet, riding in the *Hope*, ready to carry the Marquis and his Men, for *Scotland*: But there fell out a foul Fray, between the Parson of the Parish and the Purfers, for demanding double Duties, for Burying such Soldiers as dyed on Shipboard. On the Way towards *London*, I saw *Stone-Church*, which was burned down with Thunder last *Winter*: And *Erish*, *Micham*, and many other Churches (for all their High Altars) did not scape *Scot-free*.

The next *Sunday*, I went to *Lambeth*, to hear a Sermon, and see what Sort of Worship was used there. When I came, I was in Hope to have seen the little good Man of *Lambeth* there, but I saw no such Man in all the *Kirk*; for I could well ken him, by his White Sleeves, from all the Men there; but I well wot, there he was not. I speerd for him, and some said, he was either at *White-Hall* or *Somerset-House*; others said, that he was at home, chusing of a new Church-warden, because, the old one had presented him, for not coming to *Kirk*, these Seven Years. After preaching was over, I went up the River-side to see *Guy Faux's* Mannor House, the fatallest House that ever was builded; for there was the Plot laid, and Powder provided for blowing up the Prince and Peers of this Realm, in the Parliament House by the *Papists* Conspiracy. There was the Leather Ordnance invented; there was white Soap and blew Starch invented; there was the most Part of the Projects and Monopolies hatched, which have so much troubled the whole Kingdom. There was a new, rare Invention, lately set on Foot, for blowing up Castles and Forts; but, for a Conclusion, it was first blown up it self: And now an Engineer hath begged it of the King, and hath new builded it; for which he hath promised to blow up all the Islands in the *Frisb*, in *Scotland*, that the King's Ships may have Sea-room to besiege *Leith*. From thence I came cross the River, where a Dutcheß, like a Dive-dapper, was swimming; but the Water was so cold, as it made all her Body shiver, and put her sick of a Fit of a Fever, as no Physician could cure her, but a *German*. On the *Sunday* before *Easter*, I went to St. *Margaret's*, anent the Abbey, where the Minister mistook himself, and instead of a *Prayer* read a *Preface*, forbidding all People to beg at *White-Hall*, for the King was gone to *York*. *Welaway!* thought I, now, I have missed a *Mandy*, which I thought to have had, to have carried me again Home into *Scotland*. Well, I could hardly eat my Dinner for Grief thereof: But a Countryman of mine would needs have me, in the Afternoon, be Goffer to a Girl; where, when I came, the Women fell to quarrel for the Name; one would have it *Mandlin*, and another would have it *Mary*: Now, out upon it! says another, we have two too many of that Name already, pray let us have old *Elizabeth* again; by my Soul, says another, if this were spoken in *Scotland*, it would be counted Treason. When I heard that, I stole away, and left them to look another Goffer. Upon *Good-Friday*, as I came through *White-Hall*, a Countryman had me in, to give me a Dish of Drink, and to shew me the Dancing-Barn, and then afterwards carried me to the King's Quire, to hear a Mess of *Mattins*: When I came there, the People were all groveling on the Ground, as though they had been picking Pearls out of the Pavement. Well, down I was driven on my Marrow-bones among the rest, and about half an Hour after they all stood up again, turning their Arses to the East, and their Snouts to the West, to hear an Anthem; which being done, a tall flum Carl, in a long Gown, made the
People

People turn their Faces to the East, where I spied a curious wrought *Crucifix*, hanging over the High Altar, with two Women kneeling to it, to teach the rest of the People their Duties. Upon *Easter-day* I went thither again, and then the *Crucifix* was taken down, and the *Resurrection* set up in the same Place; the Music went so loud, and the old droning Dunces, and young Fry of *Choiristers*, made such a Noise, as I could not hear, nor understand one Word was spoken, and so came away for Fear of deafening. About a Week after, my Country-man would needs have me go thither again; and then I saw, in the same Place, over the *Altar*, a fine Old Man, riding on a bonny Nag, hunting a wild Beast: Many a long Leg, and low Courtesy was made to the Man on Horse-back. I asked, what he was? and my Country-man told me, it was St. *George*, and they were all praying to him to make Haste, for they had Need of him in the *North*. When I saw him so ready on Horse-back, with his Spear in his Hand, and his Spurs on his Heels; Well, St. *George*, thought I, ride as fast as you can, I will be in *Scotland* before you; and so I departed, and left him to end his Quarrel with the Beast he had before him. When I was gone out of the Court, my Country-man told me; I had some Reason to be afraid; for St. *George*, having formerly broke his Spear with the *Spaniard*, and rebated his Sword at a Foil with the *French*, therefore he had now his Hands bound by the one, and his Tongue by the other; and, having taken a Truce with them both, he had vowed to be revenged on St. *Andrew*, whom he threatens to turn into a Wind-mill, where his *Cross* shall serve for the Sweeps. Alas! and Woe's me (quoth I) poor St. *Andrew* is so weary with carrying his *Cross* on his Back, and a *Bishop's Bonnet* on his Head, as he will never be able to encounter this Man, who, being so bravely mounted, will run over him before he come at him. This made me so afraid, as I went Home to Supper, for Fear of fainting. The next Morning I got up betimes, and went to the *Exchange*, to meet our *Intelligencer*. When I came, the News was at an End; for their Packets were opened, and their Letters taken away; which made a mighty Muttering among them, insomuch, as one of them, in a mad Humour, said; That they were quite disgraced; and, thereupon, made these Verses following:

London's *disgrac'd*, Lincoln's *displac'd*,
 York now hath the Golden Bag;
 The Clergy's Gift, the Papists Thrift
 Maintain the English Flag.

The Clergy's Curse, Rex minat Mors,
 E're Bishops be put down:
 The Gain is great, though far unmeet,
 A Miter for a Crown.



Second SCOUT's Discovery.

I Went out in a *Dunbar* Boat, and sailed all along the *Northern* Coasts, where we met two Ships, loaden with Ammunition for *Berwick*, and six *Colliers*, with Provision for *Newcastle*. When I came to *Hull*, I went a-shoar, to see the mighty Magazine. From thence we were driven to the *Downs*, where the King's Fleet lay at Anchor; in which the *Meremaid Marquess* (being changed from *True Blue* to all the Colours in the *Rainbow*) was there Cabbined up with a Cable, for Fear of the *French*, where, like a *Kite*, in a windy Day, with seventeen smaller Birds at her Tail, he was hovering up and down the Seas, to surprize all such Shipping as should pass for *Scotland*.

When we came near unto *Dover*, a *Dunkirker* set upon us, with two *French*, and a *Flemming* relieved us, or else (for all the *Ship-Money* paid in, for Guarding of the Seas) we had been carried to *Dunkirk* instead of *Dunbar*. But, having escaped that Scouring, we landed in *Suffex*, near old *Arundel*, where we went to see the Castle, the strongest Defense whereof is the Number and Greatness of the Owner's Titles. It is kept by four Priests, two Porters, and a Rat-catcher; but it hath above a Hundred Watchers and Warders belonging to it, who (before-ever we came near it) came flying over our Heads, crying, *Ka, Ka, Ka, Ka*; which made us so afraid of being clapped up in the Castle, that we returned, and left them to look to their Charge.

The People of the Town were all crying (every Tear as big as a Mill-stone) lest their Lord should love the *North* Country better than theirs: And, because he is gone to conquer another Country, and left his own to the Mercy of his Enemy, I quickly left this Place of Mourning, and sailed by the Isle of *Wight*, where they were very hot at their Musters; inasmuch, as the Smoke thereof made such a Mist on the Sea, as we mistook our Course, and landed at *Portsmouth*, instead of *Newcastle*, where we heard, those *Islanders* are as hot in their *Barrels*, as the *French* in the *Breech*; so that if they come there, it will prove a hot Piece of Service, before they can enter. *Portsmouth* is but meanly provided with Ammunition, and, therefore, they were all in Amaze, for Fear the *French* should come in a Fog.

Southampton was the next Place of Mark I came at; and there the *Aldermen* were busy begging a *Benevolence* for the Wars: But, because I had none for them, I thought it better to shew them my Back-side, than to be called Rebel, for refusing. From thence I came to *Winchester*, where I was afraid of a *Goose*.

This Town I left, and came to *Bagshot*, and so to *Basingstoke*, where a Lordly Loon swore me out of ten Shillings, with his merry Conceits of his *Questions* and *Answers*; among which, these were a Part:

Q. *What Hunting is most in Use?*

A. The Fox in the Forest, and the Coney in the Court.

Q. *What Profession is most in Practise?*

A. Buff-coats in the Camp, and Black-coats in the Church-camp.

Q. *What is that which few Men love, and most Men hate?*

A. The Curse of a Cuckold, and the Pride of a Prelate.

Q. *What are the two worst Evils in the Common-wealth?*

A. Covetousness of the Clergy, and Contention of the Commonalty.

I left this Place, and took my Way toward *Guilford*, in Hopes to have seen *Arun-dei's* Earl, but he was gone to Court: Yet I did not lose my Labour; for there I saw the finest, and best govern'd *Alms-house* in the Kingdom, built by old *George of Canterbury*, for a Precedent for his Successors to do the like.

The next Day I came to *Croydon*, thinking to have seen the *Little Man*, who makes so *Mickle Matter*, but he was at *Lambeth*; whereupon I came along towards *London*, with a *Collier's* Cart of *Croydon*; where, after some Whistling, and merry Tales, I heard these mystical Novelties:

That, of late, some are so much for *Church Ceremonies*, as they do nothing in true *Sincerity*: And, that others are altogether for *Pride* and *Prodigality*, and nothing for *Love* and *Charity*: That the *Owl* counterfeits the *Eagle*, the *Buzzard* the *Black-bird*, the *Cuckow* the *Nightingale*, and the *Wren* would fly with the *Falcon*, but for Fear his Wings should fail him.

That the *Fox* would fain lap himself in the *Lion's* Skin, the better to terrify the other *Beasts*.

That the *Wolf* would fain be chief *Shepherd*, that he might the better feed his *Flock*; and the *Ass* must have the *Hart's* Skin on his Back, to keep him from the *Northern* Storm.

When they had made an End of their *Parables*, they fell to singing; and asked me, if I could help them to sing a *Three Man's Song*? I told them, I would do my best. Then they began, and the Bearing of the *Song* was this, with which I end my Relation.

O Good King-Charles, blame not my Pen;
Spare your Purse, and save your Men;
Give Laud to the Scots, and hang up Wren:
The Echo answered still, Amen.

T H E

Third SCOUT's Discovery.

I Came in *Kirk-Patrick's* Boat, all about the *Irish* Seas, where we saw some Soldiers sent from thence to the Lord *Clifford* at *Carlisle*.

We landed three of our Men in *Wales* (being *Papists*) but they were quickly snapped up for *Covenanters*, and called *Rebels*, for refusing the *Oath of Supremacy*, and, shortly after were learned *Traytors* by open *Proclamation*.

We viewed all the *English* Islands, as we passed along; as *Man*, *Guernsey*, *Scilly*, and the like. The Inhabitants had need be honest, for they are intrusted with keeping of the three greatest Enemies of the *Clergy*, viz. *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Physic*. In all our Voyage we saw but only two of the King's Ships, which were sent to scour the Seas: We did vail our *Bonnets* unto them, and bid them Good-day, and so departed undiscovered.

We put in at *Portsmouth*, where there is a good Harbour, and good Forts, but sorriely kept; their Governor (that *Baggage-Bag*) having taken a Surfeit of a *Star-Chamber* Suit, and, being a little over-shadowed with the *Moon*, gave them the Bag, and died, whose Successor will never fill the Bags he hath left empty behind him,

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As I came through *Somersetshire*, I saw great Mustering : They are notable windy Fellows, and strong-Breath'd, with eating of Bean-Bread, they mean to show you a *Taunton Trick*, and fart in your Faces : You may ken them from all the Camp, by the Beans rattling in their Bellies, a Mile before they come at you.

In all the Country, as I came along, there was a great Complaint of the Decay of Trading : The Farmers, and Sheep-masters blame the Clothiers ; the Clothiers, the Merchants and Drapers ; and they lay the Fault on the Troubles in *Scotland*, which hinders their Traffic : But some of them say, they could find it out nearer Home, if they durst discover it.

I came down by *Reading*, where little *Land* was born : His Father was a *Clothier*, his Mother a *Spinster* (he being the worst Thread that ever she spun in her Life) : He was, from his Cradle, ordained to be a Punisher of poor People ; for he was born between the Stocks and the Cage, which a Courtier, one Day, chanced to speak of ; whereupon his *Grace* thought himself so disgraced, as he removed from thence, and pulled down his Father's thatched House, and built up a fair one in the same Place, because none should say hereafter, that he was descended of so mean a House.

The next Day I came to *Windsor*, which is the worst Place that ever I came in ; for the Knights are poor, and the Priests rich, the Prebends proud, and the *Dean* deaf ; for a poor Man hath called a long Time to be released, and cannot be heard.

Away I came towards *London*, and landed at *Hampton-Court*, in Hope to have seen the Prince, and Duke *Jamey*, but the dupper *Doctor* had carried them to St. *James's*, to see the *Queen-Mother*, where he left them, until he himself went to *Lambeth*, for *Canterbury's* Blessing, or a better *Bishoprick* ; in which, if he behave himself well, and please his *Patron*, in bringing up his *Pupil*, he shall be promoted to a better *Bishoprick*.

When I came to *Westminster*, a Country-man, of mine, had me to see the *Tombs*, where (among many other *Kings* and *Queens*) I saw King *James*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, conferring about the Troubles in *Scotland* ; which, they said, was plotted in *Spain*, ratified at *Rome*, and agitated by the *Jesuits* in *England*, to be acted in a tragical Procession in *Scotland* : But it was not so in their Days, and they hoped it would not long continue as now it is.

The next Morning I got up betimes, to go to our *Intelligencer* ; but, before I came at *White-hall*, I was pressed for the King's Service : Whereupon, I presently fell lame of my Left Leg, and, with a pitiful Look, I said, *Messe Constable*, I am a poor, lame Passenger, I pray you let me pass ; but, if I must have your Money, then change me one Shilling for another. With that, I blessed my self with a good *Angel*, and then gave it him for his *Shilling* ; which he perceiving, put it up, and so, out of pure Love, let me pass.

When I came to the *Exchange*, our *Intelligencer*, and two or three more of my Country-men, went to Dinner, where I was relating my *Reading* Journey and News ; whereupon one of them pulled a Paper out of his Pocket, saying ; *Now, by your Relation, I understand the Meaning of the Verses which were bestowed on me ; and, before now, I did not well know what they meant.* A Copy whereof he gave me, to end my *Discovery* withal, which are as followeth :

*THE King wants Coin, the Bishops, Blood ;
The Church is chang'd, none dares do Good.
The three chief Arts in all the Land,
In Pillory, at once, did stand.*

* Alluding to *Pryn*, the Lawyer ; *Bastwick*, the Physician ; and *Burton*, the Parson : Who are, also hinted at over-Leaf ; being then close-Prisoners in the Islands *Jersey*, *Scitsey* and *Gue nsey*.]

*The Welch may run, the English ride,
To kill the Scots for Prelates Pride ;
Which makes Men cry, and curse that Age
Hatch'd little Laud, 'twixt Stocks and Cage.*

T H E

Intelligencer's own Discovery.

AT my first coming to *London*, I heard little News of any *Scots* Grievances: But, within a little while after, when I saw *Burton*, *Bastwick*, and *Pryn* promoted to the *Pillory*, for speaking against the *Power* of the *Prelates*, then I began to smell a *Fox*.

They rejoiced as much in their Sufferings, as their Adversaries did in their Sentences: But, because they should not prate, nor talk to one another, as they did when they stood in the *Pillory*, therefore they were sent first into three several Castles, in three remoted Counties, and, afterwards, removed to three several Islands. Every one of them, at their Departure, from the *Pillory* to their *Prisons*, made two Verses.

*Pryn.] Triumphant I return, my Face describes
Laud's scorching Scars, God's grateful Sacrifice.*

*Burton.] A painful Pastor I have been, my Flock I truly fed ;
And now, in Honour of Christ's Cause, my Blood I freely shed.*

*Bastwick.] Physicians for Soul and Body, and Lawyer for the State,
All here, now, have lost their Blood, to please a proud Prelate.*

The next *Term* after this, the Bishop of *Lincoln* came to his Sentence in the *Star-chamber*, where he received a sharp Censure ; but he may thank himself for it, in keeping two prime Places in his Hands, when others want Preferment. But he stood too much upon his Trumps, thinking that King *James's Patents* had been now as good as when he had them. Alas ! good Man, though he be a great Scholar (not a better in the Kingdom) yet he had forgot the *Little Man's Motto*, *Sic volo, sic Jubeo*. The original Cause of this was never heard ; but this I learned ; That two *Flesh-flies* having fed at his Table, for a long Time together, had purposely laid a Train to intrap him ; and then they combined with one *Kilvert* (a *Canibal*) who, having devoured his own Master (Sir *John Bennet*) undertook to do the like with him, and hath hunted him so hard, that the *Tower* is become his *Tabernacle*, where he is like to remain, unless he will pull off his *Miter*, and give it for his *Ransom*.

Long he had not lain there, ere he was roused up again, for a Second Course ; pretending, that he had given a false Exposition on the great *Leviathan* (false *Media-*
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tor) and the like. Whereupon (through the Means of a false *Steward*, a faithless *Secretary*, and a foolish *Scribe*, he was, *Alecon* like, pulled down with his own Hounds, which he had fed at his Trencher in his Prosperity, but had now fallen upon himself in Adversity; yet his own Patience, and the Peoples Prayers, may one Day be a Comfort to him.

That, when the News came first of the Troubles in *Scotland*, *Archie*, the King's Fool, was questioned for something against the Prelates, whom he thought were the Cause of it: For which he had been had up in the Star-Chamber; but that the Fool told them, he would plead the privilege of his Coat. For (quoth he) if neither Fool nor Wiseman must scape this Court, I will be neither. But for all this, *Archie* could not scape Scot-free, for he was led to the Porters Lodge, where, albeit he found Favour in his Lash, yet he lost both his Coat and his Place by it.

That, about a Week after, I met *Archie* at the Abby, all in Black: Alas, poor Fool, thought I, he mourns for his Country. I ask'd him about his Coat: O, quoth he, my Lord of *Canterbury* hath taken it from me, because, either he, or some of the *Scots* Bishops may have Use for it themselves: But he hath given me a Black Coat for it, to Colour my Knavery with, and now I may speak what I please (so it be not against the Prelates) for this Coat, hath a far greater Privilege then the other had. When I heard him say so, albeit (thought I) a Fools Bolt is soon shot, yet perhaps he may hit the Mark: Whereupon, I went and bought me a Canonical Coat, and put my self into an *Arminian* Habit, which hath kept me freer from Danger, than if I had been all clad in Buff.

That about *Christmas* last, all the Passages of your Assembly were presented to the King, and all the Names of the Lords, and others who had subscribed the *Covenant*, or consented to the putting down of the Prelates, were given in: Whereupon a Convocation of the Clergy of *England* was once resolved to be called, and to have the Matter disputed; but the Bishops were busy, and could not attend it, and advised that (*ipso facto*) you should be proclaimed Rebels, and your Lands should be confiscated to the King; which made some of the Courtiers Mouths so water (in Hopes of a Lordship) that they looked, as if they had been troubled with the Scurvy.

That about *Candlemas*, the News was nothing but War, and that the King would go in Person into *Scotland*, and had promised, to gratify those who adventured with them, for cutting off the Covenanters: And therefore to make them the more contemptible to the *English*, Proclamation was made in all Market Towns, and read in all Churches; That you were base fawning Fellows, and People of broken Fortunes, and would fain repair your ruined Estates, by the Spoils of the good Subjects of *England*; which Proclamation, notwithstanding the fair and true Declaration of your Intentions, so animated many of them as (like Hogs in the Wind) they ran on (but knew not whether) to fight, but knew not for what, hoping to be rewarded, but knew not when, and they may return, but know not how.

That, of late, every Man, at *London*, hath been in his Humours: The Courtiers were learning how to tofs Tennis-Balls instead of Bullets: The Captains were preparing to see the Tragedy of Traytors: The Clergy were studying a Masque for a Mister: The Ministry were drawing the Map of Misery: The Jesuits were at wily beguile; and the *Scots* Bishops were at Boe-peep with the Kirk.

That one Day, I went to see the Tower, which is newly repaired: There are forty new Beds and Lodgings provided, for Entertainment of the *Scots* Traytors: Well, let me advise ye to look to your selves; for if ever ye be lodged there, the next News after will be your coming out to Tower-Hill, where either your Heads must lop, or your Crag crack.

I came Home by the Custom-house, where there was such an Out-cry with Merchants, concerning their new Impositions; as it made the old Farmers call for a Court Lord,

Lord, and a City Captain to assist them, who came ruffling into their Offices, with such Violence, as (for Fear of *Goring*) it made all the *Virginian* Merchants to run away, and leave their Plantations; for Tobacco was grown so cheap, as the King's Customs came to more than the Merchants had for it. For it was taken by a worse Name, and sold by the Measure of *Jacob's Staff*; whereupon, when the old *Pindar* saw such Shavers come to share in his Office, he gave over, and left the Daws to shift among the Rooks, which the Common People seeing, they prayed that their Court Customer might dye drunk in his new Impositions of Wines, and the *Crispe City* Captain might break as fast as do his Glasse-beads.

While I stayed at the Custom-house, I heard a Muttering of a Red-Deer-Pye, full of Gold, going to the Nuns of *Nancy*, from the Holy Sisters in *England*, under Colour of a Piece of Venison sent to the Prince of *Piedmont* from *Catholico Mariano*: But they said, a wily Waiter had put his Finger farther into the Pye than was fitting; and after it was discovered, it was hushed up, no Man can tell how.

Likewise, I heard, that the Cardinal of *Cordelo*, being cast away in crossing of a River, his Hat came floating up to the Custom-house, where it was taken up for a miraculous Monument, and carried to the Lord Treasurer for a Wreck, who hath Order to keep it, until some fitting Person be found to wear it. This Accident makes good the old Proverb, *Quot homines, tot sententiae*; for some say our Country-man *Con* (the Pope's Legate) must have it; others say, Sir *Toby Matthews* doth better deserve it; some say, that as soon as the King hath established Bishops again in *Scotland*, St. *Andrew* shall have it instead of a Blue Bonnet; and others say, *Canterbury* must be served before him: But some say, it is kept until St. *Paul* have a new Coat, and then he must have it for his Hat; or else, when *Paul's* is quite built, it must be carried round about in Procession, and then left on the High Altar for a Religious Relique.

That all *Lent* long, his Majesty's Chaplains, instead of Fasting preached Fighting, and instead of Peace, preached Punishing of Rebels, among whom, wily *Warner* of *Rocheſter* having got a Bishoprick, for making one Sermon, he gave the King another *Gratis*, wherein, he so railed at the Rebels, as his Patron hath promised him a better Bishoprick, when it falls.

That such Time-serving Clergymen, as have not the Gift of Preaching, seek Preferment by Railing; as one *Harrison*, who looks for a Deanery at least, for calling Judge *Hutton* Traytor, when he sat on the Seat of Justice, for speaking his Conscience for the Subject against Prerogative.

That the Case of Ship-money was fully argued, first, by four Counsellors, and afterwards by the twelve Judges, whereof, the Gold-finch, *Vernon*, and five *Puines* passed for the King, and five *Seniors* (whereof two were Capital) stood for the Country; but what can withstand Fortune, for most Voices mis-carried it: Nevertheless, the Lord *Say* would fain have had another Essay at the Matter, but could not be heard.

That about *Mid-Lent*, the Names of all Strangers, as well *French* and *Dutch*, as *Scots*, were collected in and about *London*, and sent to the King, viz. 60,000 *French*, 40,000 *Dutch*, and 900 *Scots*; but if Priests, Friars, Jesuits, and the rest of the *Romish* Rabbies, had been also collected, they would have exceeded the Number of the *Scots*, and if the *Papists* and *Protestants* of the *French* and *Dutch* had been likewise collected, the Number of *Protestants* had stood but for a Cypher to the other.

The Voice went, that all the *Protestant* Strangers, should have been sent into *New-England* (if the King could have spared Shipping) and the others should have made a *Catholic* Army, to have gone against the *Scots*: But now the *Scots* taking their new Oath, to fight against their Consciences and Country, and rest paying in their Money without grumbling, they may all stay in *Old-England* if they please.

That,

That albeit, with the Pilling and Polling of the Commonality, *England* is fallen into a very dangerous Disease, which grows every Day worse and worse, in so much as one *Sunday*, at one Mr. *Shute's* Parish Church, a Bill was delivered, that *John Common-wealsh* of *England*, being sick of the *Scots* Disease, desires the Prayers of the Congregation, for Calling a Parliament, the great Physician of the Kingdom, to cure their infinite Infirmities.

That all Men must contribute to this holy and zealous Expedition; whereupon, the City of *London* having made a Collection of at least 6000 Pound, presented it to the King, who thanked them for their Loves, but would not receive it; because, some say, it was too little; others say, that he will come Home by them, and then they must present him with a *Golden Calf*, and a greater Gift, for a *Peace-Offering*: But, in the mean Time, it is said, that *York* must be made the Royal City of the Kingdom; but when, no Man knows: Yet the Merchants care not if both Court and Town be carried thither, so long as they cannot carry *Thames* with them also: For, if their Wives loved Courtiers no better than they do, their Rooms were far better than their Company.

That the King, being resolved upon his Journey, wrote his Letters to all Noblemen in the Kingdom, to attend his Royal Standard at *York*, the first Day of *April*, with fitting Men and Furniture, according to their Birth and Qualities, Degree and Honour; where, by the *Papists* Report, his Majesty will be with 100,000 *English*, 20,000 *Welsh*, 20,000 *Irish*, 20,000 chosen *Catholics*, all in compleat Armour; and that the King of *Spain* would send him 20,000 of his old Soldiers (if he had no Use for them himself) the King of *Denmark* would send him 20,000 of his Drunkards, if he could spare them; the King of *Morocco* would send him twenty Tun of *Barbary* Gold, if *Algiers* and *Tunis* stood not in his Way; and the *Pope* would send his *Benediction*, if he thought it would do him any Good.

That the King was, by the Prelates, so exasperated, and made so eager on the Business, as he took his Journey on his *Coronation-Day*, which some think unfortunate: But the *Papists* Proverb prevailed, *The better Day, the better Deed*.

At his Departure, he had *Canterbury's* Blessing, and a Book of Remembrances, containing what is fit to be done to such a rebellious People.

That all Things are much altered since the King's Departure from *London*; *Whitehall* is become an *Amazonian* Castle; *St. James's*, an Hospital for Strangers; *Somerset-house*, a *Catholic* College; *Westminster*, a Receptacle for *Seminary Priests* and *Jesuits*; *London* is like a private Friend in close Mourning; Coaches and Carts are half idle, for want of Employment; and great Horses, Sedans and Wherries, fight for their Employment; Porters are taken up for Gentlemen-Ushers, and *Clergy-men* (by reason of their *Pastoral* Protection) clap in with all the good Matches about *London*.

That my Countryman *Con*, the *Pope's* Legate, is fallen lame, of late, and is writing an *Invective* against *Abernathy*, for discovering his coming into *England*. He saith; That if these Troubles had not been, he had got as much Money in seven Years, as (with the Help of a Letter, or two, from the Court to the Conclave of Cardinals) would have made him *Pope*; and then, if you had not yielded to the King, on any Conditions, he would have cursed you with *Bell, Book, and Candle*.

That the *Seven Champions* of *Christendom* are now (this Critical Year) all up in Arms; *St. Anthony* is enchanted by the *Pope*, in *St. Angelo*; *St. James* and *St. Dennis* are, this Summer, to try their Strengths in a Single Combat; and *St. George*, *St. David* and *St. Patrick*, are all riding into *Scotland*, against *St. Andrew*, but the Quarrel against him is unknown: Some say, because he will not wait upon *St. George's* Ceremonies; but others say, it is because he dares maintain, that there was neither *Pope* nor *Prelate* in the *Primitive Church*.

That

That, one *Baker*, the Bishop of *London's* Chaplain, being, one Morning, desired to present a Petition, from a Minister to his Lord, for a *Prebend's* Place, carried the Matter so craftily, that he had it for himself, together with the Minister's Curse, for cozening of him; but, to prevent that, the Bishop gave him his Blessing; yet it did him no good, for, e're Night, he was so puffed up with Pride, and grown so great, that the Weight of his Body broke his Leg, and so laid him and his Honour in the Dust: Yet there be some who attribute this Accident to another Thing; for, they say, that this *Baker* was so over-joyed with the Death of some good Divines, and the Going-away of others, that he made Verses on them, and the same Day he made them, he broke his Leg; and his Verses were answered the next Day following.

Baker.] *Dike is dead, Davis is fled,
And Symmons is run away;
Carter is flying, Stanton is dying,
And Goodwin is left to pray.*

Carter.] *Carter is at Hand, Baker cannot stand;
With a Fall he hath broke his Leg:
Our Bishops are flying, their Cause is a dying,
And the Scots will make them beg.*

That, when the King lay at *Newcastle*, *Fleetwood's* News came fleeting to *London*, with as many Lyes as Lines in it; but that is no Matter, Colonels may lye by Commission: It tells us of your Iron Flails, Harrows, Knives, and the like, taken going to you from *Sheffield*; and threatens to beat you with your own Weapons. Now, as for your Men, he never mentions them, because he means not to meddle with them: But, when he comes to relate the Valour of your Women, he cries out; *The Lord be merciful unto us! for we shall have a bloody Business of it*: Yet, he declares, his Resolution is, to fly in their Faces; and concludes with a Protestation, that his Father may tell it for Truth.

That, albeit you were offended with that *Proclamation*, which terms you People of broken Fortunes, they have made another against you: It is just like *Janus*, in the Head; and, in the Body, like a *Scorpion*, with a Sting in his Tail. For, first, you are pardoned, if you subscribe *Ignoramus*; but, if you do not, you are condemned before you are convicted; and your traitorous Obstinacies are to be cured with the sharp Sword of *Justice*; which, being put into the Hands of *Papists*, they swear by *Peter's Keys*, *Paul's Sword* shall be put in Practice.

The Body of the *Proclamation* breeds a *Scorpion* in your Bosom, to devour you. *First*; Your Debtors must pay your Money to his Majesty, who (because he can give no lawful Discharge) will give them a good Share back again. *Next*; All your Lands are given away to such as will fight for them. *Lastly*, Your Tenants must pay you no more Rents; for his Majesty will turn *Landlord*, and let them their Lands for a third Part Abatement of their old Rent; and promises to put them in Possession before *Pentecost* next, unless you prevent it.

That, there was some whispering News about the Town, of a Dissention between the *Spiritual Lords*; whereupon, a great *Politician* had drawn his Majesty to command all the *Temporal Lords* Attendance (purposely to be revenged on the Nobility) while others lye lurking at Home, laughing in their Sleeves, to see how they made their Enemies take up Arms to defend their Quarrel; in which, if any of the No-

bility and Gentry be slain, their Sons may prove *Wards*, and so bring in much Money to maintain the Wars.

That, if the *Prelates* Project succeed well, it is thought *Wren* and *Warner* should have the keeping of the Great and Little *Seals*; and *London*, now (like *John Holdmy-Staff*) being *Treasurer*, the *Clergy* will have a golden Time of it; but let them remember this Admonition:

*That Spiritual Pride brings Temporal War,
And Temporal War brings Peace;
That Lords and Lawyers end the Jar,
And Prelates Pride must cease.*

That, there is a new *Council-Table* erected at *London*, where the *Catholic* Lords, Knights, and Superiors of the *Roman* Clergy, meet to consult upon fitting Means for raising of Money towards Maintenance of this *Holy War*, which, they hope, will either procure a Dissolution of your Religion, or a Toleration of their own.

At this Meeting, divers Motives and Advices were drawn up, for certain *Priests* to move the *Catholics* to contribute, in a large Manner, towards the Maintenance of those Wars, to the 8th, 9th, and 10th Part, at least, of their *Annual* Means, according to the true and just Value; for which, besides the Benefit which may redound to them, by their Religion, the King hath called in his Commission against *Recusants*; the Queen hath undertaken to secure all those as shall be *Contributors* herein; and the *Pope* hath promised, that no Man who dies in this Quarrel, shall ever come into *Purgatory*.

That, these Advices and Motives being discovered, the *Pope* hath written to his *Nuncio*, not to be too forward, until they see Time, for Fear of Discovery; nor to let the *Laity* know too much of the *Provincials* Minds, lest they fall off; nor that the *Catholics* bestow so much on the *Society* of *Jesuits*, as the other *Orders* can have no Part.

That, there is a *Feast* of *Fancies*, at *London*, free for any Man, who hath a Mind to it.

The first Dish is a *Redbanks* Sermon, instead of a Sallad; the second a *pickled* *Projector*; the next, a piping-hot *Pig*; and next, a handsome *Hog*; there was a *Red-Deer* *Pye*, but that's passed; instead of *that*, they mean to have a *Bishop's Head* and *Bacon*, which will serve for a grand Dish; and albeit it be somewhat out of Fashion, yet it is like to be in Season.

Their Bread is *Bishops* Bisket, and *Burton's* Bait.

Their Drink is *Britain's* Tears; and their Dining-room the *Castle* of *Care*.

Their Attendants, *Tom Tell-troth*, and *Bastwick's* younger Brother.

Their Music hath for Tenor, *Vox Regis*.

For their Bass, *Vox Clerici*; for their Discords, *Vox Consilii*; for their Treble, *Vox Populi*; for their Counter, *Vox Pauperis*; for their Mean, *Vox Pueri*; for their Concert, *Vox Cæli*; for their Comfort, *Vox Dei*.

The Voice of this *Music* hath been heard throughout all *England*; and is like to grow louder, unless some Course be taken to stop it.

That, there are a Kind of *Beadles* runs up and down, about the Town, yelping out your Destruction, crying; O the Valour of the *Welch-men*! who are gone to kill the *Scots*: Well, look you have *Leeks*, and *Causbobby*, and give them good Words, and call them bold *Britons*, and then you may do with them what you will.

That, *Halter* and *Ballad-makers* are two principal Trades, of late: *Ballads* being sold by whole Hundreds in the *City*, and *Halters* sent by whole Barrels full to *Berwick*, to hang up the *Rebels* with, as soon as they can catch them.

That,

That, old *Johnson*, the Poet, being dead, great Moan is made for one of that Quality, to write the *Bishops Wars*; yet two have petitioned for the Place, and each of them have something for Trial; which, because you may see their Strain, I thought fit to insert as followeth.

I. P O E T.

THE *doughty Dane, the Force of Spain,*
Morocco rude and rout;
The Irish wild, the English mild,
And Welchmen bold and stout,
Are taking Arms, and vow great Harms
To Scotland they will bring;
For Bishops Right they mean to fight,
To please their Royal King.

II. P O E T.

THE *Englishmen, both bold and strong,*
The Irish stout and hardy,
The valiant Welchmen will be first
To take the Scotsmen tardy.
Our Ships by Sea, our Men by Land,
Will pull their Courage down;
And make Men know, King Charles will keep
The Miter next the Crown.

The Trial of these Verses were put to two *Johns*, poetically affected, who allowed of the Latter, for two Reasons:

First, Because the Former makes them fight six Nations to one, which is too much Odds, where the other mentions only three, being somewhat unequal too.

Secondly, Because the Former forgets the King's Ships, whereupon depends the Hopes of Success, and Honour of the Kingdom; which the Latter observing, he shall, therefore, write the History: But he must not begin until he hear the Success of the first Battel, which, if it proves unfortunate, then it spoils a Poet.

That, the News, at *London*, is so uncertain, that no Man believes it: Sometimes we hear of Peace, and then the *Papists* storm and fret, saying; *The King is too merciful*: For, my Lord *Howard* (not the Chief of the *Howards*) hath three Sons, all Colonels, newly come over from the *Cardinal's* Camp, who threaten, if the King will give them Leave, they will pluck the *Scots* out of their Trenches by the Ears; but when News comes, that they must fight, and that we shall have *Blows* for *Blows*, then they tell us, that the King's Forces are too Weak for the *Covenanters*, but as soon as the *Irish* will come over *Dunluce*, then his *Demi-lances* will drive them all into the Mountains.

That, such *News* as this comes out, by *Owl-lights*, in little *Books*, or *Ballads*, to be sold in the Streets; and, I fear, it is held a prime Piece of Policy of State: For, otherwise, how could so many false *Ballads*, and *Books* be tolerated? Yet the next Morning-Sun exhales all their vain Evening Vapours: As that *News* of taking *Lesley* Prisoner; killing of Colonel *Crayford*; and imprisoning most of the Nobility: But I never believed it, because, if they had been true *Ballads*, they would have been sung by Day-light, Books printed, Bonfires made, and a solemn Procession, with a *Te Deum*, at least, had not been wanting at *Lambeth*.

N n n 2

That,

That, I went one Day to the Star-Chamber, to see what Lords were left at home ; where I heard Colonel *Crosby* and others Fined, for reporting, that the Lord Deputy of *Ireland* going to Knight a poor Man, Sir *Knave*, with a Cane, he hit him so hard as he killed him ; when, in Truth, he died not until three Days following.

At which Sentence, little *Land* made a Sermon of an Hour long ; telling them, how the Deputy had cozened the *Scots* of *Ireland*, of all their Arms, and was providing Men to wear them in *Scotland*, against their own Countrymen ; and that it was a Fortune that followeth all Men in high Places and Authority, to be evil spoken of.

But it was not so of old ; for then the Man whom the King did honour should ride in his Chariot, be apparelled with the King's Rôbes, and esteemed the Second Person in the Kingdom ; but now, if the People might have their Wills (quoth he) those whom the King honoureth, should have *Haman's* Reward : With this he concluded, keeping the Application to himself ; whereupon, I went out and wrote these Verses following, and left them in the Window :

*Now wicked Will doth reign as King,
And Finch sings sweet by Windy-banks,
The Priests Placebo still do sing
But the Scots, if crost'd, will play mad Pranks.*

The next Day, I took my Journey homewards, and left one to take Notice of Passages in my Absence : And the first Night I lay at *Ware*, where my Host shewed me the great Bed, told me, that 24 Captains lay altogether in it, and named it the Bed of Honour : If (said I) Honour could be got with lying in Feather-beds, few would be without it. But sure (said I) they will lie both worse, and farther asunder before they return home again.

When I came to *York*, I heard the King was bravely entertained there, and that the Recorder had so tickled his Ears with Flattery and Fables, that both he and the Mayor were Knighted. Well, thought I, this makes good the old Proverb ; Some may better steal a Goose, then others stick down a Feather ; for if the *Scots* had done so, they had been called fawning Fellows, by open Proclamation.

When I came to *Durham*, all the Drummers were drunk ; for the Bishop had bestowed good Store of Wine upon them to forbear beating, because, the Noise of the Drums should not drown the Sound of the Organs.

I needed no Guide to *Newcastle* ; for whole Troops of Soldiers lay Lame by the Way : This Town is now called Little-London, albeit, it hardly deserves the Name of *Coal-Castle*. I went round their Town to see the Works, and thought to have seen a Castle in it ; but mine Host told me ; That the *Scots* had long ago laid the Castle level with the Ground, and lest they should do the like with the Town, the King had sent a Garrison to defend it.

When I came first to the Camp, I was examined what I was : I told them, I was Chaplain to the Lord High-Crown'd *Howard*, and was come on a Message to his Chief. Upon this, I had a fair Passport, but never came near him.

The first News I heard there was, that the Marquis was sent to find out the Floating Islands, and that he had been round about *England*, and most Part of *Scotland*, but could not find him them, and, in the Interim, most of his Men falling Sea-sick, a Pink was dispatched to *Apollo's* Oracle, to know their Destinies. Answer was made ; That they were all Unsanctified People, and not fit to be employed in so Holy a War, until they had done Penance, and made their Confessions in some fitting Land. This made them more amazed than before, until a subtil *Sphinx* expounded the Riddle, and told them ; It was meant by the Holy Island, unto which he would prove their Pilot, and bring them thither, where, if their Men died as fast at Land as they did at Sea,

Sea, then they might save a Labour of digging of Graves, and bury them in Cony-borroughs. Unto this they all agreed, and weighed Anchor, hoised up Sails, and in short Time arrived in the Harbour, where they landed their Men: And the Marquis himself, after he had made his Orisons at Saint *Cuthberts* Shrine, he posted to *Apollo* for farther Direction.

That, when I came to the Camp, I saw diverse Troops of Voluntaries, who (like so many Prodigals) having got their Patrimonies, are come thither to spend them, in Hope to return richer. They have taken with them three Horses a Piece; one, to carry the Als himself; an other to carry a Prisoner if he can take any; and a third, to carry his Provision.

But it is commonly seen in all Lotteries (this being the like) that there are above ten Blanks to one Prize.

I met with a great many Gamesters there, and with some Players and Poets; but all out of Employment: Yet a Poet told me; that, because he would keep his Hand in Use, he made every Day a few Lines in Verse; a Parcel whereof he gave me as followeth:

*No Enemy's Face yet have we seen
Nor Foot set on your Ground;
But here we lie in open Field,
Wish Rain, like to be drown'd.*

*The Earth's my Bed, when I am laid.
A Turf it is my Pillow,
Our Canopy is the Sky above,
My Laurel turn'd so Willow.*

*Then mighty Mars with-hold thy Hand,
And Jove thy Fury cease;
That so we may, as all do pray,
Return again in Peace.*

About the End of *May*, either a Fool, or an unskilful Physician, told the King; That the *Scots* Camp had such stinking Breaths, as the *English* durst not come within ten Miles of them, for Fear of infecting: Whereupon, a Proclamation was made; That, the King did respect the Safety of his Subjects of *England*. So as the *Scots* Camp, under Pain of Displeasure, should not come within ten Miles of the *English* Borders, or Camp wheresoever it lay; but if they did, then the *Generalissimo* was to kill all they could catch, wherein they should do his Majesty good Service and Honour.

Shortly after this, a vain Man persuaded the King; that all the *Scots* were retired, above 14 Miles from *Barwick*, and that 5000 would be able to take them all in their Trenches. This being granted, upon *Ascension* Day, the *English* Army went out of *Barwick* very early, to put this Design in Execution; but ere they had marched two Miles, News came, that General *Lesley* was coming towards them; whereupon, they returned, saying; They went out but only to go in Procession round about the Bounds belonging to the Town of *Barwick*.

About two Days after, there happened a great Misty Morning, in which the Cows coming down the Hill towards *Barwick*, seemed like so many Men, and the White Horns like so many Colours, which put the Town in such a Fright, that the *Scots* were coming, that they Barrocaded their Gates, and ran up their Rampiers, mounted their Ordnance, and made ready for a Defense: But when the Day grew clear,

clear, and, that they heard Cows low for their Calves, they opened their Gates, and let them in to *Suckling*.

That, I observed in the Camp, that both the *French* and *Spanish* Faction (like to *Caiphas* and *Pilate*) are now agreed to your Overthrow, in this Expedition, who were always opposite Enemies one to another, even in their very Apparel, which I will decipher unto you, because if you see them, you may know them.

The *Frenchmen* be known, by their curled Peruke, *Franciscan* Cap, short-waisted Doublet, long-armed Hose, and curtal Cloak, with Boots, as though they meant to be buried in them. And the other may be known, by his *Spanish* Hat, *Armenian* Band, long-bellied Doublet, without a Belt, trunk Hose, start-up Stockings, buskin Boots, and large Cloaks, which is the general Fashion now in the Army.

That, when I was in the Camp, Proclamation was made, that every Man, upon Pain of Death, should observe these Laws, and Ordinances of War; which all the Camp was sworn to, as Sacred and Good; out of which, Ten of the most material were collected, and set up to be observed as truly as they do the Ten Commandments.

1. **W**Hosoever shall speak any Thing in Favour of the Enemy, or say, that this Army is unlawful or unnecessary, shall suffer as a Rebel.
2. All such as have Intelligence with the Enemy, or shall relieve them, or give them any Thing (saving Blows) shall die without Redemption.
3. That all such as disparage, or speak against the Actions of any Chief Commander, or refuse to do what they desire, shall suffer Death.
4. That all such as forsake their Colonels, leave their Captains, or draw a Sword against any but the *Scots*, shall suffer Death without Mercy.
5. That no Man lift his Hand, wag his Tongue, or stir a Foot against his Commander, when he shall correct him, upon Pain of Death.
6. That whosoever shall see a Commander in Danger, shall venture his own Life to save the others, upon Pain of Death.
7. That when the Enemy is driven out of the Field, no Soldier leave his Rank to fall to Pillage, until License be given them upon Pain of Perpetual Imprisonment.
8. That all such Spoils, as shall be taken above the Rate of ten Shillings, shall be brought, undiminished, to the Lord General to be rewarded for a Memorial of Victory, and after it was Proclaimed with Sound of Drum and Trumpet, it is to be sold, and the Money to be kept to build an Hospital, for old-cashiered Captains, and such Soldiers as shall be Lamed, or Spoiled in this Expedition.
9. That he who can take any of the Lords, or principal Covenanters Prisoners, shall bring them to the Lord General, where he shall have an honourable Reward for his Pains.
10. That whatsoever any Man can spare unspent of his Pay, he is, at his Return to *London*, to offer it up at the High Altar, at *Paul's*, towards the repairing thereof, where his Name shall be Inrolled, as a valiant Warrior against the *Scots*, and a brave Benefactor too.

Per GENERALISSIMO.

Some of the Captains, and Soldiers, being displeased with these Orders, the next Night pulled them down, and put up these other Ten in their Places.

1. **T**HAT no Man be too forward to fight, until he know the Quarrel, and that such Correspondency be kept with the Covenanters, as they do with us, upon Pain of the next Parliament's Displeasure.

2. That

2. That such Soldiers as use any unlawful Gaming, or Cosening, shall suffer Imprisonment; and such Captains and Commanders, as, by the Cog of a Dye, could set-forth whole Troops of Horses (but lost their Luck since they came from *London*) shall likewise lose their Credit in the Camp, and their Colours in the Field, if they do not maintain their Troops in the same Manner they set them out.

3. *Item*, If any Soldier learn, or use more Terms of Art, in his Exercise, than his Captain can teach him, shall have three Blows with a Bastonado, for his Presumption.

4. *Item*, If any Captain cannot understand his Colonel's Command, he shall forfeit a Goose for his slender Judgment.

5. *Item*, That no Sutler trust the Soldiers with too much Meat, for Fear of Forfeiting, upon Pain of Non-Payment thereof.

6. *Item*, If any Trooper be kept short of his Pay, than it shall be lawful for him, to sell his great Cart-Horse and Furniture, and to fight on Foot, until, by his Valour, he can get a *Galloway-Nag* to ride upon.

7. *Item*, That no Soldier set Foot farther in *Scotland* than their General, Colonel, or Captains dare lead the Way, lest, when they come to Employment, they be left in the Lurch.

8. *Item*, That whatsoever any Soldier can bring away out of *Scotland*, without Molestation, he shall keep it to himself, without any Account rendering.

9. *Item*, That after the Camp is broken up, who every Man hath not Money to bear his Charges home, shall have License, to beg into his Country; and if the Peoples Charity will not supply him, then, it shall be lawful for him, to take what he can by Way of Borrowing, with Promise of Re-payment the next *Northern* Journey.

10. That if any sluggish Soldier get nothing by his Journey, in this Expedition, he shall, at his Return, lye three Nights in the *Savoy*, in a Straw-Bed, and, at his Departure, have three Lice for his Labour, if he bring none with him.

By *AUTHORITT*, under his *EXCELLENCY*.

Hereby you may perceive, there is no great Unity in the Camp, but there is a far less Edge in the Kingdom towards this Action; for take this for a general Observation throughout *England*, that many of the best Nobility, and prime Gentry, and Commonalty are well Wishers to the Cause; albeit, they be not openly seen in it: So as I may truly tell you, that; though Nature hath provided two Hands to one Heart, yet, God hath prepared two Hearts to pray for you, for one Hand that is to fight against you.

That, the most of the Common Soldiers in the Camp, are such as care not who lose, so they get, being mere *Atbeists*, and Barbarian in their Resolutions: And indeed they are the very Scum of the Kingdom, such as their Friends have sent out to be rid of, who care not if both Kingdoms were on Fire, so they might share the Spoil.

Upon this I thought good, to try if I could take off the Edge of their Fury, by making a *Quere* of the Quarrel, and a Declaration of your Intentions, by the Verses following, which I put under the Orders.

English.] *What will you Fight, for a Book of Common-Prayer?
 What will you Fight, for a Court of High-Commission?
 What will you Fight, for a Miter gilded fair?
 Or to maintain the Prelates proud Ambition?
 What will you get? You must not wear the Miter.
 What will ye get? You know we are not rich.
 What will you get? Your Tote will be no lighter.
 For when we're slain, this Rod comes on your Breach.*

Scots.]

Scots.] *We Fight to have our true Religion stand :
 We Fight to keep our Laws unvilify'd :
 We Fight for to preserve our Lives and Land :
 Our only Aim's to beat down Prelates Pride.
 Our King is wise, and so we hope he'll bear us :
 Our Cause is good, we'll seal it with our Blood :
 Our Conscience that doth perfect Witness bear us :
 That what we do is for the general Good.
 Then learn, in Time, to ease your heavy State,
 Lest one Day you repent, when 'tis too late.*

The next Morning those Verses were taken down, and carried to the General, who gave Order for apprehending the Author : But Mumbudget for me : And, about Noon, a Comptroller came and put up an Answer to them, as followeth :

*Thou Rebel Scot, we fear thee not,
 Our Quarrel is to Fight :
 Lashley we'll Lash, dear Sandy slash,
 And Douglas put to Flight.*

*By King's Command, we have your Land,
 As soon as you are slain :
 Then, with all Speed, we'll do the Deed,
 Else call thee Bragger Van.*

By Authority.

By this you may perceive, they think it a won Game, yet I see no Miracles they have done, since they went out ; only I observed a Wonder, that is, to see their Pride and Patience, have agreed so long together, expecting an End of this Action.

That, I saw the Regiment of Giants sent out of *Yorkshire*, under the Command of *Don Quixot*, who threatens, that, after they have Carbonaded the *Scots*, like so many Capons, then *Sancho Pansa* his Page, shall cut off their Heads, and carry them to the Prelates, for a Present : But the Enterprize will prove worse than the Wind-Mills was, that the third Day after, all the Forces where the *Welshmen* had the Vanguard, the *Irish* the Rear, and the *English* the Main-Battel, and the *Papists* were purposely backwardly placed, to see that none forsook their Colours, and the Bishops could willingly have desired to bear the Banner, but that they feared their White-Sleeves were such fair Marks, and the *Scots* such good Marksmen, as they could not miss them.

That, when the Muster-Roll was cast up (of their 100,000 *English*, 20,000 *Spaniards*, 20,000 *Irish*, 20,000 *Welsh*, 20,000 *Danes*, and 20,000 Choice *Catholics*) it was found in *total* not above 1600 ; if I be mistaken in the Numbers, *London News* misled me. Now if all these, with the Help of three borrowed Counties, after three Days Battery with the great Ordnance, and three Months Labour of the Engineers, cannot make a Breach big enough for the Generals Greatness to enter *Edenburgh*, and cut off all the Covenanters, then they mean, to take another Course with you, *viz.* First, They mean cunningly, under the Colour of a Parley, to catch you in a Purse-Net ; and if that fail, then they mean to yield to a Parliament ; and, in the Interim, possess themselves of all the strong Castles, and then, of a sudden, to catch you all napping, as *Moss* caught his Mare. But if your Wisdoms do prevent that, then they mean to starve you, by Land, and by Sea ; for which Purpose, the Marquiss hath surrounded the Seas, and hath entered the *Firth* ; where, like Swallows after Flies, he will

will so fight, with the Fisher-Boats, as you shall not have a Whiting, a Haddock, nor a Herring to relieve you: And all the Frontier-Towns, between *Carlisle* and *Berwick*, shall be laid full of Soldiers, to keep you from catching any Thing out of *England*. But, here's your Comfort, *Winter* will come, and then our rough Rocks, and shelvy Seas will force the Ships to retire Homewards, and our cold Climate will quickly cool their Courages, if they continue their intended Courses.

That, upon the first of *June*, News was brought to the *English* Camp, that all the *Scots* Army was blown as far as *Edinburgh*, with the Wind of the last Proclamation: Whereupon, Order was given for an Inroad into *Scotland*, within two Days after; thinking to have taken in the Two Market-Towns of *Kelfey* and *Duns*, but they proved *Dunces* in their Designs; for they went fiercely on the *Monday*-morning, as some of their Commanders had put on Perukes instead of Helmets, and the rest had no Time to take their Leaves of their Friends, but hastily marched with such a Fury, that they raised such a Dust with their fifteen Hundred Horse, and 3000 Foot, that they were almost choaked with it: But, when they came towards *Kelfey*, there appeared 400 Horse on the Top of a Hill; whereupon the *English* Commanders gave Orders for a Charge; which the other perceiving, retired down the Hill, on the other Side, and then, wheeling about with a Foot Army, they encompassed the *English* Army round about, ere they knew of it. And, after some small Pause on the Business, a Trumpeter was sent to the *Scots*, to submit; who returned Answer; That if they meant to fight, they should see their Submission; and demanded of the *English*, the Cause of their coming to invade them in such Hostile Manner? Who replied, That they came out to see how the *Scots* Markets were furnished with *Flesh*; for the *English* Soldiers were almost surfeited with eating of fresh *Salmon*. To which a *Scots* Captain replied:

Most gentle General, our Markets are well stored with Provision; and, if you will but take the Pains to march into our Market with your Army, you may see, almost, 5000 *English* Calves, which our Friends have sent us for a Prey this Morning; but we never mean to hurt them, but intend to send them safe back again, for a Present to his Majesty, as a Token of our Loyalty to him, and our Loves towards you. When the *English* had considered how the Case stood with them, they fell to a Parley, and parted loving Friends, and so founded a Retreat, and returned Homewards again; every Man carrying in his Hand (instead of a *Rosmary Branch*, the Emblem of Death) an *Olive Branch*, the Emblem of Peace; all of them singing,

*Fight who will, we will not draw our Swords,
'Gainst those who, for bad Deeds, return good Words:
We found their Love, and know they mean no Ill;
Then, let's shake Hands, be Friends, and Brethren still.*

When the *English* Army saw their Fellows return in this Manner, it caused a great Confusion among them; but, when they truly understood the Matter, *Let us have Peace; Let us have Peace*; the most cried with the News. I was so far overjoyed, that I came posting to your *Lordships*, to tell you the same; whose Wisdoms can well tell how to take the Opportunity offered for the Peace and Prosperity of this *Kirk* and *Kingdom*, the Welfare whereof is the hearty Desire of him, who hath adventured himself to bring your *Lordships* these few *Intelligences*.

T H E
C H A R A C T E R
O F A N
O X F O R D - Incendiary.

Printed in 1645.

AN *Oxford-Incendiary* is a Court-Salamander, whose proper Element is *Fire*: An *English*-man, yet lives by *Antiperistasis* to his native Climate; and turns our *Northern Temperate* into the *Torrid Zone*. All ancient *Philosophers* are by him confuted; having made one *Region* more of *Fire* than they dreamed of: Nor is it any Wonder, seeing he creates new *Prodigies* every Day.

I suppose him lineally descended from St. *George's* Fiery Dragon; and, if you please to enquire of Doctor *Heylin*, he may chance to make good the *Heraldry*. But whosoever was the *Sire*, Mother he hath none that I can hear of; nor do I believe, that *Nature*, our common Mother, will own the *Monster*. For his Name, you may (if you please) make bold with *Ovid*, and call him *Phaeton*; for he rules the *Chariot of the Sun*, and, having gotten the *Reins* in his own Hand, hurries all into *Combustion*: Yet, the desperate Wretch cares not, so he may work a *Metamorphosis* upon the *Nation*, or mingle his own with the *Kingdom's* Ashes.

His *Birth-place* I take to be Mount *Ætna*; there *Empedocles* acted the *Man-midwife*, and delivered him out at the *Tonnels*. If the *Pope* wants a *Leiger* for *Purgatory*, none can fit him better; he being of a *Constitution* and *Religion* suitable to the *Service*.

But his *Employment* must be altogether at Home, else the *deluded Fraternity* will grow *chill* in their *Designs* here; and, to them, there is no Sport without a *Fire-drake*, or an *Ignis Fatuus*.

To be a little more plain: An *Oxford-Incendiary* is the *Excrement* of ill-governed *Monarchy*; the vast Volume of *Treason* wrapped up in an *Epitome*; one who feeds the *Vultur Prerogative* with the *Carcase* of the *Common-wealth*, that it may *disgorge* into his own *Coffers*; and makes a *Mule* (to say no worse) of *Majesty*, to carry him through all his own *private Designs* against the *Public*.

Yet, notwithstanding, his proper *Sphere* is the *Court*; there he shines a bright *Constellation* of Royal Favour, though the whole *Kingdom* beside takes him for a *prodigious Comet*, and behold him with the same Countenance, as they did that in the Year 1618. Nor is it without Reason, when the meanest *Prognosticator* cries, that he portends the Ruin of some great *Princes*. Upon his *Influence* depends the *Almanac* of *Treason*; exactly calculated for the several *Meridians* of *England*, *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*; for from thence you may judge of all *Eclipses* between

tween *King* and *Parliament* ; or tell what *Weather* will be in *Great-Britain* the whole Year following.

Thus *Jupiter* and *Mars*, meeting in *Conjunction* at *Tork*, with a direful *Aspect*, threatened Misery to the *Nation* ; though it produced no Effect, till an Interposition of *Malignants* at *Shrewsbury*, and an oblique Course of *Venus* from *Holland*, bade us expect a *Deluge* of Blood.

Indeed, it may serve for *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, with very little (or no) Difference ; for the *Tragedy* and *Actors* are the same, only the *Scenes* are several, the better to dress out the *Plot*, and make it seem more intricate.

Thus the rare *Irish Commission* was begotten of *English* Parents, when the Earl of *Antrim* was made a *God-father* to the *Design* ; though *Ormond* had rather forfeit his *Honour* and *Conscience*, than say, they were *English* Hands which cut the *Protestants* Throats with an *Irish* Knife.

But this is not all ; the Train of *Gun-powder* reaches to *Scotland* ; and there they light *Matches* to blow up the *Fidelity* of that *Nation* : Which, not taking Effect upon the *Heads*, then *Squib-cracks* are tyed to the very *Breech* of *Thule*, to set Fire on the *High-land Wilderness* ; for in such barren Places is their *Harvest* : Rare *Vipers* ! who thrive best out of the *Sun-shine*, in the dark Caves of *Barbarism* and *Ignorance*.

But stand off, or provide an *Antidote* : The most prodigious *Serpent* comes crawling this Way ; some monstrous *African* or *American*, for sure, it is not of the *British* Brood ; yet every *Cavalier* carries it in his Bosom, like a *Tame Snake* : It is the *Commission* of *Array*, a very flying *Dragon*, hatched in a *Conventicle* of *Spit-fires* ; an illegitimate *By-blow*, to supplant the *Militia*. It was spawned at *White-ball* ; there the *Cock-brain'd Crew* ingendered with their Master's *Female Understanding* : At *Tork* it became an *Egg*, O that it had then been crushed ! But, afterwards, scarce *Pen-feathered*, it ventured a Flight toward *Hull* ; yet fell short, and was sore bruised. Notwithstanding this, it crept to *Nottingham* ; and there, in Hope of Recovery, voided a *Standard*, with a *Declaration* or two ; evident *Symptoms* of a *Bloody-Flux* at hand.

But the *Leeches*, not able to draw Blood there, betook themselves *Westward* toward *Wales* ; and there fell to sucking at the *nether Postern* of the *Kingdom* : It was Time, then, to cast the *Water* of the *State*, and purge out the *Excrements* of the *Body-politic*.

Now the *Game* begins ; Room for the *Roman Actors* : Here the *Bishops* rack themselves in a *Pulpit*, vomiting up *Daggers* (like *Hocus*) to amaze the *People* ; *Doctrin Cannon-proof*, and let the *Devil* make *Application*, so he can convert all to his *Majesty's* Use. If the *Pope* be Commander in Chief, it is but Reason they should be *Major-Generals* ; and, for *Inferior Officers*, Deans and Arch-deacons, the only *Colonels* ; Prebends, *Lieutenant-Colonels* ; Big-bellied Parsons, *Majors* ; Vicars, *Captains* ; Curates, *Ensigns* : And, for the rest, they cannot be wanting, when there are whole *Swarms* of the same Breed of *Caterpillars* in both *Universities*.

These are *Spaniels* to the *Incendiary*, in Hope of *Preferment* : He leads them in *Couples*, breeds them to fetch and carry after his own Humour, and to be at the Word of *Command* : But the Sport is, to see a *Dog* handle a *Drum-stick* ; yet these docile Creatures will do it, and beat up their *Drums*, in all *Churches* and *Chapels*, to alarm the *People* against *Reformation* and the *Parliament*. This *Black Brigade* are of the same Lineage with the *Incendiary* ; he hugs them as his *White-Boys* : And, to say the Truth, there is not a Hair's Difference between them ; the Chief of the *Pre-latical Clergy* being the principal, if not the only *Fire-men* : And, therefore, it cannot be amiss to present them in the first Rank of *Tragedians*, seeing our *Scene* is the precious *University of Oxford*.

As the *Prologue* before the *Play*, enter *Canterbury*, the *Pope's Pigny-Champion*, the meritorious *Traytor*, the *Catholic Demi-culverin*, the Reverend *Granado* ; who li-

ved to set all on Fire, yet escaped the *Martyrdom* of hanging, to be *quenched* upon a *Scaffold*; whereas, the other Kind of Death had been more suitable to his Life, having always been a *Pendant* in the Ear of *Majesty*. This is he who took Water lately at the *Tower*, being bound for the *Red-Sea*; but that, for his Presumption, in comparing himself with *Christ* and his *Apostles*, and threatening *Cbaron* with the *Star-Chamber*, he over-turned the *Ferry-Boat*, and let him drop into *Purgatory*: Thus it is to quarrel with a *Water-man*.

A Broom! a Broom! Sweep the *Stage*: Here comes Religion in *Slip-shoes* and *Sandals*; Mistress *Novelty's* Gentleman-Usher, clad in *Robes* of *Antiquity*; the *Bell-man* of the *Jewish Temple*; *Aaron* in the last *Edition*; *Wren* turned *Robin-Red-breast*, as gay as the *Bird of Paradise*, with his Man *Pocklynton* at his Heels: These two (like *Lightning* and *Thunder*) never parted; two *Diocesan Exorcists*, who conjured away all Godly Ministers, by *Bell, Book, and Candle*: Their *Charms* were so strong, that nothing could lay them but a *Parliament*, the Kingdom's *Antidote*.

Now, single out *Pocklynton* from his *Master*, and couple with him *Heylin*, two of *Canterbury's* prime *Beagles*, and as famous as his Breed of *Cats*. These two held a Conspiracy against the *Sabbath*; helped to rear up an *Altar*, with the Title of *Christi-anum*, set up the *Ten Commandments* over it, where they might plainly read themselves *Sabbath-breakers* and *Idolaters*; and yet continued to worship both *it* and the *Candle-sticks*, committing *Fornication* with *Gold* and *Timber*. Nor is this all; *Heylin* can shew more *Tricks* than one for a *Bishoprick*: To make good the *Roman Kalendar*, he will prove *St. George* a real *Saint*; and then, upon this *Sandy Foundation*, creates an imaginary Honour to the most Honourable *Order* of the *Garter*; as if the *Protestant Nobility* of this Kingdom would be taken with *Romish Gu-gaws*, pleased with such trifling *Fetches*: Yet, believe me (as the *Times* went) it was a *politic Fetch* for *Preferment*.

And now we talk of *Preferment*, enter *Owen Glendour*, on Horse-back, *Brute's* Cousin-German, and the *Top of her Kindred*, *Welsh Williams*, the *Prelate of York*: This is the *Pepper-nosed Caliph*, who shuffles, huffs and puffs *Ingratitude* at the *Parliament*, though they freed him from Prison, and put his *Adversary* in his Room. Tell him of *Reformation*, and you transform him to a *Turkey-cock*: A *Jack-a-Lent*, made of a *Red-herring* and a *Leek*, will not more inflame him than the Name of *Presbytery*. Some kind Heart take this *Incendiary*, and cool him, or *Vexation* will consume him to *Ashes*.

But I wonder how it comes to pass that *Armagh* should be ranked here. The Case stood otherwise once: Nay, he *Ebbed* so far from his *Episcopal Dignity*, as to turn *Lecturer*, and so brought himself into a Possibility of *Heaven*, till the Old Man began to dote upon the *World* again. I cannot tell to what I might attribute his *Apostacy*; to his *Climate*, or his *Conscience*; his *Country*, or his *Religion*, or both; yet we have found him a right *Irish-man*, and a second *Spalato*.

It is a rare *Mystery*, that this *Pageant* should be so persecuted by the *Rebels*, as to fly for his Life out of *Ireland*, and yet be able to digest them and their *Counsels* at *Oxford*. But, was it ever seen, that a *Bishop* would be out with any who were in at the *Court*? This is the *Prelates Heaven*; there they are all *Parallel*; though distant in their *Ends*, as in the *Circumference*, yet united in the *Center*: Give their *Ambition Line* enough, and you may *De-Coy* them whither you please. Thus our *quondam St. Patrick* slipped into the *Bog* at *Oxford*.

I should have done with them now, but that I find another in, over Head and Ears; I mean the *Brewer* in *Pontificalibus*; *Duppa*, the formal *Dray-horse*, who carries about *Holy-water* in *Rundless*, to furnish the *Court*, *Camp*, and *University*: *Davis*, the *Barber*, shaves his *Majesty* with the very same; for there need no *Wash-balls*, when the *Exorcism* scours beyond *Sope-suds*. This is he who puts
down

down *Gunter* in his *Fire-work Protestations* against the *Protestant Religion*; and then (in his Majesty's Name) charges them upon the *People*. For the same Purpose, also, he frames *enchanted Prayers* for *Christ-Church Chapel*; and so makes the *Organs* (at once) pipe out *Impiety* against *Heaven*, and *Treason* against the *State*. God bless *Prince Charles*, for this is his *Tutor*: He cries to him, When you pray, say thus; but what? A *Pater-noster*, or two, with a little *Collect* and *Litany*, after the *Tradition* of his *Fathers*; from which (my *Litany* shall be) *Good Lord deliver him*.

But, if you would know him better, let *Stewart* (the Ghost of *Arminius*) appear, to bring in the *Catastrophe*: These two are *Brothers*, both having the *Whore* of *Babylon* for their *Mother*; and the Sons of *Pelagius*, by *Heretical Adoption*. The Foundation of old *Rome* (saith *History*) was laid in *Blood*; and these *Romuli* take the same Course to be *Founders* of new *Rome* here in *England*: The Name of *Peace* puts them into a *Fit* of the *Cholic*; it stings like a *Tarantula*, for nothing will cure them but the *Musick of War*.

Now sound aloud: Avaunt, ye *Black-coats*, the *Court-pageants* are entering. *Stratford* without a *Head*: but let him pass for a *Dumb Shew*; the *Tyrant* hath had his *Exit* already by *Order of Parliament*.

Who comes next? What, *Henrietta Maria*! Sure our *Incendiary* is an *Hermaphrodite*, and admits of both *Sexes*: The *Irish* Rebels call Her their *Generalissima*; what she willed, they acted: She set them on *Work*, and they pay themselves their *Wages* out of the *Protestants* Estates. Because the *Pope* is turned out of *Doors*, she makes the fatal *Sisters* and *Furies* of her *Privy-Council*, and proceeds so meritoriously *Manful*, that *Kenelm Digby* consults now with his *Holiness* to have her set in the *Rubric*, by the Name of *Saint Nemesis in Breeches*. How many *breeding Fits* hath she had, since the coming over of *Madam Beldame*! And, no sooner delivered of one *Plot*, but, within the *Month*, a *Conception* of another. I wonder at *Neptune's* Rage against these two, *Mother* and *Daughter*; for they never crossed the *Sea* but a *Tempest* followed; which shews, that they were not of the *Halcyon* Brood.

But the *Flame* rises not high enough yet; therefore hasten away the two *Bellows-menders* from *Holland*; *Rupert* and *Maurice*, *Simeon* and *Levi*: A *Miracle*, that a *Phoenix* should bring forth two such *Vipers*! If this be too bold, know that the *Game* is begun, and then, all *Fellows at Foot-ball*: But I spare them, though they are so unnatural, as not to spare that *Nation* which bred them up.

Next, enter a *Gentleman* in *Disguise*, newly landed out of the *Ship* called the *Providence*; *Achitophel Junior*, with *Store* of *Sampson's Foxes* and *Fire-brands*: Pull off his *Vizard*, and his Name is *George Digby*. This is the *Beardless Solon*; *Lycurgus* newly whipped out of *Long-Coast* into the *Privy-Council*; *Treachery's Man-midwife*, and *Machiavel's Catamite*; for, by him were spawned those desperate *Aporisms* and *Positions*, of his Majesty's wandering from his *Parliament*. What we wonder at in the rest, is natural to him, being a native *Spaniard*, to have an *Antipathy* to the *Weal* of our *Nation*: For, an *Atheist*, who hath neither *Religion*, nor *Conscience* to sway him, follows the *Constitution* and ingrafted *Principles* of his *Climate*. The *Truth* of this they knew well enough, who fetched him out of the *Senate* to the *Court*; and the *Spanish Gilt-bead* swallowed the *Bait* immediately: *Faces about*; farewell to *Religion*, *Honour*, *Parliament*, *common Honesty*, and all; for he waited but for such an *Opportunity*, as well as *Colepeper* and *Dering*, though the latter missed it.

More *Spaniards* yet? *Bristol* and *Cottingham*, rare *Peccadillo's*! *Imps of Spinola*; two of *Gondomar's* *Jockies*, who posted between *White-ball* and *Madrid*, till, at length, they mortgaged *England* with the *Protestant Religion*, for a *Pension* of *Spanish Gennets*, and *Bars of Silver*; which they have striven since to re-pay, together with the *Interest* of pernicious *Connells*, and secret *Practises*. Upon a *Return* of the *Indian Plate-fleet*, these *Hirelings* will do any *Thing*, even sacrifice their *Country* to those *Gods of America*.

Here comes a Gentleman of the *Long-Robe*; *Littleton*, the egregious *Pick-pocket*, who would have stolen away the Kingdom's *Purse* from the *Parliament*; which renders him, by the *known Laws*, a most intolerable *Traytor*. He promises his *Majesty* to make all good by *Law*; but first intends to banish *Dalton*, *Cook*, and the rest, as *Heterodox Petty-foggers*, and *Spurious Authors*. If no Body will believe he can maintain the Slander of *Rebels*, yet his Impudence can disdain all such *Scruples*, though with *Arguments* grounded upon a manifest *Contradiction* to the *States Fundamentals*.

What he cannot do, *Heath* will: This *Tector* converses altogether with *Old out-worn Records*, to make good the *Case*: He might do well, then, to come and search in the *Tower*, if he dare venture his Neck upon the *Point*, in a *legal Trial*. In him we find it true, that *an old Man is twice a Child*; for he stands in Fear of every *bigger Boy* at Court: Besides, he makes a fine *Hobby-horse* of the *Prerogative*, and tricks it ever and anon with illegal *Ribbons*. He procreates *Proclamations* also in private, yet avows the *Spurious Issue* as Legitimate as *Acts of Parliament*, and so (upon *Pain of High Displeasure*) the Subjects must own them; like the needy *Fornicator*, who lays his *Brats* at other Men's Doors.

There are more *Adulterers* of the *Law*: But stay, here's a *Post* come to *Town* with ill *News*. Oh, *Bristol, Bristol* is lost! Up starts the *Junto*; *Westward*, hoy! Off goes their *Parliament-purple*, and away to *Oxford*. This rotten Limb of the *Representative Body* boasts it self as healthful and sound as the *Whole*; and having been *Catechised* a-while at *Court*, would answer to no Name but *PARLIAMENT*. O prodigious! Nay, the *Renegado* Conventicle had the Impudence to sit and *Vote* the Kingdom *Slaves*; and for this, thought themselves highly recompensed with a *Smile* or two, from the *Supreme Petticoat*. No Heaven now but there: They offer *Incense* to *Traytors*; and have the Conscience to Idolize an *Irish Rebel*, a Murderer of *Protestants*; imitating herein the naked *Indians*, who worship the *Devil* for destroying their *Kindred*.

But, the best of it is, this *Fire-work* never did much Mischief, though all *Ways* have been tried, from the *Squib* to the *Cannon*; for they never durst stand to it yet: Always in Motion; the *Curse of Cain* pursues them, as a just Reward, that these who chose to live, should also dye *Renegadoes*.

What think you then of *Montrofs*? This *Lapwing-Incendiary* ran away *half-hatched* from *Oxford*, to raise a Combustion in *Scotland*: As his Tutors in *England*, so he thrives best there, where is most *Ignorance*. He raked up the *Remains* of ancient *Barbarism*, and soldered them together with *Creatures* of like *Metal* from *Ireland*; the very *Dross* of both Countries coagulated into an *Army*. The first Sight of them would convert a *Sadducee*, and make him confess a *Resurrection* of the old Heathen *Picts* and *Kerns*: Strange Names they have! And, should a *Herald* venture to reckon the *Genealogy*, he might be taken for a *Conjurer*. The Repetition of twenty *Mac's O Connor's*, *O Brian's*, and *O Donnel's*, were a *Charm* for the *Gout*, or an *Ague*, beyond all the *Magnetics* in *Chymistry*.

This *Mountainous Breed* of *Pagans*, like the old *earth-born Giants*, fight against *Heaven*, bidding Defiance to *Christ* and his *Gospel*; concerning which, they know no more than what belongs to *Blasphemy*: Miserable then is that *Prince*, who counts such his best Subjects! Most abominable is that *Cause*, which cannot stand but with such *Supporters*! Of late, they *domineer'd* with Superlative *Tyranny*, and had, in Conceit, swallowed all *Scotland*; but now the *Monsters* surfeit with their own Blood: And if ever they recover their *Stomachs*, it will be but for a *running Banquet*.

There is *Ormond* too, the *juggling Marquis*, the new *Popping-jay Duke*, and (to give him all his Titles) *Lord-Protector* of the *Rebels*; for the *Wolves* are brought now into the same *Fold* with the *Sheep*. They say commonly now, that there is

not

not a *Rebel* in *Ireland* : Are they not good Men, then, at *Oxford*, to fight so long till they have left never a *Rebel*? But the late Peace confirms them *good Subjects*, though *Rebels* before. Thus, by entertaining this *Paradox* for Truth, the *Pye-bald* Marquis got his Dukedom of *Offory*.

Antrim's a *Rebel* not worth the naming; nor that precious Piece of *Iron-work*, his *Dutchess*; yet, I must needs say, she was a *Lady* rarely marked out for two eminent *Husbands*, the Beds of *Buckingham* and *Antrim*; this latter more pernicious than a Bed of *Scorpions*.

Yet there is one *Marquis* more, a wise one (God wot) *Winchester*, the Man of *Basing* : But let him pass; he has not Wit enough to be an *Incendiary*. And for *Newcastle*, he's but a *counterfeit Marquis*; at the best but a *Play-wright*; one of *Apollo's Whirligigs*; one who, when he should be fighting, would be fornicating with the *Nine Muses*, or the Dean of *Tork's* Daughters; a very *Thing*; a Soul traducted out of *Perfume* and *Compliment*; a Siken *General*, who ran away *beyond Sea* in a *Sailor's* Canvas: He, with his *Tinder-box* of Authority, first lighted a Fire in the *North*, yet was so kind as to see it quenched again e're he left us.

But the *Western Squib* (*Hopton*) holds out still, and rages beyond *Gun-powder* with *Aqua-vita*; but there are other *Ingredients* of *Atheism* joined to him, which make the *Blaze* in the *West* shew so big; for he of himself is nothing now: The Man lives toward the *Sun-setting*, treads *Antipodes* of late to Victory, and despairs of appearing *East* again; yet, to comfort him, because the *Parliament* lay claim to his *Bald-pate*, the *King* hath given him a *Peruke* of Honour.

I had almost forgotten *Goring*, her Majesty's *Jeweller* : She plundered the *Crown*, and he conveyed away, converting all into *Arms*, and *Gun-powder* : Rare Philosophical Transmutation! But this is the least Part of his Skill; for, in Time of Peace, he was so expert an *Alchymist*, that he turned *Rags*, and worse Things, into *Gold* and *Silver*.

There's butcherly *Fermyn*, too, contemptible *Harry*, the left Leg of a *Lord* : He who wraps up his *Treason* in fine Linen : He *Master of the Horse*! Mount the *Chicken* upon an *Elephant*, for he's a Man of some *Substance*, though little *Revenue*; somewhat too ugly (in my Opinion) for a *Lady's Favourite*, yet that is nothing to some; for the *old Lady*, who died in *Flanders*, regarded not the *Feature*. This *Feather-bed* Traytor must pass, also, for an *Incendiary*; for *Justice* put the *Gentleman* into such a *Fright*, that to make one *Shift* he avoided another, and, at an ill *Season*, took his long Journey in *Spanish-leather* Boots.

There are other *Whelps* of *Cataline*; but it were endless to reckon up all. I shall conclude thus: What the *Poets* feign of *Hercules* his *Hydra*, is Truth of our *Incendiary* : It is a fertile *Monster of many Heads*; for, by lopping off one, up starts a *miraculous Generation* of many more: Then, as it cannot be imagined, how he conquered that *prodigious Enemy*, but by striking off all the *Heads* at a *Blow*; so the ready Way to quell this, must be to bring the whole *Rabble* at once to *Execution*.

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NUMB. VI.

A Particular

Declaration, or Testimony,

OF THE

Undutiful and Traytorous Affection, borne against Her MAJESTY,

BY

EDMOND CAMPION, Jesuit,

And other condemned *Priests*, witnessed by their own *Confessions*; in Reproof of those slanderous *Books* and *Libels*, delivered out to the contrary, by such as are maliciously Affected towards Her MAJESTY and the STATE.

I P E T. ii. 13.

Submit yourselves unto all Manner of Ordinance of Man for the Lord's Sake, whether it be unto the King, as unto the Superior; or unto Governors, as unto them who are sent of him, for the Punishment of Evil Doers, and for the Praise of them who do well.

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VOL. I. NUMB. VI.

P P P

To

To all Her Majesty's good and faithful Subjects.

ALthough the Course of Proceeding in the late Indictment, Arraignment, Trial, Judgment, and Execution of *Edmond Campion*, and others, being as well upon sundry of their Writings, Letters and Confession, as also, upon other good and manifest Proofs, found Guilty of *High-Treason*, was such as ought, in Truth and Reason, to satisfy all indifferent Persons, and well-affected Subjects, to whom her Majesty's merciful and gracious Inclination towards Offenders, is so well known: Yet hath it been found, that some disloyal and unnatural Subjects have untruly spread abroad sundry Rumours and Reports; and have published divers slanderous Pamphlets, and seditious Libels, as well in this Realm, as in Foreign Parts, in sundry strange Languages, in Excuse and Justification of the said *Traytors*, so justly executed; with Purpose to defame her Majesty's honourable Course of Justice, so much as lieth in them: Setting out those condemned Persons as Men of singular Virtue and Holiness, and as her Highness's true, loyal, devoted, and obedient Subjects; and in no wise spotted with any Stain of ill-disposed Affection towards her Majesty; being not otherwise to be charged, than with certain Points of Religion, which concerneth only Matters of Conscience, which were no Way prejudicial to her Majesty's State and Government; with divers like Untruths, which are meant shall be answered hereafter more at large; whereby, both the Malice of the Writers may be made known to the World, and her Majesty's most merciful and gracious Government may be preserved from the Malice of such unnatural and undutiful Subjects.

In the mean Time, notwithstanding the Lords and others of her Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, being desirous that the dutiful Subjects, may be preserved from the Undermining of such seditious Slanderers, whereby, otherwise, they might haply, by such wicked Illusions, be carried into some hard Conceits, touching the due and lawful Proceeding against the said *Traytors*; have found it very expedient, that as well certain Confessions taken of the said *Campion*, and others, before his Arraignment, as also, certain Answers, lately made to certain Articles propounded to those who were, at the same Time, condemned of *High-Treason*, but yet spared from Execution, should be published truly and sincerely, in such precise Form of Words as the same have been acknowledged and subscribed, not only with the proper Hands of certain Persons of public Calling and Credit, who were present at their *Examination*, and have subscribed thereunto; but, also with the proper Hands of the

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the Offenders themselves (*Hart* only excepted) as appeareth by the Originals extant to be shewed ; whereby it may be most evidently seen, even by themselves, still persisting in their most traytorous Affection, how untruly the said Persons are reported to have been, and to be true and faithful Subjects, in Matter of her Majesty's State and Crown ; and how justly they were condemned for *Treason*, and not for Points of *Religion* : Being those, who having been, by her Majesty's Clemency, so long spared, upon Hope of Repentance, continue yet still in such traytorous Disposition of Heart towards her Highness ; two of them only now acknowledging their Duty of Allegiance, though, in Points of *Religion*, not reconciled : As also one other, named *Edward Rish-ton*, who did before, openly, at the Bar, at the Time of the Arraignment (varying from *Campion*, and the rest of his Fellows, therein) acknowledge his said Duty and Allegiance to her Majesty ; towards whom (to the End it may appear unto the World, that the said *Campion*, and the rest who were executed, were not put to Death for Points which concerned Matters of *Conscience*, but for *Treason*) her Majesty doth mean to extend her Grace and Mercy ; hoping, that as it hath pleased God to frame their Consciences to acknowledge towards her that Duty of Allegiance, which, by the Laws of God and Man, they owe unto her, as their most lawful Prince and Sovereign, so he will, hereafter, open their Eyes, to see how dangerously they have been hitherto, through false and erroneous Doctrine, seduced, as well in Matters concerning their Duty towards God, as in their Allegiance towards their Prince.

It is also looked for, that all such as make Profession to be dutiful, and well-affected Subjects, howsoever they be affected in Religion, seeing the most dangerous and pernicious Opinions which are held and maintained by these *Jesuits*, and *Seminary-men*, sent into this Realm, will, hereafter, as well in respect of the Duty they owe unto her Majesty, as for the Care they ought to have, as good Members of this Realm, to preserve the Tranquillity thereof, as a Thing which importeth every Man's particular Duty, not only refuse to receive and harbour such disloyal Persons, but also do their uttermost Endeavour to apprehend them, and to present them to Justice, whereby they may receive such condign Punishment, as is meet to be inflicted upon Disturbers of the public Peace in Realms and Kingdoms.



D. Sanders, De Visibili Monarchiâ; Lib. 7. Pag. 730.

DOCTOR Sanders reporteth; That, in the Year 1569, *Pius Quintus*, * *Pontifex Maximus*, sent *Nicholas Morton*, an *Englishman*, Doctor of Divinity, into *England*, to admonish certain *Catholic Noblemen*, *Elizabetham*, *que tunc rerum potiebatur*, *Hereticam esse: ob eamque causam omni dominio & potestate, quam in Catholicos usurpabat, jure ipso excidisse, impunèque ab illis velut Ethnicam & Publicanam haberi posse, nec eos illius legibus aut mandatis deinceps obedire cogi.* Which is to say; That *Elizabeth*, which then governed, was a *Heretic*, and, for that Cause, hath, by very Law, lost all Dominion and Power which she usurped over the *Catholics*; and may freely be accounted, by them, as a *Heathen*, and *Publican*; and that they are not, from thence-forth, bound to obey her Laws, or Commandments.

Whereupon he saith, that many Noblemen adventured to deliver their Brethren *ab Hereticorum tyrannide*; from the Tyranny of the Heretics. And, although Things fell not out to their Expectation, yet he saith; *Illorum Nobilium laudanda consilia erant, que certo suo, eoque felici successu non caruerunt. Quanquam enim omnium fratrum suorum animus, è schismatis puteo educere non potuerunt, tamen & ipsi fidem Catholicam egregiè confessi sunt, & multi eorum animus profratribus (qui summus est charitatis gradus) posuerunt, & reliqui seipsos, tum ex Hereseos, tum ex peccati servitute in libertatem vendicarunt eam, qua Christus nos liberavit.* That is to say; The Purposes, or Endeavours of these Noblemen were to be praised, which wanted not their certain and happy Success. For, though they were not able to draw the Souls of all their Brethren out of the Pit of *Schism*, yet both they, themselves, nobly confessed the *Catholic Faith*, and many of them gave their Lives for their Brethren, which is the highest Degree of *Charity*; and the rest of them rescued themselves from the Bondage both of *Schism* and of *Sin*, into that Freedom wherewith *Christ* hath made us free.

Bristowe, in his Book of Motives, published with Allowance of Doctor Allen, in the 15th Motive, Fol. 72. C. 73.

FOR a full Answer to them all, although the very naming of our *Catholic Martyrs*, even of this our Time, to any reasonable Man, may suffice; as the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, Sir *Thomas More*, the *Monks* of the *Charter-house*, with many more under King *Henry*; and now, of late Time, all our holy Martyrs, who have been, and daily are made, by Loss of their Livings, by Poison, by Whipping, by Famine, by Banishment, Bishops, Priests, Deans, Arch-Deacons, Canons, Ecclesiastical Persons of all Sorts; Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, Lay-men of all Sorts: So many, likewise, who have openly suffered; the good Earl of *Northumberland*, D. *Story*, *Felson*, the *Nortons*, M. *Woodhouse*, M. *Plumtree*, and so many Hundreds of the *Northern Men*: Such Men, both in their Life, and at their Death, as neither the Enemies have to stain them, as their own Consciences, their own Talk, and the World

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it self doth bear good Witness. Many of them, also, and therefore all of them (because of their own Cause) being by God himself approved by Miracles most undoubted. Although, I say, no reasonable Man will think those stinking Martyrs of the *Heretics* worthy, in any Respect, to be compared with these most glorious Martyrs of the *Catholics*, yet, supposing, &c.

Sanders, *Lib. 7. Pag. 732.*

SPeaking of the *Northern* Commotion, he saith; *Certè quidem illud miraculo imputetur necesse est, quòd cum viri fere quingenti ex iis qui arma pro fide sumpserunt, ab Hæreticis capti, & morte affecti essent, nemo illorum repertus sit, qui aut fidem Catholicam deseruerit, aut belli ejus authores alienjus culpæ accusarit.* That is to say, Verily, this must needs be imputed to a Miracle, that whereas near five Hundred Men of those who took Arms for the Faith, were raken, and put to Death by the *Heretics*, yet there hath not been found any one of them, which hath either forsaken the *Catholic Faith*, or hath accused of any Blame the Authors of that War.

And, a little after; *Nobile etiam Martyrium in eadem causâ subjerunt duo viri Nobiles de familia Nortonorum, ex quibus alter dicebatur Thomas Nortonus, alter verò Christophorus; & Christopherus quidem Thomæ nepos erat ex fratre, ille autem huic patruus. Qui ambo nec à fide sua dimoveri, nec ut Elizabetham confiterentur legitimam Reginam adduci potuerunt, &c.* That is to say; There suffered also a noble Martyrdom, in the same Cause, two Worshipful Gentlemen, of the House of *Nortons*, of whom, the one was called *Thomas Norton*, the other *Christopher*; and *Christopher* was *Thomas's* Brother's Son, and *Thomas* was *Christopher's* Uncle; who both could neither be removed from their Faith, nor be brought to confess *Elizabeth* to be lawful Queen.

Sanders, *Lib. 7. Pag. 734.*

AFTER a long Recital of the Causes which moved *Pius Quintus* to excommunicate her Majesty, he saith; *De Apostolica potestatis plenitudine declaravit, prædictam Elizabetham Hæreticam & Hæreticorum faultricem, eique adhaerentes in prædictis Anathematis sententiam incurriffe. Quia etiam prætenso regni prædicti jure, necnon omni & quocunque dominio, dignitate, privilegioque privatam. Itemque proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes qui illi quomodocunque juraverunt, à Juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis & obsequii debito, perpetuo absolutos, prout illos tunc sententia suæ auctoritate absolvit; & privavit eandem Elizabetham prætenso juri regni aliisque omnibus supradictis: præcepitque & interdixit universis & singulis proceribus, subditis, populis & aliis prædictis, ne illi ejusque monitis mandatis aut legibus auderent obedire. Qui secus agerent, eos simili anathematis sententia innodavit.* That is to say; Of the Fulness of Apostolic Power, hath declared the said *Elizabeth* a *Heretic*, and a Favourer of *Heretics*; and that such as adhere unto her, in the Premises, have incurred the Sentence of *Anathema*, Accursed. Moreover, that she is deprived of her pretended Right of the said Kingdom; and also, of all and whatsoever Dominion, Dignity, and Privilege. Farthermore, That the Nobles, Subjects, and Peoples of the said Realm, and all other which, in any wise whatsoever, have taken Oath unto her, are assoiled for ever from such Oath, and utterly from all Duty of Allegiance, Fidelity and Obedience, even as he then assoiled them by Authority of his Sen-

Sentence, and deprived the said *Elizabeth* of her pretended Right of the Kingdom, and all other Things above-said. And, he hath commanded and forbidden all, and every the Nobles, Subjects, Peoples, and other afore-said, that they be not so bold to obey her, or her Advertisements, Commandments, or Laws; and whosoever otherwise do, he hath bound with like Sentence of Curse.

Brislowe, in his 6th Motive, Fol. 31.

WHEREBY it is manifest, that they do miserably forget themselves, who feat not Excommunications of *Pius Quintus*, of Holy Memory, in whom *Christ* himself, to have spoken and excommunicated, as in *St. Paul*, they may consider, by the Miracles that *Christ* by him, as by *St. Paul*, did work.

In his 40th Motive, under the Title, *Obedient Subjects*.

AND, if at any Time it happen, after long Toleration, humble Beseeching, and often Admonition, of very wicked and notorious *Apostates* and *Heretics*, no other Hope of Amendment appearing, but the filthy Wretch, daily more and more defiling himself and others, to the huge great Heap of their own Damnation; that after all this, the Sovereign Authority of our common Pastor in Religion, for the Saving of Souls, do duely discharge us from Subjection, and the Prince-Offender from his Dominion: With such Grief of the Heart it is both done of the Pastor, and taken of the People, as if a Man should have cut off from his Body, for to save the Whole, some most principal, but rotten Part thereof.

Sanders, Lib. 7. Fol. 744.

UNDER this Title, *Insigne Martyrium Johannis Feltoni*, The Honourable Martyrdom of *John Felton*, &c. he saith of *Felton* in this Manner: *It enim Catholicae fidei studio zeloque adductus, cum penè desperatam patriæ suæ valetudinem non nisi acerbissimâ aliquâ medicinâ restitui posse animadverteret, noluit committere ut hæc sententia summi pastoris cives ac proximos suos lateret.* That is to say, For he, led with the Love and Zeal of the Catholic Faith, when he saw, that the (in a manner) desperate Health of his Country could not be restored but by some most bitter Medicine, would not suffer that this Sentence of the Sovereign Pastors should be hidden from his Countrymen and Neighbours.

And after the farther Report of his Fact, thus; *Cum vero de hac re diligentissimè quaereretur, Johannes Feltonus tandem appræbensus, dignum se Jesu Christi, & Primatus ab eo instituti testem exhibuit.* But when most diligent Inquiry was made thereof, *John Felton* being at length apprehended, shewed himself a worthy Witness of *Jesus Christ*, and of the Supremacy by him ordained.

Under this Title; *Illustre Martyrium Johannis Storæi Angli, &c.* The Noble Martyrdom of *John Story*, Englishman, &c. *Anno autem Domini 1571. 25. die mensis Maij productus in iudicium, perduellionis reus peragitur, veluti qui conjurationem cum certis viris apud Belgas in civitate Antuerpiensi contra Elizabetham iniisset, religionemque schismaticam quæ jam in Angliâ regnat, in Catholicam commutare tentasset.* *Facta vero pro se dicendi potestate, fori tantum exceptionem proposuit, negans iudices ipsos ullam in se potestatem habere, qui jam non Anglicanæ principi, sed potius regi Catholico subiectus esset.*

That is to say, In the Year of our Lord 1571, the 25th Day of the Month of *May*, being brought to the Bar, he was Arraigned of High-Treason, as he who had conspired with certain Men, in the *Low-Country*, in the City of *Antwerp*, against *Elizabeth*, and had attempted to change the Schismatical Religion, which now reigneth in *England*, into the *Catholic* Religion. Being permitted to speak for himself, he only pleaded to the Jurisdiction of the Court, denying that the Judges themselves had any Power over him, who was now no Subject to the *English* Queen, but rather to the King *Catholic*.

And after farther Discourse, of the Speech of Dr. *Story*, and of his Condemnation, he added thus: *Storans autem biduo post, cum ad uxorem Lovanii agentem scriberet, deque hujus sententiae injustitia quereretur; significavit perfacile sibi fuisse, si apud alios iudices actum esset, id quod de conjuratione contra Elizabetham facta objiciebatur confutare. Cujus rei testes citabat illos ipsos, quibuscum Antwerpiae hac de re egisse dicebatur. Verum quia hoc quod probe sciret nescire non posset, integrum sibi non fuisse aliter causam dicere quam dixisset. Intellexit vero probe se scire, praetensam Angliae Reginam per declaratoriam summi Pontificis sententiam ob haeresim manifestam omni jure Regni, Dominioque privatam esse, ac propterea magistratum nullum ab illa creatum, eique adhaerentem a se agnosci posse, ne forte ipse etiam eodem Anathemate innodaretur.*

That is to say; *Story* two Days after, writing to his Wife, who then remained at *Lovain*, and complaining of the Injustice of this Sentence, he advertised her, that he could easily (if the Matter had been tryed before other Judges) confute what was objected against him, touching the Conspiracy made against *Elizabeth*; whereof he alledged for Witnesses those with whom he was said to have dealt at *Antwerp* about this Matter: But, because he could not be ignorant of that which he well knew, he could not otherwise plead than he had pleaded. His meaning was, that he well knew, that the pretended Queen of *England*, by the declaratory Sentence of the *Pope*, was, for manifest Heresy, deprived from all Right of the Kingdom, and from Dominion, and that, therefore, no Magistrate created by her, and adhering to her, could be acknowledged by him, least himself also should be bound with the same Curse.

And in the End. *In ipsis ergo Calendis Junii, tantus Dei Martyr injectus crati, ad locum supplicii trahitur.* Therefore the first Day of *June*, so great a Martyr of God, was thrown upon a Hurdle, and drawn to the Place of Execution. And so concludeth with the Report of his Execution *.

The First of August 1581.

Edmond *Campion* being demanded: Whether he would acknowledge the publishing of these Things before recited, by *Sanders*, *Brisfowe* and *Allen*, to be wicked in the whole, or in any Part: And whether he doth, at this present, acknowledge her Majesty to be a true and lawful Queen, or a pretended Queen, and deprived, and in Possession of her Crown only, *de facto*? He answereth to the First: That he medleth neither to nor fro, and will not farther answer, but requireth that they may answer.

To the Second he saith: That this Question dependeth upon the Fact of *Pius Quintus*, whereof he is not to judge; and therefore refuseth farther to answer.

Edmond *Campion*.

This was thus Answered and Subscribed by *Edmond* *Campion*, the Day and Year above Written, in the Presence of us,

Owen *Hopton*. *Robert* *Beal*. *Jo*. *Hammond*. *Thomas* *Norton*.
Short

[* For a more particular Account of this Dr. *Story*, turn back to our 4th Number: And of *Felton* and the two *Norton's*, See Number V.

Short Extracts out of *Briant* and *Sherwin's* Confessions.*Alexander Briant.*

HE is content to affirm, that the Queen is his Sovereign Lady ; but he will not affirm, that she is so lawfully, and ought so to be, and to be obeyed by him as her Subject, if the *Pope* declare or command the contrary. And he saith, that this Question is too high, and dangerous for him to answer.

The 6th of *May*, 1581, before *Owen Hopton*, Knt. *John Hammond*, and *Thomas Norton*.

Whether the *Pope* have Authority to withdraw from Obedience to her Majesty, he knoweth not.

The 7th of *May* 1581.

Alexander Briant.

Ralph Sherwin's Examination.

BEing asked ; Whether the *Pope's Bull* of Deprivation of the Queen, were a lawful Sentence or no ? He refuseth to answer.

Being asked ; Whether the Queen be his lawful Sovereign, and so ought to continue, notwithstanding any Sentence that the *Pope* can give ? He doth not answer.

Being again asked ; Whether the Queen be his Sovereign, notwithstanding any Sentence that the *Pope* can give ? He prayeth to be asked no such Question, as may touch his Life.

The 12th of *November* 1580.

Ralph Sherwin.

Articles Ministred to the Jesuits and Seminary Priests, which are in the Tower, and were condemned ; with their Answers to the same, 13 Maii 1582.

1. **W**Hether the Bull of *Pius Quintus* against the Queen's Majesty, be a lawful Sentence, and ought to be obeyed by the Subjects of *England* ?
2. Whether the Queen's Majesty be a lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed by the Subjects of *England*, notwithstanding the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, or any other Bull or Sentence that the *Pope* hath pronounced, or may pronounce, against her Majesty ?
3. Whether the *Pope* have, or had Power, to authorize the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmorland*, and other her Majesty's Subjects, to rebel, or take Arms against her Majesty, or to authorize Dr. *Saunders*, or others, to invade *Ireland*, or any other her Dominions, and to bear Arms against her, and whether they did therein lawfully or no ?
4. Whether the *Pope* have Power to discharge any of her Highness's Subjects, or the Subjects of any Christian Prince, from their Allegiance, or Oath of Obedience to her Majesty, or to their Prince, for any Cause ?

5. Whe-

5. Whether the said Dr. *Saunders*, in his Book of the *Visible Monarchy of the Church*, and Dr. *Bristowe*, in his Book of *Motives* (writing in Allowance, Commendation, and Confirmation of the said Bull of *Pius Quintus*) have therein taught, testified, or maintained a Truth, or a Falsehood?

6. If the *Pope* do, by his Bull, or Sentence, pronounce her Majesty to be deprived, and no lawful Queen, and her Subjects to be discharged of their Allegiance, and Obedience unto her; and after, if the *Pope*, or any other, by his Appointment and Authority, do Invade this Realm, which Part would you take, or which Part ought a good Subject of *England* to take?

Luke Kirby's Answer.

Luke Kirby; To the first he saith, that the Resolution of this Article dependeth upon the general Question; Whether the *Pope* may, for any Cause, depose a Prince? Wherein his Opinion is, that, for some Causes, he may lawfully depose a Prince, and that such a Sentence ought to be obeyed.

To the Second, he thinketh, that, in some Cases (as Infidelity, or such like) her Majesty is not to be obeyed, against the *Pope's* Bull and Sentence; for so, he saith, he hath read, that the *Pope* hath so done, *de facto*, against other Princes.

To the Third, he saith, he cannot answer it.

To the Fourth, that the *Pope* (for Infidelity) hath such Power, as is mentioned in this Article.

To the Fifth, he thinketh, that both Dr. *Saunders*, and Dr. *Bristowe* might be deceived, in those Points of their Books; but whether they were deceived or not, he referreth to God.

To the Last, he saith, that when the Case shall happen, he must then take Counsel, what were best for him to do.

Luke Kirby.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

Thomas Cottom's Answer.

Thomas Cottom; To the First, in this and all other Questions, he believeth as the *Catholic* Church (which he taketh to be the Church of *Rome*) teacheth him. And other Answer he maketh not, to any of the rest of these Articles,

By me Thomas Cottom, Priest.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

Lawrence Richardson's Answer.

Lawrence Richardson; To the Fifth Article, he answereth, that so far as Dr. *Saunders*, and Dr. *Bristowe* agree with the *Catholic* Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, he alloweth that Doctrine to be true. And touching the First, and all the rest

of the Articles, he saith, that, in all Matters not repugnant to the *Catholic* Religion, he professeth Obedience to her Majesty, and otherwise maketh no Answer to any of them; but believeth therein, as he is taught by the *Catholic* Church of *Rome*.

Lawrence Richardson.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond,

Thomas Forde's Answer.

Thomas Ford; To the First, he saith, That he cannot answer, because, he is not privy to the Circumstances of the Bull; but, if he did see a Bull published by *Gregory* the Thirteenth, he would then deliver his Opinion thereof.

To the Second, he saith, That the *Pope* hath Authority to depose a Prince, upon certain Occasions: And, when such a Bull shall be pronounced against her Majesty, he will then answer, what the Duty of her Subjects, and what her Right is.

To the Third, he saith, He is a private Subject, and will not answer to any of these Questions.

To the Fourth, he saith, That the *Pope* hath Authority, upon certain Occasions (which he will not name) to discharge Subjects of their Obedience to their Prince.

To the Fifth, he saith, That *Dr. Saunders*, and *Dr. Bristowe* be learned Men, and whether they have taught truly in their Books, mentioned in this Article, he referreth the Answer to themselves, for himself will not answer.

To the Last, he saith, That when that Case shall happen, he will make Answer, and not before.

Thomas Forde.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

John Shert's Answer.

John Shert; To all these Articles, he saith, That he is a *Catholic*, and swerveth in no Point from the *Catholic* Faith, and in no other Sort to any of these Articles he refuseth to answer.

John Shert.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

Robert Johnson's Answer.

Robert Johnson; To the First, he saith, He cannot answer.

To the Second he saith, He cannot tell what Power and Authority the *Pope* hath, in the Points named in this Article.

To the Third, he saith, he thinketh, That the *Pope* hath Authority, in some Cases, to authorize Subjects, to take Arms against their Prince.

To

To the Fourth, he thinketh, That the *Pope*, for some Causes, may discharge Subjects of their Allegiance, and Obedience to their Natural Prince.

To the Fifth, he saith, The Answer to this Article dependeth upon the Lawfulness of the Cause, for the which, the *Pope* hath given Sentence against her: But if the Cause was just, then he thinketh, the Doctrine of Dr. *Saunders*, and Dr. *Bristowe* to be true: Whether the Cause were just or not, he taketh not upon him to judge.

To the Last, he saith, That if such Deprivation, or Invasion, should be made for Temporal Matters, he would take Part with her Majesty; but, if it were for any Matter of his Faith, he thinketh, he were then bound to take Part with the *Pope*.

Robert Johnson.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

John Hart's Answer.

John Hart; To the first he saith, That it is a difficult Question, and, that he cannot make Answer thereto.

To the Second, he saith, That her Majesty is Lawful Queen, and ought to be obeyed, notwithstanding the Bull supposed to be published by *Pius Quintus*. But whether she ought to be obeyed, and taken for Lawful Queen, notwithstanding any Bull, or Sentence that the *Pope* can give, he saith, he cannot answer.

To the Third, he cannot answer, and farther saith, That, he will not meddle with any such Questions.

To the Fourth, he saith, He is not resolved, and therefore he cannot Answer.

To the Fifth, he saith, He will not deal with any such Questions, and knoweth not, whether *Saunders*, or *Bristowe* have taught well herein, or not.

To the Last, he saith, That when such a Case shall happen, he will advise what cometh him to do, for presently he is not resolved.

This he did acknowledge to us, after he had fully perused the same; but refused to Subscribe to it.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

William Filbee's Answer.

William Filbee; To the First, he saith, The *Pope* hath Authority to depose any Prince; and such Sentences, when they be promulgated, ought to be obeyed by the Subjects of any Prince; but touching the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, he can say nothing; but, if it was such, as it is affirmed to be, he doth allow it, and saith, That it ought to be obeyed.

To the Second, he saith, It is a hard Question, and therefore, he cannot answer it; but, upon farther Advisement, he answereth, as to the First.

To the Third, He knoweth not what to say thereunto.

To the Fourth, he saith, That so long as her Majesty remaineth Queen, the *Pope* hath no Authority to warrant her Subjects to take Arms against her, or to disobey her; but if he should depose her, then he might discharge them of their Allegiance and Obedience to her Majesty.

Q q q z

To

To the Fifth, he saith, He will not meddle with the Doctrine of Dr. *Saunders*, and Dr. *Bristowe*.

To the Last, When this Case happeneth, then he saith, he will answer; and if he had been in *Ireland* when Dr. *Saunders* was there, he would have done as a Priest should have done, that is, to pray, that the Right may have Place.

William Filbee.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

James Bosgrave's Answer.

James Bosgrave; To the First, he saith, That in his Conscience, and as he shall answer before God, he thinketh, that the Bull, or Sentence of Excommunication of *Pius Quintus* against her Majesty, was, at no Time lawful, neither was at any Time, or is of any of her Majesty's Subjects to be obeyed.

To the Second, he saith, That her Majesty is Lawful Queen of this Realm, and so ought to be taken, notwithstanding any Bull, or Sentence that the *Pope* either hath, can, or shall hereafter give.

To the Third, He thinketh, the *Pope* had no Power, or Authority to license the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Westmoreland*, or any other of her Majesty's Subjects, to rebel, or to take Arms against her Majesty; and like he saith of Dr. *Saunders*: But he holdeth both Dr. *Saunders*, and all others, who shall, upon such Warrants, take Arms against her Majesty, to be Traytors and Rebels.

To the Fourth, he saith, That the *Pope* neither hath, nor ought to have any Authority to discharge any of her Majesty's Subjects, or the Subjects of any other *Christian* Prince from their Allegiance, for any Cause whatsoever; and so he thinketh in his Conscience.

To the Fifth, He affirmeth in his Conscience, that Dr. *Saunders* and Dr. *Bristowe*, in the Books here mentioned, and touching the Point here specified, have taught, testified and maintained an Untruth, and a Falsehood.

To the Last, he saith, That whatsoever the *Pope* should do, he would, in this Case, take Part with her Majesty against the *Pope*, what Cause soever he should pretend; and this he taketh to be the Duty of every good Subject. And this to be his Opinion, in all the Points above recited, he will be ready to affirm upon his Oath.

James Bosgrave.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammond.

Henry Orten's Answer.

Henry Orten; To the First, he saith, That he thinketh the Bull of *Pius Quintus*, was at no Time a lawful Sentence. or of Force, to bind any of her Majesty's Subjects, and that notwithstanding, her Majesty was, and is to be obeyed by every of her Subjects.

To the Second, He thinketh, that her Majesty is to be holden for Lawful Queen of this Realm, and ought to be obeyed by all her Subjects, notwithstanding any Thing that the *Pope* either hath done, or can do.

To

To the Third, He thinketh, the *Pope* neither hath, nor had Authority to warrant any of the Persons here named, to do as they have done, or any other of her Subjects, to take Arms against her Majesty; and that those who have taken Arms against her, upon that, or the like Warrant, have done unlawfully.

To the Fourth, He thinketh, the *Pope* hath no Authority to discharge any Subject from his Allegiance and Obedience to his Prince.

To the Fifth, He thinketh, that Dr. *Saunders* and Dr. *Bristowe* have, in the Points mentioned in this Article, taught and maintained an Untruth and a Falsehood.

To the Last, he saith, That, in the Case here supposed, he would take Part with her Majesty against the *Pope*, or any other invading the Realm by his Authority.

Henry Orton.

John Popham. Thomas Egerton. Da. Lewes. John Hammonds.

[The following Piece, being, in its genuine Scottish Idiom, a Sort of Curiosity, not of any great Length; and judged to be of K. James's own Penning, some Friends request my inserting it, as not wholly unworthy a Place in this Collection.]

A.

DECLARATION

Of the King's Maiesties Intentionun and Meaning toward
the lait Actis of Parliament.

Imprinted at *Edinburgh*, by the Assignement of *Thomas Uautroullier*. 1585.
Cum Privilegio Regali.

The King's Maiesties Declaratioun.

FOR samekle as thair is some evil-affected Men, that gois about, so fare as lyeth in thame, to inuent Lies & Calumnies, to stanzie & impair the King's Maiesties Fame and Honour, and raisis brutis, as gif his Maiestie had declynit to *Papistris*, and had made many Actis, to derogate the frie Passlage of the Gospel, gude Ordour and Discipline in the Kirk: Quhilk brutis are nurishit and interteneit be rebellious Subjects quha wald gladly couer their seditious Interpises vnder Pretext of Religion (albeit thair can be na godly Religion in sic as raisis Armour, and disquietis the Estait of their Natiue Soverane, and periuritly hes contrauenit the Aith, Band and Obligation of their Fayth, quhairvnto they have Sworn and Subscrivit.) Thairefore, that

that his Maiesties faithfull Subjects be not abusit with sic sclanderous Reports, and his Hienes gude and affectionat Friendes in vther Cunteries may vnderstand the Veritie of his upright Intentioun, his Hienes hes commaundit this brief Declaratioun of certain of his Maiesties Actis of Parliament, halden in *Maij* 1584. to be Publishit and Imprentit, to the Effect, that the indirect Practises of sic as sclanderis his Maiestie and his Lawis, may be detectit and discoverit.

IN the first Act, his Maiestie ratifeis and appreuis the trew Professioun of the Gospel, sinceir preaching of the Word, and Administratioun of the Sacramentis, presently be the Gudenes of God to establishit within this Realme: And allows of the Confessioun of the Faith set down be Act of Parliament the first Zeir of his Maiesties Regne. Lyke as his Hienes not only professis the same in Sincerity, but, praysit be God, is cum to that maturitie of Iudgment, be reiding and heiring the Word of God, that his Hienes is able to conuince and overthrawe, be the Doctrine of the *Prophetis* and *Apostles*, the most learnit of the contrary Sect of his Adversaries: Sua that, as *Plato* affirms that Commoun-Wealth to be most Happie, quhairin ane Philosophour Regnis, or he that Regnis is ane Philosophour: We may mekle mair esteem this Cuntre of *Scotland* to be Fortunat, quhairin our King is ane Theologue, and his Hart replenishit with the Knowledge of the Heavenly Philosophie, for the Comfort not onely of his gude Subjects and Friends in vther Cuntries, bot of them that professis the Gospell everiequhair: He being ane King of great Expectation, to quhom his Birthricht hath not onely destinate and prouydit great Kingdoms, bot mekill mair his Hienes vertew, Godlines and Learning, and daylie Increffe of all Heavenly Sciences, dois promis and assure him of the michtie Protection of God, and Favour of all them that fearis his Holy Name.

IN the second Act, his Maiesties Royall Authoritie ower all Estaites, both Spiritual and Temporal, is confirmit. Quhilk act, some of Malice, and vtheris of Ignorance dois traduce, as gif his Maiestie pretendit to be callit the Heid of the Kirk, ane Name quhilk his Maiestie acknowlegis to be proper and peculiar to the Son of God, the Saviour of the Warld, quha is the Heid, and bestowes Life Spiritual vpon the Members of his Mistical Body: And he having resauit the Holy Spreit in all abundance, makis euerie one of the faithfull Pertakers thair of, according to the Mesure of Faith bestowit vpon thame. Of the quhilk Number of the Faithfull, vnder the Heid *Christ*, his Maiestie acknowlegis himself to be ane Member, Baptizit in his Name, Partaker of the Mysterie of the Croce and Holy Communioun, and attending with the Faithful for the Cumming of the Lord, and the final Restitutioun of Goddis Elect. And notwithstanding his Maiestie surelye understandis, be the Scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall Member, appointed, be the Lawe of God, to see God glorifiit, Vice punishit, and Vertue maintein it within his Realme: And the soueraigne Iudgement for ane godly Quietnes and Ordour in the Commoun-Wealth, to apperteineto his Hienes Cair and Sollicitude. Quhilk Power and Authoritie of his Hienes, certaine Ministers, being callit before his Maiestie for their seditious and factious Sermonis and steiring-vp the People to Rebellion aganis their Natiue King, be the Instigatioun of findrie vnquiet Spirits, wald in na wayes acknowledge, bot disclomit his Maiesties Authoritie, as ane incompetent Iudge. And specially ane callit *M. Andro Meluile*, ane ambitious Man, of ane salt and syrie Humour, usurping the Pulpit of *Sandrois* without ane lawfull Calling, and priue at that Tyme to certaine Conspiracies attemptit aganis his Maiestie and Croun, went about, in his Sermon vpon ane *Sunday*, to inflame the Hartis of the People, be odious Comparisons of his Maiesties Progenitours and Cousin: Albeit the Dewtie of ane faithfull Preachour of the Gospell be rather to exhort the People to the Obedience of their Natiue King, nor be popular Sermonis, quhilk hes bene the Eversoun and Decay of great Cities and Common-Welthis, & hes greatly, in
Times

Times bygane, disquietit this Estate, to trouble and perturbe the Cuntry. The said *M. Andro*, callit before his Hienes, presumptuouslie aniwerit; That he wald not be iugit be the King & Counsaile, because he had spok the same in Pulpit, quhilk Pulpit, in Effect, he allegit to be eximit from the Iudgement and Correction of Princes: As gif that holie Place, sanctifeit to the Word of God, and to the brekking of the Bread of Life, micht be ane cullor to ony Sedition, in Word or Deid, aganis the lawfull Authoritie, without Punishment. Always his Maiestie (being of himself ane maist gracious Prince) was not willing to haue vsit ony Rigour aganis the sayd *M. Andro*, gif he had humbly submittit himself, acknowledgit his Offence, and crauit Pardon: Quha notwithstanding affrayit of his awin Gyltines, being priuie to dyuers Conspiraceis of before, fled into the Realme of *England*. Quhais nauchty and Presumptuous refusing of his Hienes Iudgement, was the Occasioun of the making of the Second Act; That nane sould decline his Hienes Authoritye, in respect that the common Proverb beiris, *Ex malis moribus bone leges nate sunt*, that is, Of evil Manners gude Lawes procede. And in verie Deid it laketh not ane richt intollerable Arrogancie in ony Subiect, callit before his Prince, professing & authorising the samin Trueth, to disclame his Authority: Nether do the Prophetes, Apostles, nor vthers, conductit be the Spirit of God, minister the lyke Example. For it is a great Errour to affirm, as mony do, that the Princes and Magistrates hes only Power to take Ordour in Ciuile Effaires, and that Ecclesiasticall Matters dois only belang to the Ministrie. Be quhilk Meanis, the *Pape of Rome* hes exemit him self and his Clergie from all Iugement of Princes, and hes made him self to be Iuge of Iuges, and to be iugit of na Man: Quhair as, be the Contrair, not only be the Examples of the godly Governouris, Iuges and Kings of the Ancient *Testament*, bot also be the New *Testament*, and the hail History of the Primitive Kirk, in the quhilk the Emperours iugeit ouer the Bischoppes of *Rome*, deposit them from thair Seates, appointit Iuges to cognosce and decyde in Causis Ecclesiasticall, vindicat innocent Men, as *Athanasius*, from the Determinatioun of the Concile haldin at *Tyrus*, and be infinite gude Reasouns, quhilk fall be set down, be the Grace of God, in ane severall Work, fall be sufficiently prouen and verifeit. But this appeareth, at this present, to be ane vntimely and vnprofitable questioun, quhilk hes no ground upoun their parte, bot of the preposterus Imitatioun of the pretendit Iurisdiction of the *Pape of Rome*. For gif their were ony Questioun, in this Land, of *Heresie*, quhairby the profound Mysteries of the Scriptures behouit to be searchit furth, his Maiesty wald vse the samin Remedy (as maist expedient) quhilk the maist godly Emperouris hes vsit: and his Maiestie, following their Example, wald conuene the Counsell of learnit Pastours, that, be Conference of Scriptures, the Veritie micht be opinnit, and *Heresie* repressit. Bot, praisit be God, we have no sic Controuerfies in this Land, nather hes there ony *Heresie* taken ony depe Rute in the Cuntry: Bot certane of the Ministrie, ioyning tham selfis to Rebellis, hes trauellit to disquiet the Estate with sic Questiouns, that the People micht imbrace ane sinistre Opinioun of his Maiesties vpriht Proceedinges, and Factiouns micht be nurishit and intertenyit in the Cuntry. Nather is it his Maiesties Meaning nor Intentioun in ony Sort to tak away the lawfull and ordinarie Iudgement in the Kirk, quhairby Discipline and gude Ordour micht decay: Bot rather to Preserve, Maintain, and Increse the same. And as thair is in the Realme Iustices, Constables, Shirreffis, Prouostis, Bailles, and vtheris Iudges in Temporall Materis, sa his Maiestie allowith, that all Things micht be done in Ordour, and ane godly Harmonie may be preferued in the hail Estait, the Synodall Assemblies, be the Bischoppes or Commissionaris quhair the Place vackis, to be conuenit twyse in the Zeir, to haue the ordinarie Tryell of Matteris belonging to the Ministrie and thair Estait: Alwayes reseruing to his Hienes, that gif they, or ony of thame do amisse, neglect their Dewty, disquiet the Estait, or offend in sic Manner and Sort, that they in no wayes pretend that Immunitie, Priuilege & Exemptioun quhilk onely was inventit

inventit be the *Papes of Rome*, to tred vnder Fute the Sceptres of Princes, and to establish ane Ecclesiasticall Tyrannie within this Cuntrey, vnder Pretext of new-inventit Presbyteries, quhilk nather sould answer to the King, nor Bishop vnder his Maiest. bot sould haue ane infinit Jurisdiction, as nather the Lawe of God, nor Man can tolerate. Quhilk is only his Maiest. Intention to repress, and not to take away ony godly or solide Ordour in the *Kirk*, as heirafter fall appeir.

THE ferd Act of his Maiest. foresaid Parliament, discharges all Jugementis Ecclesiasticall, and all Assemblies quhilk are not allowit be his Maiestie in Parliament; quhilk Act specially concernis the remouing and discharging of that Forme lait inuentit in this Land callit the Presbyterie: Quhairin ane Number of Ministeris of ane certaine Precinct and Bounds, accompting thame selfis all to be equall, without ony Difference, and gaddering vnto thame certane Gentilmen, and vtheris of his Maiesties Subiects, vsurpit all the haill Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction, and alterit the Lawes at thair awin Appetite, without the Knowledge and Approbation of the King or the Estait. Ane Forme of doing without ony Exampill of ony Natioun, subiect to ane Christian Prince. The Perrel quhereof did sa increas, that in cace, in dew Season it had not been repressit and forbidden be his Maiest. Lawes, the famin had troddit the haill Cuntreie. And it being tryit be his Heines to be the Ouerthrow of his Maiesties Estait, the Decay of his Croune, and ane reddie Introduction to *Anarchy* and Popular Confusioun in all Estaits, his Maiestie hes contramandit the same. And that the Reidar may vnderstand thair of be many Inconuenientis quhils thairy mowit in this Land, I will onely set downe ane, quhairby ze may vnderstand quhat Perrell wes in the rest. The Ambassadour of *Fraunce* returning Home to his awne Cuntreie, the Kings Maiestie commandit the Prouost, Bailles, and Councill of *Edinburgh* to gif him the Banket, that he might be dimissit honorablie, according to the Auntye of ancient Tymes betuix the twa Nationis. This Commaund wes geuin on *Saturday* be his Hienes: and the Banket appointit to be on the *Mounday*. A Number of the foirsaid pretendit Presbyterie, vnderstanding thair of, conuenit them selfis on *Sunday* in the Morning, and presumptuously determinat and agreit, that the Ministeris of *Edinburgh* suld proclame ane Fasting vpon the samin *Mounday*, quhair thrie seueral Ministeris, one efter ane vther, made thrie diueris Sermonis inuectiues aganis the Prouost, Bailles, and Counsaile for the Tyme, and the Noblemen in the Cuntrey, quha assistit the Banket at his Maiest. Commaund. The foirsaid Presbyterie callit and persewit thame, and scarlie be his Maiesties Authoritie culd be withhalden from excommunicating the saidis Magistratis and Noblemen, for obeying onely his Hienes lawfull Commaund, quhilk the Law of all Cuntreies, callit *Jus Gentium*, requyris towards Ambassadours of Foraine Cuntreis. And not only in this, bot innumerable vther Things, their Commandement wes opposit directly, vnder the Pane of Excommunication, to the Kings Maiestie and his Lawes. Quhilk Forme of doing ingenderit nothing bot Disquietnes, Sedition, and Trouble: As may manifestly appeir, in that, the speciall Authoris of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foirsaid pretendit Presbyteris, hes ioynit thame selfis with his Maiesties Rebels: and fleing furth of the Realme, in respect of their Gyltines, hes discoverit quhat malicious Practises wes deuyfit amangis thame, gif God had not in Tyme prouidit Remedie. The vther Forme of Jugement quhilk his Maiestie hes dischargit, is the Generall Assemblie of the haill Clergie in the Realme; under Pretence quhair of, ane Number of Ministeris from findrie Presbyteries did assemble, with sum Gentilmen of the Cuntreie, quhair of sum for that Tyme Malcontents of the Estait, socht that Cullour as Fauoriseris of the Ministrie, be the quhilk they haue practisit mony Interprisis in the Realme, quhair there wes no certane Law in Ecclesiasticall Essaires, bot all dependit vpon the said Generall Conuention, quhair the Lawes of the *Kirk* were alterabill efter the Pluralitie

litie of Votis, quhilk, for the maist Part, succedit vnto the maist unlearnit of the Multitude. This General Assemblie, amangis vther Things, did appoynt and agrie with his Maiest. Regents, in his Hienes Minoritie, that the Estate of Bishoppes (quhilk is one of the Estaiteis of Parliament) suld be maintenit and authorisit; as it is registrat in the Bukes of Counsell, and subscriuit be the Commissioners for the Tyme. Quhilk Order wes obseruit many Zeiris, and Bishops, be their Conseintis, appointit to the Dioceis, quhill within this lait Tyme, in Assembleis halden at *Dundie* and *Glasgow*, respectiue, the forsayd Ministers and Assemblies tuke vpoun them, contrary to their awin Hand-writ, to discharge the Estate, and to declare the samyn to be vnlawfull, in their pretendit Maner. And there commandit the Bishops of the Cuntrey to dimit and leave their Offices and Iurisdiccions, and that, in na wayes, they suld pas to the Kings Maiesties Counsell, or Parliament, without Commissioun obtenit from their Assemblie: That they suld vote na thing in Parliament and Counsell, bot according to their Actis and Iniunctions. And fardar, they directit theyr Commissioners to the Kings Maiestie, commaunding him and the Counsell, vnder the Pane of the Censuris of the *Kirk* quhairby they vnderstude Excommunication, to appoint no Bishop in Tymes to cum, becaus they had concludit that Estaite to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that quhilk they wald haue deiecit in the Bishops, they contendit to erect in them selvis, desiring that sic Commissioners as they suld send to Parliament and Counsell, might be authorisit in Place of the Estaite, quhairby it suld haue cum to pas, that quhairas now his Maiestie may select the maist godly, learnit, wyse and experimentit of the Ministrie, to be on his Ma. Estaite, his Hienes suld haue bene, be that Meanes, compellit to accept sic as the Multitude, be ane od Vote of the maist vnlearnit, suld haue appointit: quhilk could not tend bot to the Overthrow of the Realme, quhairof that Estate hathe bene ane special Stoupe. Efter they had dischargit Bishops, they aggreit to haue Superintendentis, Commissionaris and Visitouris: bot, in the End, they decernit, that thair suld be no Difference amangis the Minesteris; and imaginait that new Form of Presbyterie, quhairof we haue spokin before. Nether was there ony vther Appearance that they suld haue stayit from sic dayly Alterationis in the Commoun-Wealth, quhilk could not bot continually be disquiettit, quhair the Law of Conscience, quhilk they maintenit be the Sword of Cursing, wes subiect to sic Mutationis, at the Arbitriment of ane Number, quhairof the maist Part had not greatly taistit of Learning. Attour the foresayd Assembly wes accustomed not onely to prescryue the Lawe to the King and Estaite, bot also did, at certane Tymes, appoint Generall Fastings throughout the Realme, specially quhen some Factioners in the Cuntrey wes to moue ony great Interprise. For, at the Fast, all the Minesteris wes commandit, be the sayde Assembly, to sing one Song, and to cre out vpoun the Abuses, as they termed it, of the Court and the Estaite for the Tyme; quhairby it is maist certaine great Alterationis to haue ensewit in this Land, quhill at the gude Pleasour of God, and his Blessing towardis his Maiestie, the Pretext of the last Fast wes discoverit, and his Hienes delyuerit from sic Attemptatis: quhairby his Maiestie hath bene iustly mouit to discharge sic Conuentionis, quhilk might importe so so preiudicially to his Estaite. Bot specially his Maiest. had no small Occasion, quhairas the samin Assemblie being conuenit at *Edinburgb*, the Day of did authorise and avow the Fact perpetrat at *Ruthven*, in the taking of his Heines maist Noble Persone. The quhilk Deid, notwithstanding his Maiestie, with the Aduyse of his Estaiteis in Parliament, accompted to be Tressonable, the sayde Assembly theming their Jugement to be the Soueraine Jugement of the Realme, hes not only approuin the same, bot ordanit all thame to be Excommunicat quha wald subscriue and allow the samyn. Sua the Actis of this Assembly, and the Lawes of the Estaite directitly fechtand in Civill Materis, with the quhilk the Assemblie suld not haue midlit, it behouit his Hienes, ether to discharge him self of the Crowne, or the

Ministrie of that Forme of Assembly, quhilk, in very Deid, in the self, without the Kings Maiesties Licence and Approbation, culd not be lawfull. Lyke as Generall Councilis, at no Tyme, could gudely assemble, bot be the Commandement of the Emperour for the Tyme; and our King hath no les Power within his awne Realme, than ony of thame had in the Empyre. Zea, the Bishop of *Sanctandrois* had not, in Tyme of *Papery*, Power to convene the Bishops and Clergie, out of his awne Diocese, without Licence impetrat before of his Hienes most Noble Progenitours, of gude Memorie, and the Caulis thair of intimat and allowit. Notwithstanding, that his Maiesties Intentioun and Meaning may fullie be vnderstand, it is his Hienes Wil, that the Bishop or Commissionat of ony Diocese or Prouince, or Part thair of, fall, at their Visitation, appoint in euery Paroche, according to the greatnes thair of, sum honest, vertuous and discreit Men, to concur and assist the Minister, and to haue the Ouerlicht, and Centure of the Maners and Behauiour of the People of that Parochin. And gif their be ony notable Offence worthy of Punishment, that the Bishop and Commissionat be aduertisit thair of, quha shall haue ane Officer of Armes, to concur with his Decreit for the Punishment of Vice, and Executions to follow thair vpoun; that they quha contemnis the godly and lawfull Ordour of the *Kirk*, may find, be Experience, his Maiesties Displeasure, and be punishit according to their Deseruings.

And forder, his Maiestie, vpoun necessary Occasiouns, quhilk may fall furth, be diuers Maners of Wayis among the Clergie, vpoun humble Supplication maid vnto his Hienes, will not refuse to grant thame Licence to conuene: To wit, the Bishoppes, Commissioners, and some of the maist vertuous, learnit and godly of their Dioceis, quhair sic Ecclesiasticall Maters, as appertenis to the Vniformity of Doctrine, and Conseruation of ane godly Ordour in the *Kirk*, may be intreatit and concludit in his Maiesties Honorable Counsell, quha shall assist for the Time: Quhair, gif Necessitie so require ane publick Fast throuhout the haille Realme may be decernit, and, be his Maiesties Authoritie, proclaimit, to auoyd the imminent Displeasour and Danger of the Wraith of the Lords Jugements, quhilk is the richt End of Publick Humiliation; and not, vnder Pretext thair of, to couer sic Interpreties, as hes heirtofore greatly disquyetit and troublit the Peax of this Commoun-Wealth.

THE xx Act ratifeis and approuis and restablis the State of the Bishoppes within the Realme, to haue the Ouerlicht and Jurisdiction, euerie one in their awin Dioceis: Quhilk Forme of Gouernament, and Reule in Ecclesiasticall Affaires, hes not onely continuit in the *Kirk*, from the Dayis of the Apostles, be continuall Successioun of Tyme, and many Martyrs in that Calling shed their Blude for the Trueth; bot also, sen this Realme imbracit and resauit the Christian Religioun, the same Estait hes bene maintenit, to the Weillfare of the *Kirk*, and Quietnes of the Realme, without ony Interruption, quhilk, within thir fewe Zeirs, some curious and busie Men haue practisit to induce, in the Ministrie, ane Equalitie and Paritie in all Things, alsweill concerning the Preching of the Word, Ministratioun of the Sacraments, as likewise in Discipline, Ordour and Policie. The quhilk Confusion his Maiestie finding, be maist dangerous Experience, to haue bene the Mother and Nurish of great Factions, Seditions and Troubles within this Realme, hes, with Aduise of his Hienes Estates, maturely and aduysitly concludit the said pretendit Paritie in Discipline, Ordours and Policie in the *Kirk*, to be na langer tolerat in this Cuntrie: bot the Solitude and Cair of ma *Kirks* of ane Diocese to apperteyne to the Bishoppe and Commissionar thair of, quha fall be answerable to God, and his Maiestie, and Estates, for the richt Administratioun and Discharge of the Office of particulare Ministers, within the Bounds of their Jurisdiction. For as it becummis his Maiestie, as *Eusebius* wrytis of *Constantinus* the Great, to be ane Bishop of Bishops, and Uniuersall Bishop within his Realme, in sa far as his Maiestie suld appoint euery ane to discharge his Dewtie:

Swa

Swa his Hienes can not, his Cuntrey being large and great, take him to euerie Minister that sal offend, and transgresse aganis Dewtie, or querrell with the hail Number of the Ministrie. Bot it behoueth his Maiestie to haue Bishops and Owersears vnder him, that may be answerable for sic Bounds, as the Law and Ordour of the Cuntrey hes limitat and appointit vnto euery ane of thame. And that they, hauing Access to his Maiesties Parliament and Counsell, may interceid for the rest of the Brethren of the Ministrie, propone their Greifs vnto his Hienes, and Estaitis, and ressaue his Maiest. fauourable Answer thairin. The quhilk Forme dois preferue ane godly Harmony, Vnitie, Concorde, and Peax in the Estait, and ane solide Ordour in the *Kirk*. As contrariwyse, the pretendit Equalitie deuidis the samin, and vnder Pretext of Equalitie, makes sum of the maist crafty and subtill Dealers to be aduancit and inrychit; and, in pretending of Paritie, to seik nathing bot their awin Ambitioun, and Aduancement aboue the rest of the simple Sort. And notwithstanding that his Maiestie hes reestablishit the said Estait, it is not his Hienes Will and Intentioun, that the soirsayd Bishop fall haue sic full Power, as to do within his Diocese quhat he pleasit. For as his Maiestie can not allow of ane populare Confusion, quhairin, as the Prouerbe witnessis, *Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis*. That is; No Tyrannie can be comparit to the Tyrannie of ane Multitude, hauing Commandement and Power in their Hands: Sua, vpoun the other Part, his Maiesties Will is, that the Bishops Authoritie, in ony grave Mater, be limitat and circumscriuit to the Counsell of xiiii. of the maist ancient, wise, and godly Pastours of his Diocese, selectit furth of the hail Synodall Assemblie of the Prouince: be quhais Aduise, or at the least the maist Part thair of, the graue and wechtie Effairis of the *Kirk* may be conductit and gouernit, to the Glorie of God, and Quyetnes of the Realme. Forther, it is his Hienes Will, and expres Commandement, that their Bishops, or Commissioners, twyse in the Zeyr, to wit, ten Dayes efter the *Pasche* Tyme, and the sext of *September*, hald their Synodall Assemblies in euery Diocese, for the keeping of gude Ordour thairin. And gif ony be refractar or contemnar, within their Bounds, of the gude Ordour of the *Kirk*, they may be declarit vnto his Maiestie, and punishit, in Exemple of vthers, according to their Deseruings. Neither is it his Maiesties Meaning or Intentioun, that sic Bishops or Commissioners, as sal be appointit, sal ressaue thair only and full Commissioun of his Maiestie, without Admission ordinar, be sic as are appointit to that Effect, in the *Kirk*; bot, hauing his Hienes Nominatioun, Presentatioun, and Commendatioun, as lawfull and only Patroun, they are to be tryit, and examinat, that their Qualiteis are sic, as they are able and sufficient to discharge their Cure and Office. And gif it fall happin ony of the saidis Bishops, or Commissioners, to be negligent in their Office; or to be sclanderous and offensiue in their Behauour, Lyfe, and Maners, in ony Time cumming, it is not his Hienes Will, that they fall be exempt from Correctioun, nochtwithstanding of ony Priuilege of his Hienes Estatie, Counsell, or Parliament, bot their Labouris, Trauellis, Diligence, and Behauour to be tryit in the Generall Assemblie, not consistit of ane consufit Multitude, as it was before, bot of sic worshipful Personis as is heirtofore prescriuit in his Hienes awne Presence, or his Maiesties Deputies to that Effect. Last, his Maiestie geuis Commissioun to the saids Bishops, or Commissioners, at their Visitations, to consider, in quhat Pairt of the Cuntrey the Exercise, or Interpretatioun of the Scripture be Conference of ane certane Number of the Ministrie within that Bounds, may be maist commodiously, anis in the xv. Dayes. For, as his Maiestie inhibitis all vnlawfull Conuentionis, quhilk may ingender Trouble and Contentioun in the Cuntrey, swa his Maiestie is well affectit to sie the Ministrie increas in Knowlege and Vnderstanding, and be all Meanes to fortifie and aduance the samin. Quhairin his Hienes Commandement is, that ane graue, wyse, and sage Man fall be appointit President, quha may haue the Quersicht of that Bounds,

and be answerable thairfore to the Bishop his Counsell and Synode, and he to be respectit resonable for his Panes, at the Modificatioun of Stipendis; that all Things may be ordourly done in the *Kirk*, Peax and Queetnes maintainit in the Realme, and we delyuerit from the appearand Plagues, and the Blessing of God continewit, to the Comfort of our Posteritie.

And, in the mean Time, his Hienes inhibitis, and expressly contramands, vnder the Panes contenit in his Maiesties Actis of Parliament, and all vther Panes Arbitrall, at his Maiesties Sicht and Counsell, that na Minister take vpoun Hand, to conuene them selues, for the soirsaid Cause, without the Appointment and Ordour taken be the saids Bishoppes or Commissionars; quhairby his Hienes may be certainly informit, that the soirsaid Ministers conuenis not, to middle with ony Ciuill Maters, or Effaris of Estait, as wasaccustomit before; bot only to proffeit in the Knowlege of the Word, and to be comfortit, ane be ane vther, in the Administratioun of their Spiritual Office: quhilk his Hienes wisches thame faithfully to discharge, and thame to call to God, that his Maiestie may, in ane prosperous Regne, inioy gude and lang Lyfe, and continew and increffe into the Feare of the Almightye.

The Kings Maiest. Intentiounis.

HIS Maiesties Intentioun is, be the Grace of God, To maintene the trew and sincer Profession of the Gospell, and preiching thair of, within this Realme.

2. His Maiesties Intentioun is, To correct, and punish sic as seditiously abuses the Cbyre of Trueth, and factiously appeils, or rather bewrayes the Text of the Scripture, to the disquyeting of the Estait, and disturbing of the Common-Wealth, or impayring of his Hienes and Counsellis Honour.

3. His Maiesties Intentioun is, Gif ony Question of Faith and Doctrine arise, to conuocate the maist learnit, godly, wise and experimentit Pastours, that, be Conference of Scriptures, the Verity may be tryit, and all Heresie and Schisme, be that Meanes, repressit.

4. His Maiesties Intentioun is, That for keeping of gude Ordour in euerie Parochie, vertane to be Censures of Maneris of the rest, be appointit, at the Visitation of the Bishop, or Visitour, quha sall haue his Maiesties Authoritie, and Officeris of Armes concurring for the Punishment of Vice.

5. His Maiesties Intentioun is, To maintene the Exercise of Prophecie, for the increas and continuing of Knowledge amongis the Ministrie. In the quhilk, ane wise and graue Man, selectit be the Bishop or Commissionar at the Synodall Assemblie, sall preside, and rander ane Compt of the Administratioun of that Bounds quhair the Exercise is baldin, for the quhilk Cause some Respect of Lening sall be had vnto him, quha sustenis that Burding.

6. His Maiesties Intentioun is, Not to derogate, vnto the ordinarie Iugement of Maters of the Kirk, be the ordinary Bishops, their Counsellis, and Synodis: bot gif ony of thame do amisse, and abuse their Calling, to take Ordour for correcteing, amending, and punishing theirow.

7. His Maiesties Intentioun is, Not to hinder or stay ony godly or solide Ordour, groundit vpoun the Word of God, and Ordour of the Primitiue Kirk: bot that the Ministeris of the Word middle them selfis only with their awin Calling, and jage not temerariouly of the Estait.

8. It is his Maiesties Intentionn, That the Presbytereis, consisting of many Ministeris and Gensilmen, at Landwart, or asberwaies, be na forder tolerate in this Realme: bot the Exercise of Jurisdiction of ma Kirkis to be in the Hands of the Bishoppe, or Commissioner, and thair Counsails, and Synodis.

9. It is his Maiesties Intentionn, That the Bishops, or Commissioneris, convene not ane Generall Assemblie out of the haill Realme, without his Maiesties Knowlege and Licence obteneit thairunto; quibilk, upoun Supplication, his Hienes will not deny: That ane uniforme Ordour may be conservit in the haill Realme, and the Bishoppes and their Diligences their tryit and examinat, and the Complaints of enery Particular hard and discussit.

10. It is his Maiesties Intentionn, To assist this Assemblie his self, or be ane Nobleman of his Counsale his Hienes full depute.

11. It is his Maiesties Intentionn, That quhen ony Parochin findeth Necessity of ane Fast, they intimie the Occasionn to the Bishop or Commissioner thair Counsale, that they may understand that the Cause is lawfull; as likewise the Bishop of the Diocese, finding lawfull Occasionn, may, within the same, with his Counsale prescryue ane publike Humiliationn.

12. It is his Maiesties Intentionn, That ane Generall Fast throughout the haill Realme fall not be proclamit bot be his Maiesties Commaundement, or be that Generall Counsale, quhairtn his Maiestie or his Hienes Deputie is present.

13. It is his Hienes Intentionn, That the Bishops in the Realme, in enerie Diocese, with thair Counsale, preside into the Ecclesiasticall Governement, bot, as said is, with ane Counsale, that baith Tyrannie and Confusionn may be evitit in the Kirk.

14. It is his Hienes Intentionn, That Commissioneris be directit, uniuersallie throughout the haill Realme, to establish ane godly Ordour; and that his Maiesties Commissioneris tak Ordour presently for the Translation of sic Ministeris, quhais Tranelis they esteeme may mair conveniently and profitablie serue in ane uther Place.



A
R E C O R D

O F S O M E

Worthy Proceedings,

In the Honourable, Wise, and Faithful

H O U S E of C O M M O N S,

In the PARLIAMENT holden in the Year 1611.

Justitiæ est suum cuique tribuere.

Printed in the Year 1641.

C O N T E N T S.

1. *A Preface to true Englishmen.* 2. *A memorable Speech in Parliament.* 3. *A Petition for the Parliament's Liberty.* 4. *Particulars of the Great Contract.* 5. *Petitions for Grace in Celestial Causes.* 6. *Grievances in Temporal Matters.*
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To all True-hearted *English-men*, dwelling in their Native Soil.

*H*owsoever (my dear Country-men) it is mine Hap to abide on this Side the Seas, yet I cannot but bearken after the Prosperity of my Gracious Sovereign, and Natural Country; especially in the Parliament-Time. I am not (indeed) in any such eminent Place, as where I may be sure to have a perfect Relation of all remarkable Affairs; yet,

yet, by my diligent Indeavour, I obtain (in Time) more probable Intelligence than many of you do : Of which the Love of my Country compelleth me to make present Use, occasioned by a Publication (for not one Word thereof is in the King's Name) dated 31 December, 1611, wherein the worthiest House of Commons that ever was, is covertly traduced for spending long Time, and great Charges, and yet failing an earnest Expectation of a good Conclusion for the Ease and Freedom of his Majesty's Subjects. I could not therefore but endeavour to prevent (as I may) the Heart-burning which (I fear) that Publication may occasion between the King and his Commons. And, Secondly, to make it appear, That no House of Commons had ever a greater Zeal for the Ease and Freedom of the Subjects, than the late House had. The former, by demonstrating, that the said Covert Imputation is not the King's, but the Pen-man's. For, whereas Proclamations (indeed) speak in the First Person ; as thus, Our Subjects ; and, We are resolved, that Publication speaketh in the Third Person, thus ; His Majesties Subjects ; and, His Majesty is resolved : Therefore it was not penned by his Majesty. Again, how can close Suggesting the said Imputation to be the Cause of Dissolving the Parliament, agree with that which is expressly said, That his Majesty, for many good Considerations, known to himself, is determined to Dissolve, &c. Doth not this shew, that the over-large Preamble of that Publication is the Pen-man's, and only the Body thereof was by the King's Direction ? Moreover, in a Proclamation, dated the 24th of September, 1611, his Majesty findeth Fault with former Proclamations, in regard of their Penning : Which sheweth, that when his Majesty hath signified his Mind, touching the Substance of a Proclamation, he doth not always review the Penning thereof. Therefore, it may be supposed, that he did not peruse the Penning of the Publication. So that, I think, it may be well concluded, That the said Imputation is not the King's, but the Penman's.

As for the Zeal of the Commons in Parliament, for the Ease and Freedom of the Subjects, let that appear by that which is here published. Only, I suppose it not amiss to remember, that, in the Session of the late Parliament, there passed these Bills in the House of Commons.

1. An Act for the better observing and keeping Holy the Sabbath-Day, or Sunday.
2. An Act against such, as coming to Church, do refuse to receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.
3. An Act for the providing of a Learned, and Godly Ministry. And,
4. An Act to inable suspended, and deprived Ministers to sue, and prosecute their Appeals.

I remember these, because that worthy Knight, or Burgess (whose Speech is here recorded) doth not speak of them ; intending (belike) to mention no other Bills, but such as passed in the House of Commons, in the Fourth, that is, the last Session of Parliament : I say, the last, because the Fifth cannot be accounted a Session, seeing nothing was concluded therein ; the Speaker, sundry Mornings before the House met together, adjourning the same, from Day to Day, till the Parliament was prorogued, and there dissolved. Well, I pray God, that whensoever we shall have another Parliament, Counties, Cities and Boroughs may not be moved, by Letters from such Common-Wealths-men as the Pen-man of the said Publication is feared to be, to chuse such Knights and Burgesses, as will have less Zeal for the Ease and Freedom of the Subjects, than had the Knights and Burgesses of the late Parliament.

A Memorable Speech in the HOUSE of COMMONS, 1611.

Master SPEAKER,

I Perceive we are all much troubled, by the evil Success which we have had in the Great Contract concerning Tenures and Purveyance, after our long Travel and much Time spent therein; and in other Causes of good Importance: So as many have taken Occasion thereby to say of us, that, although there was never a more Honourable Assembly in the Commons House of Parliament, of godly, wise, and learned Men, than at this Time, yet there did never less Fruit appear of their Labour to the World, at any Time before, than now; which fruitless Labour, if it might be truly imputed unto us, it might worthily grieve us all. But, I hope, that, in seeking out Means of Redress, or Relief in this Case, I shall make it appear to all, who will rightly weigh Things, that if Furtherance had been given by others, whom it concerns, to our Labours and good Indeavours, many Abuses had been reformed, and much Good done to the Common-Wealth of *England*.

But as it is true, which that great wise Lord, who hath the chief Charge of the Treasure of the Realm, said unto us, at our last Meeting with the Honourable Lords of the Upper-House of Parliament, in the *Painted-Chamber* at *Westminster*, touching the Great Contract, viz. That he did well perceive, that we had a great Desire to have effected that Great Contract; That the King's Majesty had willingly given his Assent to the same; and that yet, nevertheless, it proceeded not, wherein they could not find the Impediment, but that God did not bless it: So is it likewise true of the rest of our Proceedings in Parliament, that God hath not blessed the same with good Success, which troubled me at the first, until I did farther consider of many other Parties of the Realm, and many other Callings, and Societies of the Realm, to whom God hath given as little Blessing, as to the Parliament-House. For it did appear plainly to us in this House, upon the Treaty and Examinations of the Grievances of the Church and Common-Wealth, that the Merchants of *England*, who were a Calling of very great Use in this Realm, for the Wealth, Strength, and Credit thereof, and, as it were, the Legs of the Common-Wealth, whereon it goeth, had not received such Blessing of late, yea, in their Merchandizing, as in former Times, although they labour as much, and adventure as much as in former Times they did. And that, likewise, the Clothiers, being a Trade whereby many Thousands of Subjects are maintained, although they labour in their Calling as much at this Time as ever before they did, do, of late, find so little Fruit of their Labour, as that many of them are decayed, and many of them, also, have given over that Trade, to the great Hinderance of the Realm.

And also, the like is fallen to the Mariners and Ship-wrights of this Realm, whose Number is greatly decayed, and, with them, the serviceable Ships and Shipping, very much weakened; which threateneth a Decay of the Walls and Strength of the Realm, which, by good Shipping, and good Mariners, is well defended.

And, I find also, that God hath not blessed the Treasure of the Realm; for it is gone from us, as if God had blown upon it, to turn it out of the Land, so as Prince and People want.

And, I find also, in the Calling of Lawyers, that there is not the like Increase of their Labours, as in Times past, except it be some few Favourites: And, I think, that

that divers Knights, Citizens, and Burgesſes, now here preſent about me, could ſay the like of divers Sorts of Men in their Countries, Cities, and Boroughs, if they liſt to ſpeak. Whereupon I do aſſuredly think, that, for ſome Public Sins of the Land, God hath a Quarrel to the Land, whereby he doth with-draw his ordinary Bleſſings; which Public Sins, this great Council of the Realm ought firſt to ſeek out, and, as much as in our Power, to redreſs the ſame; that God, being thereby reconciled unto the Land, a happy Bleſſing might inſue to all the Eſtates thereof: Which to effect, you ſhall ſee what we, for our Parts, have done, to obtain God's loving Countenance to the Land, as a Shield, by removing the Public Sins thereof, which, as a thick Cloud, doth keep from us God's Sun-ſhining Grace.

Firſt, We did ſee, and conſider, that the Precious Name of God, which we ought to regard more than our Lives, is not, by the Laws of *England*, ſo tenderly regarded, and preſerved, as the Name of all Sorts of People in the Land: For, if ſome evil Words be uſed againſt the King, it is *High-Treafon*, for which the Offender ſhall dye. And, if ſome evil Words be uſed againſt Noblemen, it is puniſhable by the Statute *De Scandalum Magnatum*. And that, for ſome evil Words uſed by any private Perſon againſt another, an *Action* of the *Cafe* doth lie, at the *Common-Law*, to puniſh the Offender, and to recompence the Party wronged. But, for abuſing the Holy Name of God, and tearing him in Pieces by wicked Oaths, there is no Punishment by the Laws of the Realm, whereby both Men, Women, and Children increaſe in that Sin grievouſly, every Day, without Punishment, or Check. Wherefore, to prevent that Sin, we did, at two ſeveral Sefſions of Parliament, make two ſeveral Bills, which did paſs our *House of Commons*, to be made Laws for Punishment of ſuch Offenders.

And, to take away that crying Sin, which doth moſt provoke God, and grieve the Subjects, *viz.* The depriving, diſgracing, ſilencing, degrading, and imprifoning ſuch of God's Meſſengers (being learned and godly Preachers) as he hath furniſhed with moſt Heavenly Graces, to call us to true Repentance, for no other Cauſe, but for not conforming themſelves otherwiſe than by Subscription limited in the Statutes, made in the 14th Year of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, of famous Memory; thereby making the Laws of the Church, and Common-wealth to jar: Which to reform, we made a Law for Subscription, agreeing to the Intent of the foreſaid Statute, which every wiſe Man will approve, and willingly ſubſcribe unto; whereby much Peace and Unity would grow in the Church and Common-wealth, and be an Occaſion, that many Subjects might be well taught the Means of their Salvation, who now want ſufficient Knowledge of the Word of God to ground their Faith upon.

And, to take away another groſs Sin, which is made lawful by Act of Parliament, whereby the Land is made guilty thereof, *viz.* Concerning Non-Residents, and Plurality of Benefices, we did paſs a Bill, in the laſt Sefſions of Parliament, and have another Bill, concerning that Offence, ready to paſs, being twice read, and agreed upon at the Committees, whereby we abrogate ſo much of the Statute of the 21ſt Year of King *Henry* the 8th, as did inable Non-Residents, or the taking of more Benefices than one, with the Cure of Souls: For, by the Proviſions in that Statute, the King's Chaplains may have as many Benefices as they can get, without Stint; and ſome others may have four Benefices, with Cure, at one Time, in ſeveral Counties; and ſome two Benefices, and yet be Resident upon none of them, ſo long as he attendeth upon his Lord, or Maſter; which is a Thing intolerable in a Chriſtian Common-wealth.

And, for that ſome ſcandalous Miniſters, of evil Life, do bring a great Slander to all the reſt, being many godly and learned Preachers, we did make a good Law to remove ſuch ſcandalous Miniſters from their Place.

And, where, by the Laws of God, and the Laws of this Realm, the Ecclesiastical Persons should, in their Government, use only the Spiritual Sword, by Exhortation, Admonition, and Excommunication, which are the Keys of the Church, to exclude impenitent Sinners, and to receive into the Church the penitent and faithful Persons; and to leave the Temporal Sword, to the Temporal Magistrate; which was always so used in *England*, until the second Year of King *Henry* the Fourth, at which Time *Papish* Prelates, following the Example of the Man of Sin at *Rome*, obtained a Statute, without the free Consent of the Subjects (as is set forth by Mr. *Fox*, and, in some Sort, appeareth by the Record of the *Tower*) by which Statute they got the Temporal Sword into their Hands; which Statute was since, by several Acts of Parliament, made void with great Disgrace; and yet, by Colour of that Temporal Authority once, by a short Space, by them used, some Ecclesiastical Persons do use both Swords, to the great Grief and Trouble of the Subjects; and, with those two Swords, they do also use the Oath *ex Officio*, which began first in *England* by that Statute of the second Year of King *Henry* the Fourth, being contrary to the Laws of *England*, and (as I verily think) contrary to the Laws of God.

Wherefore we, to reform those great Abuses, made two good Laws; the one, to abridge the Force of the Ecclesiastical Commission, in many Points; the other, to abrogate, and to take away the Power of Ecclesiastical Persons, to minister the Oath *ex Officio*, being a very hateful Thing, and unlawful.

And, for that among the *Canons*, late made by the Clergy of *England*, in that *Convocation*, it was thought, that some of their *Canons* did extend to charge the Bodies, Lands, and Goods of the Subjects of the Realm, farther than was lawful and meet; we, therefore, made a good Law, to make void such *Canons*, as do charge the Bodies, Lands, and Goods of the Subjects, unless that the same *Canons* were confirmed by Parliament.

And, as we had Care of the Church, so had we Care of the Common-wealth, touching Impositions laid upon the Subjects Goods, and Merchandize, and other Things; and therefore, after long Travail, taken by us, in searching ancient Records, in the Tower of *London*, and in other Places, and after great Dispute made hereupon, in open House, by many learned Lawyers, we found it clear, in our Opinion, that Impositions laid upon Merchandize, or other Goods of the Subjects of this Realm, by the King's Majesty, without the free Consent of the Subjects in Parliament, was not lawful; and, therefore, we did make, and pass a Bill, by the general Consent of the House of Commons, intended by us all to be a Law, thereby to declare, that, by the Laws of *England*, no Imposition could be lawfully laid upon Goods, or Merchandize of the Subjects of *England*, without the Consent of the Subjects in Parliament.

And, because that many Subjects were greatly troubled by Purveyance, and Cattaking, notwithstanding the good Laws in that Behalf made to restrain the same, a Bill was preferred, by some Member of the House, for Reformation of that Abuse, at the Beginning of the last Sessions of Parliament; which Bill, by all Likelyhood, had long since passed this House of Commons, if the Matter of Purveyance had not been comprehended in the Great Contract; which Matter of Great Contract being now ended, a new Bill, concerning Purveyance, and Cattaking, is in my Hands, now presently to be delivered into the House, to receive such Proceeding therein, as shall be thought meet.

And, touching Wardship and Tenures, because it is thought a heavy Law, and grievous to the Subjects, after the Death of the Father, to have the Son and Heir, within Age, taken from the Mother and Kindred, to be bought and sold, and, with the Heir also, to take all the Lands and Tenements of the Father, which should many Times maintain both the Heir, and the rest of the Children, for the only Be-

nefit

nefit of the Guardian ; therefore we made a very large Offer to free the Land thereof, which we laboured earnestly to effect ; but God hath not blessed it, nor brought to good Effect any of those good intended Laws, above by me mentioned, although we much desired the same, and had done therein as much as pertained to us to do : Which, if they had been well effected, and passed as Laws and Statutes ; and that all such Grievances, concerning the Church and Common-wealth, as we carefully commended unto his Majesty in Writing (whereof the Copies do remain in this House) had procured such Amendment of Things, as we expected, it had made *England* so Honourable and Happy in the Government thereof, as ever was Kingdom in this World, as I think : And which, when the same shall be well effected, will (as I think) make both King, and Subjects more happy than ever they were. For, if all these Things so concurred together, as we wished and laboured for, what would we not give to supply the Wants, and to support him in a most Royal and Princely State ? But, *rebus sic stantibus*, as is before declared, without Reformation of those Thing, which were, by us, so earnestly sought, we cannot give much to supply the King's Wants, because we know no Certainty of that which should remain to us after our Gift : So as, in my Opinion, the good Proceeding of this Parliament hath not been hindered by us. Which is all I mean to say at this Time.

The Particulars to be contracted for, in Consideration of Two Hundred Thousand Pounds, per Annum, to be paid unto his MAJESTY.

1. **W**ardships and Tenures, with their particular Dependances, shall be utterly taken away.
2. The Maxim, *Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi*, shall be no longer of any Effect.
3. All the King's Patents shall be expounded for the Good of the Patentees, and according to the true Meaning.
4. No Forfeiture shall be taken by the King, or his Patentee, for Non-payment of Rent.
5. Any Subject shall Plead the General Issue (Not Guilty) upon Information of Intrusion.
6. All Penal Laws, and Informations, shall be ordered for the best Ease of the Subject.
7. All Manner of Purveyance, taken by Prerogative, Cattaking, Compositions, and Compositions therefore, and Præemption (except of Time) shall be utterly taken away ; and no Clerk of the Market shall set Price on any Victuals, nor any other shall do the same.
8. All Pre-fines, and Post-fines, to be due upon Alienation by Fine and Recovery, shall be taken away.
9. Debts shall be paid to the Subjects, before any Advantage be taken by the King, of Forfeitures upon Outlawries, or Attainders of Felons, or Traytors.
10. That Clause in the Statutes of 34 and 35 of *Hen. 8.* touching Alteration of Laws in *Wales*, shall be repealed.
11. Every Subject, who hath possessed Land by the Space of 60 Years, where the King, in that Time, hath not had the Possession, or Profit thereof, by the Space of one Year, shall be free from the King's Claim : And, if the King, within that

Time, hath been seized of any Rent, out of the same Lands, then that Rent only shall remain to the King.

12. Old Debts, due to the King before ten Years last past, shall be forgiven.

13. The King shall express the Cause of Demurrer in Pleading against any of his Subjects.

14. Fees of all Courts, to be paid by the Subjects, shall be expressed in a Book in Print.

15. All Laws Absolute, which are Penal, shall be reduced to one Law.

16. No Protection, against Law, shall be granted by the King.

17. Any Thing doubtful, in any of these Articles, shall be explained by ourselves.

18. Any other Matter, which, at our next Meeting, we shall conceive to be for Ease of the Subjects, and shall not detract from the King, in Point of Sovereignty, or Profit, shall be essential in this Contract.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WHereas we, your Majesty's most humble Subjects, the Commons assembled in Parliament, have received, first by Message, and since by Speech, from your Majesty, a Commandment of Restraint from Debating in Parliament, your Majesty's Right of Imposing upon your Subjects Goods exported, or imported out of, or into this Realm, yet allowing us to examine the Grievances of these Impositions, in regard of the Quantity, Time, and other Circumstances of Disproportion thereto incident: We, your said humble Subjects nothing doubting, but that your Majesty had no Intent, by that Commandment, to infringe the ancient and fundamental Right of the Liberty of Parliament, in Point of exact Discussing of all Matters concerning them, and their Possessions, Goods, and Rights whatsoever, which yet we cannot but conceive to be done, in Effect, by this Commandment, do, with all humble Duty, make this Remonstrance to your Majesty.

First, We hold it an ancient, general, and undoubted Right of Parliament, to Debate freely all Matters, which do properly concern the Subject, and his Right, or State: Which Freedom of Debate being once fore-closed, the Essence of the Liberty of Parliament is withal dissolved.

And whereas, in this Case, the Subjects Right on the one Side, and your Majesty's Prerogative on the other, cannot possibly be severed in Debate of either, we alledge, that your Majesty's Prerogatives of that Kind, concerning directly the Subjects Right, and Interest, we daily handled, and discussed in all Courts at *Westminster*, and have been ever freely debated, upon all fit Occasions, both in this, and all former Parliaments, without restraint. Which being forbidden, it is impossible for the Subject either to know, or maintain his Right and Property to his own Lands and Goods, though never so just and manifest.

It may farther please your Most Excellent Majesty, to understand, That we have no Mind to impugn, but a Desire to inform ourselves of your Highness's Prerogative in that Point; which, if ever, is now most necessary to be known. And, though it were to no other Purpose, yet to satisfy the Generality of your Majesty's Subjects, who, finding themselves much grieved by these new Impositions, do languish in much Sorrow and Discomfort.

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These Reasons (*Dread Sovereign*) being the proper Reasons of Parliament, do plead for the upholding of this our ancient Right and Liberty. Howbeit, seeing it hath pleased your Majesty, to insist upon that Judgment in the *Exchequer*, as being Direction sufficient for us, without farther Examination, upon great Desire of leaving your Majesty unsatisfied in no one Point of our Intents, and Proceedings, we profess, touching that Judgment; That we neither do, nor will take upon us to reverse it; but, our Desire is, to know the Reasons whereupon the same was grounded. And, the rather, for that a general Conceit is had, that the Reasons of that Judgment may be extended much farther, even to the utter Ruin of the ancient Liberty of the Kingdom, and of the Subjects Right of Propriety to have Lands, and Goods. Therefore, the Judgment it self, being the first and the last that ever was given in that Kind, for ought appearing unto us, and being only in one Case, and against one Man, it can bind in Law no other than that Person; and is also reverfable by *Writ of Error*, granted heretofore by Act of Parliament: And neither he, nor any other Subject, is debarred, by it, from trying his Right in the same, or like Case, in any of your Majesty's Courts of Record at *Westminster*.

Lastly, We nothing doubt, but your intended Proceeding, in a full Examination of the Right, Nature, and Measure of these new Impositions (if this Restraint had not come between) should have been so orderly, and moderately carried, and so applied to the manifold Necessity of these Times, and given your Majesty so true a View of the State and Right of your Subjects; that it would have been much to your Majesty's Content and Satisfaction (which we most desire) and removed all Cause of Fears and Jealousies from the loyal Hearts of your Subjects; which is (as it ought to be) our careful Endeavour. Whereas, contrarywise, in that other Way, directed by your Majesty, we cannot safely proceed, without concluding, for ever, the Right of the Subject; which, without due Examination thereof, we may not do.

We, therefore, your Highness's loyal and dutiful Commons, not swerving from the approved Steps of our Ancestors, most humbly and instantly beseech your Gracious Majesty, that, without Offence to the same, we may (according to the undoubted Right and Liberty of Parliament) proceed in our intended Course, of a full Examination of these new Impositions, that so we may cheerfully pass on to your Majesty's Business, from which this Stop hath, by Diversion, so long withheld us. And we, your Majesty's most humble, faithful, and loyal Subjects, shall ever, according to our bounden Duty, pray for your Majesty's long and happy Reign over us.

Delivered by Twenty of the Lower House of Parliament, the 24th of May, 1610.

P E T I T I O N S.

Most Gracious and Dread Sovereign,

SITH it hath pleased Almighty God, of his unspeakable Mercy and Goodness towards us, to call your Majesty to the Government of this Kingdom, and hath crowned you with Supreme Power, as well in the Church, as in the Common-Wealth, for the Advancement of his Glory, and the general Benefit of all the Subjects of the Land: We do, with all Humility, present, at the Feet of your Excellent Majesty, our Selves, and our Desires, full of Confidence in the Assurance of your Religious Mind, and Princely Disposition; That you will be graciously pleased to give
Life

Life and Effect to these our Petitions, greatly tending (as undoubtedly we conceive) to the Glory of God, the Good of his Church, and Safety of your most Royal Person, wherein we acknowledge our greatest Happiness to consist.

1. Whereas good and provident Laws have been made for the Maintenance of God's True Religion and Safety of your Majesties most Royal Person, Issue, and Estate, against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and *Papish* Recusants. And although your Majesty, by your godly, learned, and judicious Writings, have declared your Princely and Christian Zeal, in the Defense of the Religion established, and have very lately (to the Comfort of your best affected Subjects) published, to both Houses of Parliament, your Princely Will and Pleasure, that Recusants should not be concealed, but detected and convicted: Yet, for that the Laws are not executed against the Priests, who are the Corrupters of the People, in Religion and Loyalty, and many Recusants have already compounded, and (as it is to be feared) more and more (except your Majesty, in your great Wisdom, prevent the same) will compound with those who beg their Penalties, which maketh the Laws altogether fruitless, or of little or none Effect, and the Offenders to become bold, obdurate, and unconformable: Your Majesty, therefore, would be pleased, at the humble Suit of your Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, in the Causes so highly concerning the Glory of God, the Preservation of true Religion, of your Majesty and State, to suffer your Highness's natural Clemency to retire itself, and to give Place unto Justice, and to lay your Royal Command upon all your Ministers of Justice, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, to see the Laws, made against Jesuits, Seminary Priests and Recusants (of what Kind and Sect soever) to be duely and truly executed, without Dread, or Delay. And, that your Majesty would be pleased, likewise, to take into your own Hands the Penalties due for Recusancy; and that the same be not converted to the private Gain of some, to your infinite Loss, the imboldening of the *Papists*, and Decay of true Religion.

2. Whereas, also, divers painful and learned Pastors, who have long travailed in the Work of the Ministry, with good Fruit, and Blessing of their Labours; who were ever ready to perform the Legal Subscription, appointed by the Statute of 13 *Eliz.* which only concerneth the Confession of the true Christian Faith and Doctrine of the Sacraments; yet, for not conforming in some Points of Ceremonies, and refusing the Subscription directed by the late *Canons*, have been removed from their Ecclesiastical Livings, being their Free-hold, and debarred from all Means of Maintenance, to the great Grief of sundry your Majesty's well-affected Subjects; seeing the whole People, who want Instruction, lie open to the Seducements of *Papish* and ill-affected Persons. We, therefore, most humbly beseech your Majesty would be graciously pleased, that such deprived and silenced Ministers, may, by License, or Permission of the Reverend Fathers, in their severall Dioces, instruct, and preach into their People in such Parishes, and Places, where they may be employed: So as they apply themselves, in their Ministry, to wholesome Doctrine and Exhortation, and live quietly and peaceably in their Callings, and shall not, by Writing, or Preaching, impugn Things established by public Authority.

3. Whereas, likewise, through Plurality of Benefices, and Toleration of Non-Residency in many, who possess not the meanest Livings, with Cure of Souls, the People, in divers Places, want Instruction, and are ignorant, and easily to be seduced, whereby the Adversaries of our Religion gain great Advantage; and although the Pluralists, and Non-Residents do frame Excuse of the Smallness of some Livings, and pretend the Maintenance of Learning, yet we find, by Experience, that they, coupling many of the greatest Livings, do leave the least helpless, and the best as ill served, and supplied with Preachers, as the meanest. And where Pluralists, heaping up many Livings into one Hand, do, by that Means, keep divers learned Men from Main-

Maintenance, to the Discouragement of Students, and the Hinderance of Learning, and the Non-Residents, for seeking, or absenting themselves from their Pastoral Charges, do leave the People as a Prey unto the *Popish* Seducers. It might, therefore, please your most Excellent Majesty, for Remedy of these Evils in the Church, to provide, that Dispensations for Plurality of Benefices, with Cure of Souls, may be prohibited, and that Toleration of Non-Residency may be restrained: So shall true Religion be better upheld, and the People more instructed in Divine, and Civil Duties.

4. And, forasmuch, as Excommunication is the heaviest Censure, for the most grievous Offences which the Church doth retain, yet exercised upon an incredible Number of the Common People, by the subordinate Officers of the Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, most commonly for very small Causes, grounded upon the sole Information of a base Apparitor; in which Case the Parties, before they can be discharged, are driven to excessive Expence, for Matters of very small Moment; so that the Richer break through more heinous Offences, and escape that Censure, by Commutation of Penance, to the great Scandal of the Church Government, in the Abuse of so high a Censure, the Contempt of the Censure itself, and Grievance of your Majesty's poor Subjects.

Wherefore your Majesty's dutiful Commons, most humbly beseech your Highness, that some due and fit Reformation may be had in the Premises.

G R I E V A N C E S.

To the K I N G's Most Excellent M A J E S T Y.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

YOUR Majesty's most humble Commons assembled in Parliament, being moved, as well out of their Duty and Zeal to your Majesty, as out of the Sense of just Grief, wherewith your loving Subjects are, generally, through the whole Realm, at this Time, possessed, because they perceive their common and ancient Rights and Liberties to be much declined, and infringed in these late Years; do, with all Duty and Humility, present these our just Complaints thereof to your Gracious View, most instantly craving Justice therein, and due Redress. And, although it be true, that many of the Particulars, whereof we now complain, were in some Use in the late Queen's Time, and then not much impugned, because the Usage of them, being then more moderate, gave not so great Occasion of Offence, and, consequently, not so much Cause to inquire into the Right and Validity of them; yet the Right being now more thoroughly scanned, by reason of the great Mischiefs and Inconveniencies which the Subjects have thereby sustained, we are very confident, that your Majesty will be so far from thinking it a Point of Honour, or Greatness, to continue any Grievance upon your People, because you found them begun in some of your Predecessors Times, as you will rather hold it a Work of great Glory to reform them, since your Majesty knoweth well, that neither Continuance of Time, nor Errors of Men, can, or ought to prejudice Truth of Justice; and that nothing can be more worthy of so worthy a King, nor more answerable to the great Wisdom and Goodness which abounds in you, than to understand the Grievs, and redress the Wrongs of so loyal, and well-deserving a People. In this Confidence (Dread Sovereign) we offer these Griev-

Grievances (the Particulars whereof are hereafter set down) to your gracious Consideration, and we offer them out of the greatest Loyalty and Duty that Subjects can bear to their Prince; most humbly and instantly beseeching your Majesty, as well for Justice Sake (more than which, as we conceive, in these Petitions we do not seek) as also, for the better Assurance of the State, and general Repose of your faithful and loving Subjects, and for Testimony of your gracious Acceptation of their full Affections, declared as well by their joyful receiving of your Majesty, at your happy Entrance into this Kingdom, which you have been often pleased, with Favour, to remember; as also, by their extraordinary Contributions granted since unto you, such as have never been yielded to any former Prince, upon the like Terms, and Occasions, that we may receive to these our Complaints your most gracious Answer: Which, we cannot doubt but will be such, as may be worthy of your Princely Self, and will give Satisfaction, and great Comfort to all your loyal, and most dutiful loving Subjects, who do, and will ever pray for the happy Preservation of your most Royal Majesty.

NEW IMPOSITIONS.

THE Policy and Constitution of this your Kingdom, appropriates unto the Kings of this Realm, with the Assent of the Parliament, as well the Sovereign Power of making Laws, as that of Taxing, or Imposing upon the Subjects Goods, or Merchandizes, as may not, without their Consent, be altered, or changed. This is the Cause, that the People of this Kingdom, as they ever shewed themselves faithful and loving to their Kings, and ready to aid them in all their just Occasions, with voluntary Contributions; so have they been ever careful to preserve their own Liberties and Rights, when any Thing hath been done to prejudice, or impeach the same. And, therefore, when their Princes, occasioned either by their Wars, or their over-great Bounty, or by any other Necessity, have, without Consent of Parliament, set Impositions, either within the Land, or upon Commodities either exported, or imported by the Merchants, they have, in open Parliament, complained of it, in that it was done without their Consents. And thereupon never failed to obtain a speedy and full Redress, without any Claim made by the Kings of any Power, or Prerogative in that Point. And, though the Laws of Propriety be original, and carefully preserved by the Common Laws of this Realm, which are as ancient as the Kingdom itself, yet these famous Kings, for the better Contentment and Assurance of their loving Subjects, agreed, that this old Fundamental Right should be farther declared, and established by Act of Parliament. Wherein it is provided, that no such Charges should ever be laid upon the People, without their common Consent; as may appear by sundry Records in former Times. We, therefore, your Majesties most humble Commons assembled in Parliament, following this Example of this worthy Care of our Ancestors, and out of a Duty of those for whom we serve, finding that your Majesty, without Advice or Consent of Parliament, hath lately, in Time of Peace, set both greater Impositions, and far more in Number, than any your noble Ancestors did ever, in Time of War, have, with all Humility, presumed to present this most just and necessary Petition to your Majesty; That all Impositions, set without the Assent of Parliament, may be quite abolished, and taken away; and that your Majesty, in Imitation, likewise, of your Noble Progenitors, will be pleased, that a Law may be made, during this Session of Parliament, to declare; That all Impositions set, or to be set upon your People, their Goods, or Merchandizes, save only by common

common Consent in Parliament, are, and shall be void. Wherein your Majesty shall not only give your Subjects good Satisfaction, in Point of their Right, but also bring exceeding Joy, and Comfort to them who now suffer; partly through the abating of the Price of Native Commodities, and, partly through the rising of all Foreign, to the Overthrow of Merchants and Shipping, the Cause of a general Dearth, and Decay of Wealth among your People, who will be thereby no less discouraged, than disabled to supply your Majesty, when Occasion shall require it.

COMMISSION ECCLESIASTICAL.

WHEREAS, by the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* Cap. 1. intituled, An Act, restoring to the Crown the ancient Jurisdiction over the State Ecclesiastical, &c. Power was given to the Queen, and her Successors, to constitute and make a Commission in Causes Ecclesiastical, the said Act is found to be inconvenient, and of dangerous Extents in divers Respects. *First*, For that it inableth the making of such a Commission as well to any one Subject born, as to more. *Secondly*, For that whereas by the Intention, and Words of the said Statute, Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction is restored to the Crown, and your Highness, by that Statute, inabled to give only such Power Ecclesiastical to the said Commissioners, yet, under Colour of some Words in that Statute, whereby the Commissioners are authorized to execute their Commission and Tenor of your Highness's Letters Patents; and by Letters Patents grounded thereupon, the said Commissioners do fine, and imprison, and exercise other Authority not belonging to the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction restored by that Statute, which we conceive to be a great Wrong to the Subject: And that those Commissioners might as well, by Colour of those Words, if they were so authorized by your Highness's Letters Patents, fine without Stint, and imprison without Limitation of Time; as also, according to Will and Discretion, without any Rules of Law, Spiritual or Temporal, adjudge and impose utter Confiscation of Goods, Forfeiture of Lands, yea, and the taking away of Limb and of Life it self; and this for any Matter whatsoever pertaining to Spiritual Jurisdiction. Which never was, nor could be meant by the Makers of that Law. *Thirdly*, For that, by the said Statute, the King and his Successors may (however your Majesty hath been pleased, out of your Gracious Disposition, otherwise to order) make, and direct such Commission into all the Counties, and Dioceses, yea, into every Parish of *England*, and thereby all Causes may be taken, from ordinary Jurisdiction of Bishops, Chancellors, and Arch-Deacons, and Lay-men solely be inabled to excommunicate, and exercise all other Censures Spiritual. *Fourthly*, For that every Petty Offence pertaining to Spiritual Jurisdiction, is, by Colour of the said Words, and Letters Patents grounded thereupon, made subject to Excommunication and Punishment, by that strange and exorbitant Power, and Commission, whereby the least Offenders, not committing any thing of any enormous, or high Nature, may be drawn from the most remote Places of the Kingdom to *London*, or *Turk*, which is very grievous, and inconvenient. *Fifthly*, For that Limit, touching Causes subject to this Commission, being only with these Words, *viz. Such as pertain to Spiritual, or Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction*; it is very hard to know, what Matters, or Offences are included in that Number. And the rather, because it is unknown, what ancient Canons, or Laws Spiritual are in Force, and what not: From whence ariseth great Uncertainty, and Occasion of Contention.

And whereas, upon the same Statute, a Commission Ecclesiastical is made, therein is Grievance apprehended thus: *First*, For that thereby the same Men have both Spiritual and Temporal Jurisdiction, and may both force the Party, by Oath, to accuse himself of an Offence, and also inquire thereof by a Jury; and, lastly, may inflict for the same Offence, at the same Time, and by one and the same Sentence, both a Spiritual and Temporal Punishment. *Secondly*, Whereas, upon Sentences of Deprivation, or other Spiritual Censures, given by Force of ordinary Jurisdiction, an Appeal lieth for the Party grieved; that is here excluded by express Words of the Commission. Also, here is to be a Trial by Jury, yet no Remedy by Traverse, nor Attaint. Neither can a Man have any Writ of Error, though a Judgment or Sentence be given against him, amounting to the taking away all his Goods, and imprisoning him during Life; yea, to the adjudging him in the Case of *Premunire*, whereby his Lands are forfeited, and he out of the Protection of the Law. *Thirdly*, That whereas Penal Laws, and Offences against the same, cannot be determined in other Courts, or by other Persons, than by those trusted by Parliament with the Execution thereof, yet the Execution of many such Statutes (divers whereof were made since 1 *Eliz.*) are commended and committed to these Commissioners Ecclesiastical, who are either to inflict the Punishment contained in the Statutes, being *Premunire*, and of other high Nature; and so to enforce a Man, upon his own Oath, to accuse and expose himself to these Punishments, or else to inflict other Temporal Punishments at their Pleasure. And yet besides, and after that done, the Party shall be subject, in the Courts mentioned in the Acts, to Punishments by the same Acts appointed and inflicted; which we think very unreasonable. *Fourthly*, That the Commission giveth Authority to enforce Men called into Question, to enter into Recognisance, not only for Appearance from Time to Time, but also for Performance of whatsoever shall be, by the Commissioners, ordered. And also, that it giveth Power to enjoin Parties, Defendant or Accused, to pay such Fees to Ministers of the Court, as, by the Commissioners, shall be thought fit.

And, touching the Execution of the Commission, it is found grievous these Ways, among other: *First*, For that Lay-men are, by the Commissioners, punished for speaking (otherwise than in Judicial Places, and Courtes) of the *Symony* and other Misdemeanours of Spiritual Men, though the Thing spoken be true, and the Speech tending to the inducing of some condign Punishment. *Secondly*, In that these Commissioners usually appoint and allot to Women discontented at, and unwilling to live with their Husbands, such Portions, and Allowances for present Maintenance, as, to them, shall seem fit; to the great Incouragement of Wives to be disobedient, and contemptuous against their Husbands. *Thirdly*, In that their Pursuivants, or other Ministers, employed in the Apprehension of suspected Offenders in any Things Spiritual, and in the searching for any supposed scandalous Books, use to break open Mens Houses, Closets and Desks, rifling all Corners, and secret Custodies, as in Case of High-Treason, or Suspicion thereof. All which Premises, among other Things considered, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful Commons, in all Humbleness, beseech your Majesty, that for the easing of them, as well from the present Grievance, as from the Fear and Possibility of greater in Times future; your Highness would vouchsafe your Royal Assent and Allowance to and for the ratifying of the said Statute, and the reducing thereof, and consequently of the said Commission, to reasonable and convenient Limits, by some Act to be passed in this present Session of Parliament.

P R O C L A M A T I O N S.

AMONG many other Points of Happineſs, and Freedom, which your Maſteſty's Subjects of this Kingdom have enjoyed under your Royal Progenitors, Kings and Queens of this Realm, there is none which they have accounted more dear, and precious than this; to be guided and governed by the certain Rule of the Law (which giveth both to the Head and Members that which, of Right, belongeth unto them) and not by any uncertain or arbitrary Form of Government: Which, as it hath proceeded from the Original good Constitution, and Temperature of this Estate, ſo hath it been the principal Means of upholding the ſame in ſuch Sort, as that their Kings have been juſt, beloved, happy and glorious, and the Kingdom itſelf, peaceable, flourishing, and durable ſo many Ages. And the Effect, as well of the Contentment which the Subjects of this Kingdom have taken in this Form of Government, as alſo, of the Love, Reſpect, and Duty which they have, by reaſon of the ſame, rendered unto their Princes, may appear in this; That they have, as Occaſion required, yielded more extraordinary and voluntary Contributions to aſſiſt their Kings, than the Subjects of any other known Kingdom whatſoever. Out of this Root hath grown the indubitable Right of the People of this Kingdom; not to be made ſubject to any Punishment, that ſhall extend to their Lives, Landſ, Bodies, or Goods, other than ſuch as are ordained by the common Laws of this Land, or the Statutes made by their common Conſent in Parliament. Nevertheless, it is apparent, both that Proclamations have been, of late Years, much more frequent than heretofore, and that they are extended, not only to the Liberty, but alſo to the Goods, Inheritances, and Livelyhood of Men; ſome of them tending to alter ſome Points of the Law, and make a New; other ſome made ſhortly after a Seſſion of Parliament, for Matter directly rejected in the ſame Seſſion; other appointing Punishments to be inflicted before lawful Trial and Conviction; ſome containing Penalties in Form of Penal Statutes; ſome referring the Punishment of Offenders to the Courts of arbitrary Diſcretion, which have laid heavy and grievous Cenſures upon the Delinquents; ſome (as the Proclamation for Starch, accompanied with Letters, commanding Inquiry to be made againſt the Tranſgreſſors, at the Quarter-Seſſions; and ſome vouching former Proclamations, to countenance and warrant the later; as by a Catalogue here under-written more particularly appeareth. By reaſon whereof there is a general Fear conceived, and ſpread among your Maſteſty's People, that Proclamations will, by Degrees, grow up and increaſe to the Strength and Nature of Laws; whereby not only that ancient Happineſs, and Freedom will be much blemiſhed (if not quite taken away) which their Anceſtors have ſo long enjoyed, but the ſame may alſo (in Proceſs of Time) bring a new Form of Arbitrary Government upon the Realm. And this their Fear is the more increaſed by occaſion as well of certain Books, lately published, which aſcribe a greater Power to Proclamations than heretofore hath been conceived to belong unto them; as alſo, of the Care taken to reduce all the Proclamations made ſince your Maſteſty's Reign, into one Volume, and to print them in ſuch Form as Acts of Parliament formerly have been, and ſtill are uſed to be: Which ſeemeth to imply a Purpoſe to give them more Reputation, and more Eſtabliſhment than heretofore they have had. We, therefore, your Maſteſty's humble Subjects, the Commons in this Parliament aſſembled, taking theſe Matters into our Conſiderations, and weighing how much it doth concern your Maſteſty, both in Honour and Safety, that ſuch Impreſſions

should not be suffered to sett'e in your Subjects Minds, have thought it to appertain to our Duties, as well towards your Majesty, and to those who have trusted, and sent us to this Service, to present unto your Majesty's View these Fears and Grievs of your People, and to become humble Suitors unto your Majesty, that, henceforth, no Fine, or Forfeiture of Goods, or other pecuniary. or corporal Punishment may be inflicted upon your Subjects (other than Restraint of Liberty, which we also humbly beseech may be but upon urgent Necessity, and to continue but till other Order may be taken, by Course of Law) unless they shall offend against some Law, or Statute of this Realm, in Force at the Time of their Offence committed. And, for the greater Assurance, and Comfort of your People; that it will please your Majesty, to declare your Royal Pleasure to that Purpose, either by some Law to be made in this Session of Parliament, or by some such other Course (whereof your People may take Knowledge) as to your Princely Wisdom shall seem most convenient.

PROCLAMATIONS, importing some Alterations of some Points of the Law, and making new.

THE 11th of *January*, 1 *Jac.* f. 57. forbiddeth chusing of Knights and Burgeses, Bankrupts, or Outlawed, and commandeth Choice of such as are not only taxed to Subsidies, but also have ordinarily paid, and satisfied the same: *F.* 59. If Returns be made contrary to the Proclamation, they are to be rejected, as unlawful, and insufficient: *f.* 60.

25 *August*, 5 *Jac.* f. 151. That the Proclamation shall be a Warrant to any Officer, or Subject, to seize Starch, and to dispose, or destroy any Stuff, &c. And restraineth all Men, not licensed, to make Starch: *f.* 154.

2. A Proclamation made shortly after Parliament, for Matter directly rejected the precedent Session.

1 *March*, 2 *Jac.* f. 102. A Proclamation for building with Brick, after a Bill to that End rejected.

3. Proclamations touching the Free-hold, and Livelihood of Men.

16 *September*, 1 *Jac.* f. 41. Raising and pulling down Houses authorised, and Prohibition to build them again at any Time: *f.* 42. 12 *Oct.* 5 *Jac.* f. 160. Forbidding Building, and taking away the Materials; and appointing the Owner's Land to be Let by other Men, at what Price they please: *f.* 161.

4. Proclamations referring Punishment to be done by Justices of Peace, Mayors, Bailiffs, Constables, and other Officers; or Seizure by Persons who have no Authority to require, hear, and determine of those Offences. So it is to be inflicted before lawful Trial and Conviction.

8 *Jan.* 2 *Jac.* f. 72. A Proclamation for folding Wools. 23 *Aug.* 5 *Jac.* f. 151. Seizure of Starch, &c. *f.* 154.

4. Proclamations penned with Penalties, in Form of Penal Statutes.

4 *Nov.* 1 *Jac.* f. Pain of Confiscation of Goods: *f.* 56. 18 *Jan.* 2 *Jac.* f. 72. Ten Days Imprisonment, and standing in the Pillory: *f.* 72. Justices of the Peace to forfeit 20 Pounds, if they see not the Proclamation of folding Wools executed: *f.* 75.

23 *Aug.*

23 Aug. 5 Jac. f. 151. Forfeiture of one Moiety of Starch, &c, seised, &c : f. 154.

6. Punishment of Offenders in Courts of Arbitrary Discretion, as *Star-chamber*.

1 Mar. 2 Jac. f. 102. Proclamation for Building, f. 103. 12 Oct. 5 Jac. f. 159. Proclamation for Building, f. 160. 5 July, 6 Jac. f. 177. Proclamation for Starch, f. 180. 25 July, 6 Jac. f. 180. Proclamation for Building : f. 181.

7. Proclamation former become Precedents, and vouched in later Proclamations.

18 June 2. Jac. f. 75. Avoucheth 5 Edw. 6. and 4 Eliz. f. 73. 25 July, 6 Jac. f. 180. Mentioneth former Proclamations against Buildings, and explaineth, and qualifyeth them : f. 181.

Stay of Writs of Prohibition, &c.

YOUR Majesty's Commons, in this Session of Parliament assembled, do chearfully acknowledge the Spring and Fountain of the Public Justice of this State to be originally in your Majesty, from whom the Benefit thereof is conveyed, and derived into every Member of this Politic Body, by your Highness's Writs ; among which, none are more Honourable, for the Support of the common Justice of the Realm, than the Writs of *Prohibition*, *Habeas Corpus*, & *de Homine Replagando* : Which Writs have been ever held to be a chief Means of Relief unto the poor distressed and oppressed Subjects of this Kingdom, and can be no Inconvenience at all, seeing they are no Way conclusive against any Man, and do draw no Benefit to the Procurers, but rather a fruitless Charge, if they be obtained upon any unjust Ground, or Pretence. In the free granting of, and proceeding upon some of which Writs, especially that of *Prohibition*, there hath been, of late, observed to be some Obstruction, by reason that, upon the Complaints and Importunity of some who desire the Support of inferior Courts, against the principal Courts of the Common Law (wherewith your Majesty hath been greatly troubled) you have taken into your Royal Consideration the several Extents of the Jurisdiction of the said several Courts. Since which Time, the Writs have been more sparingly granted, and with stricter Cautions than anciently hath been accustomed. It is therefore most humbly desired, that it may please your Majesty (whose Glory is never more conspicuous than when the Commonalty are blessed with the Influence of the ancient Beams of Justice) to require your Judges, in the Courts of *Westminster*, to grant the said Writs, in Cases wherein such Writs do lie, and by Law are grantable : And in such Sort, as that such Persons, whose Bodies being either committed to Prison, or their Causes like to receive great Prejudice, by Proceedings against them in Times of Vacation, may not be debarred, nor deferred from having the speedy Relief and Benefit of those Writs, more than in former Times.

S H I R E S.

FOR as much as the Exercise of Authority over the Counties of *Gloucester*, *Hertford*, *Wigorn*, and *Salop*, by the President and Council of *Wales*, by Way of Instructions, upon Pretext of a Statute made in the 34th Year of the Reign of King Henry

Henry the 8th, is conceived not to be warranted by that, or any other Law of this Realm of *England*. And for that, in the second Session of this present Parliament, there did a Bill pass the House of Commons, whereby it was declared; That the true Intent and Meaning of that before-mentioned Statute was not thereby to subject these Countries to that Kind of Government, by Instructions. And yet, notwithstanding, the Inhabitants of those Counties are since utterly discouraged, and, in Effect, debarred from the Trial of the Right of that Kind of Jurisdiction over those Countries, by the ordinary Course of the Common Laws of this Land; by reason of *Prohibitions*, which were, heretofore, frequently granted (upon Suggestion, that those Countries are not Part of *Wales*, or of the *Marches* of the same, which is the very Point in Question) are now become very hard to be obtained, except in Cases where those of that Council do exceed the Instructions set down to them by your Majesty. As also for that, in Cases where Actions have been brought at the Common-Law, whereby that Question might have come to Decision, the Plaintiffs have been stopped, sometimes by Injunctions out of your Majesty's Court of *Chancery*, from their Proceedings, sometime before, sometime after Judgments, and sometime, also, by Imprisonment. The Precedent of which Proceedings doth concern all your Majesty's loyal and dutiful Subjects of this Kingdom, as well in respect of stopping the free Course of Justice, as also, by reason that if that Kind of Jurisdiction were at first extended over those four Counties, and be now still continued, without Warrant of Law, then the Consequence of this Example may, in future Times, give Countenance to the erecting of like Jurisdictions in other Places of this Realm. And for as much as your Majesty was pleased to command all the Judges to consider of this Question, and that they thereupon bestowed very many Days in hearing the Cause argued, by learned Counsel, on both Sides; and, in viewing and considering of great Numbers of Records produced before them, concerning this Cause; whereby they have (no Doubt) thoroughly informed themselves of the Right.

It is, therefore, the most humble Petition of the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, that your most Excellent Majesty will be pleased to command, that the Judges may deliver their Opinion upon that so exact, and deliberate Hearing, which was had before them, concerning the Right of the foresaid Jurisdiction over those four Counties, by Force of that Statute: And that the Opinion which they shall deliver therein, may be in such Sort published, as that all your Majesty's Subjects, whom it may concern, may have Means to take Knowledge thereof: And that your Majesty will vouchsafe to declare it, by your most Princely Pleasure, that any of your Majesty's Subjects, who may have Occasion thereof, may try his or their Right, in that Point, by due and ordinary Course of the Common Law, either by suing out of Prohibitions, or any other your Majesty's Writs, without Restraint. And that if the said Jurisdiction over those four Counties shall appear to your Majesty, by the Opinion of the Judges, or otherwise, not to be warranted by Law, that then your Majesty be pleased, out of your most Princely and Gracious Favour towards all your loyal and dutiful Subjects, to order the ceasing of the said Jurisdiction over those Counties, to the great Comfort of the Inhabitants of those Counties, and the rest of your Majesty's Subjects of all the Kingdom.

NEW DRAPER Y.

Complaint was made, in all humble Manner, the second Session of this present Parliament, of many Disorders, Outrages, and Oppressions committed, upon Occasion of Letters Patents granted to the Duke of *Lenox*, for the Searching and Seising of

of Stuffs, and Manufactures called by the Name of *New Drapery*: Which Patent we held in all, or the most Parts of it, to be questionable, and, in many, apparently unlawful; and the Execution thereof we found stretched, by the Farmers and Deputies, beyond the Extent of the said Letters Patents, as appears in the Particulars set down in the said Grievance. To which it pleased your Majesty to give this gracious Answer; That the Validity of the said Patent should be left to be judged by the Law: And whensoever any Abuse, arising in the Execution thereof, should appear, it should be severely punished. Which was, for that Time, to our good Satisfaction: Yet finding, by divers Complaints, made now in Parliament, that not only the said Letters Patents are still in Force, and the Validity of them undecided by Judgment; but Disorders in the Execution of them are so far off from being reformed, that they multiply every Day, to the Grievance of your Majesties Subject. And those of the poorer Sort, who, exercising these Manufactures, are subject to much Oppression, to the great Hinderance of some, and utter undoing of many; as hath appeared in the Particularities of the Complaints presented unto us. Our humble Desire is, that your Majesty will be pleased, according to your former Resolution, to give Order, that this Cause, which hath been thus long in Suspense, be speedily brought to Judgment; and that before all the Judges, because it concerns all the Subjects of the Land. And, in the mean Time, that the Execution of the said Letters Patents, so far forth as they concern the *New Draperies*, may be suspended till Judgment be given; whereby your Subjects, who do, in all Humility, present this Grievance unto your Majesty, may be relieved, and have no Occasion to reiterate their Complaints.

L I C E N S E of W I N E S.

Whereas, by ancient and late Statutes, it hath been enacted, that Wines should be Retailled at such low Rates and Prices as, for these fifty Years last past, they could not be afforded. And, for Redress thereof, it was ordained, by a Statute in the fifth Year of the late Queen *Elizabeth*, that (those former Laws notwithstanding) Wines might be sold at such Prices, as by Proclamation, from Time to Time to be made, by Consent of divers great Officers, should be published and set down: Which Proclamation, nevertheless, the late Queen, and your most Excellent Majesty, have been drawn to forbear, upon the earnest Suit of certain Persons, who therein only intended their private Gain: By reason whereof, both great Sums of Money, in Fines, Rents, and Annual Payments, have been gotten and raised unto the said Persons, and their Assigns; and great Damage and Prejudice hath likewise fallen and lighted upon your People, not only by inhancing the Prices of Wines, Licensing over many Taverns, and appointing unmeet Persons, in unfit Places, to keep the same: But, also, by reason that corrupt, mingled, evil, and unwholsome Wines have been uttered and sold, to the great Hurt of the Health of your Highness's People: One Man, sometimes, ingrossing all the Licences designed for that Place. Whereupon Complaint being made to your Majesty, among other Grievances of your People, in the second Session of this present Parliament, your Highness was pleased to answer; That your Grants, in that Behalf, were no other than such as were warrantable by the Law. Whereas the Grievance was the greater; for that all Laws, concerning the Sale of Wines, being intended, and conceived to be repealed, there were, nevertheless, by the Oversight of those who were trusted in that Business, casually omitted, and left unrepealed, certain obsolete Laws, impossible to be observed: As, namely, one

one made in the Time of King *Edward* the 1st, commanding Wines to be sold at Twelve-pence the *Sextern*; and one other, made in the 28th of King *Henry* the 8th, prohibiting all Persons, under Penalty, to sell any *French* Wines above Eight-pence the *Gallon*; and other Wines, as Sacks, and Sweet-Wines, above Twelve-pence the *Gallon*: And one Branch of a Statute, made in the seventh Year of King *Edward* the 6th, prohibiting Men to sell any Wines, by Retail, in their Houses. Whereupon your Majesty hath been induced and drawn to ground new Patents of Dispensation, and to grant the Benefit thereof unto the Lord Admiral: Whereby the like Discommodities and Inconveniences have, since, ensued unto the Common-Wealth, as formerly did arise and grow upon the other repealed Laws, whereof, in the former Petitions of your Subjects, exhibited unto your Majesty in the said second Session, your Highness never had any direct and clear Information. May it therefore please your most Excellent Majesty, at the humble Request of your Commons (who have taken into Consideration the great Charges and Expences, which the said Lord Admiral hath been at, in your Majesty's Service, and have considered, likewise, the present Licenses and Grants, for valuable Considerations, unto many Hundreds of your Highness's Subjects; which, without great Loss to the said Grantees, cannot be so suddenly made void) out of your Princely Wisdom and Goodness, wherein you have professed not to extend, and strain your Prerogative Royal against the public Good of your People, for the particular Gain of any private Persons, to vouchsafe, that, from hence-forwards, there may no more Grants, of that Nature, be made unto any of your Subjects whomsoever: But that the said Statute, of 5. *Elizabeth*, for the Apprising of Wines, to be published by Proclamation, as Time and Occasion shall require, may be put in Execution. And that your Majesty will, likewise, vouchsafe to grant your Royal Assent to a Bill of Repeal of the said obsolete Statutes, and all other whereupon any such *Non obstantes*, and Dispensations might be grounded. In which Statute of Repeal, *Proviso* shall be made for the Indemnity of all such as, under your Majesty's Great Seal, have already procured License for such Sale of Wines.

A L E-H O U S E S.

WHereas, by the Laws of this your Majesty's Realm of *England*, no Taxes, Aids, or Impositions of any Kind whatsoever, ought, or can be laid, and imposed upon your People, or upon any of their Goods, or Commodities, but only by Authority and Consent of Parliament: Which being, undoubtedly, the Ancient and Fundamental Law of the Land, is yet, for more abundant Clearness, expressly declared in sundry Acts of Parliament, made and enacted in the Time of sundry your Majesty's Progenitors, the noblest, and most prudent Kings of this Realm. Your Commons, with just Grief, do complain unto your Majesty, of the late Tax, and Imposition laid, and imposed Yearly upon such as are allowed to keep Victualling-Houses, or sell Ale and Beer by Retail. Which Imposition not being taxed by Assent in Parliament, but commanded and directed only by Letters and Instructions, your Commons are persuaded, that the same proceeded rather upon Misinformation, than by the Direction and Judgment of your own most Noble and Royal Heart. Wherefore, your said Commons, knowing the Grief of your People in this Behalf, do (according to their Duties) in all Humility, inform and signify unto your Majesty:

First, That the said Taxation, being singular, and without Example, is, in itself, a Precedent of dangerous Consequence, and (as your People fear) may easily (in Time)

be

extended farther; as to Badgers of Corn, Makers of Malt, Drovers of Cattle, and such like, who, in such Sort, are to be Licensed by Justices of Peace, as those Persons are, upon whom, at this Time, this present Charge and Tax is laid.

Secondly, Such Houses being often-times (at the best) the Harbours of Idleness, Drunkenness, Whoredom, and all Manner of Felonies, the Licenses are now (the honestest Sort, in most Places, refusing to undergo the new Charge) rented, and taken by the looser, and baser Sort of People, who have no Conscience how they gain: By reason whereof, all Manner of Vice, and evil Behaviour is likely every Day to increase: Neither can Justices of Peace conveniently prevent the same; for that the Persons Licensed under the late Contribution, affirm, with Clamour, that they have a Toleration for a Year, and that such Persons are not Friends unto the Crown, who seek to suppress them, and thereby to diminish your Highness's Revenues.

Thirdly, Many Justices of Peace (being sworn to execute their Office) which, for this Particular, they conceive to be, that Alehouse-keepers, formerly Licensed, are not to be suppressed without just and reasonable Cause, cannot be satisfied touching their said Oath, but are much distracted, and perplexed what to do (the late Instructions notwithstanding) against such Persons, as, otherwise, being not known to be of evil Behaviour, only refuse to pay this late taxed and imposed Sum of Money. In Consideration whereof, your humble Commons most instantly beseech your Most Excellent Majesty, that the former Letters and Instructions may be countermanded, or stayed, and all farther Directions and Proceedings in that Kind forborn.

SEA - COAL.

AMong many Resemblances, which are observed to be between Natural and Politic Bodies, there is none more apt, and natural than this: That the Diseases of both do not, at one Instant, commonly siege upon all Parts; but, beginning in some one Part, do, by Tract of Time, and by Degrees, get Possession of the Whole, unless, by applying of wholesome and proper Remedies, in due Time, they be prevented. Which, as it is, in many Things, very visible, so it is in nothing more apparent, than in this Matter of Impositions; which beginning at the first, either Foreign Commodities brought in, or such of our own as were transported, is now extended to those Commodities, which, growing in this Kingdom, are not transported, but uttered to the Subjects of the same. For Proof whereof, we do, with all Humility, present unto your Majesty's View, the late Imposition of Twelve-pence the *Cbald* of *Sea-Coal*, rising in *Blith* and *Sunderland*, not by Virtue of any Contract, or Grant (as in the Coals of *Newcastle*) but under a mere Pretext of your Majesty's most Royal Prerogative: Which Imposition is not only grievous for the present (especially to those of the poorer Sort, the Price of whose only and most necessary Fewel is thereby, to their very great Grief, enhanced) but dangerous also for the future; considering, that the Reason of this Precedent may be extended to all the Commodities of this Kingdom. May it, therefore, please your Most Excellent Majesty, who is the Great, and Sovereign Physician of this State, to apply such a Remedy as this Disease may be presently cured, and all Diseases, for Time to come, of like Nature, prevented.

[It may not be quite amiss to adjoin the ensuing Letter, written, with the King's own Hand, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, and which was exceedingly disrelished. The M. S. Copy, from which I take it, tho' not Dated, must needs have been written some Years later than the foregoing Petitions, &c.]

J A M E S R.

Mr. SPEAKER,

WE have heard, by diverse Reports, to our great Grief; That the far Distance of Our Person, at this Time, from Our High Court of Parliament, caused by Our Want of Health, hath emboldened some Fiery and Popular Spirits, in Our House of Commons, to debate and argue, publickly, in Matters far beyond your Reach and Capacity; and so tending to Our High Dishonour, and trenching upon Our Prerogative Royal. You shall, therefore, acquaint the House with Our Pleasure; That none therein, shall, from henceforth, presume to meddle with any Thing concerning Our Government, or Mysteries of State: Namely; not to speak of Our dearest Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain; nor to touch the Honour of that King, nor of any Our Friends, or Confederates; and also, not to meddle with any Man's Particulars, which have their due Motions in Our ordinary Courts of Justice. And whereas we hear, they have sent a Messenger to Sir Edwyn Sands, to know the Reason of his late Restraint; you shall, in Our Name, resolve them; That it was not for any Misdemeanour of his in Parliament: But, to put them out of Doubt of any Question of that Nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them, in Our Name; That *We think Our-selves very free, and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanours in Parliament, as well during their Sitting, as afterwards*; which We mean not to spare hereafter, upon any Man's insolent Behaviour there, which shall be ministered unto Us. And if they have already touched any of these Points, which We have forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto Us; it is Our Pleasure, that you shall tell them; That, *except they reform it before it comes to Our Hands, We will not deign the Hearing, or Answering of it.*



A
SHORT TREATISE
 O F

Arch-Bishops and Bishops,

L O R D S S P I R I T U A L : *Viz.*

Whether they be in less Fulness L O R D S, than the *Temporal*; and
 whether to be Tryed by PEERS, as the L O R D S T E M P O R A L.

With brief Notes, *Pro & Contra*, taken forth of the Statutes, Year-Books, Reports,
 and approved Authorities.

Printed in the Year 1641.

O U R Common-Wealth and Kingdom, may first be divided into Prince and People, as Head and Body.

Then they into Nobility and Commonalty.

The Nobility into Lords Spiritual and Temporal, like the two Arms next the Head, and Principal, if not most immediate, in Operation to it, and Derivation of Power from it.

The Lords Spiritual, into Arch-Bishops and Bishops, for now Abbots and Priors, some whereof had Place, some whereof had Part in this Division, be with us withered, and, I hope, dead at the Root.

Lords Temporal into Dukes, Marquisses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons.

Of the Commonalty, the Division, first may be into Spirituality and Temporalty; or Clerks and Laymen.

The Clergy into Deans, Arch-Deacons, Parsons, Prebends, Deacons, &c.

The Laymen into Persons of Degree, and Persons under Degree.

Those of Degree among the Commons, as I think, may be now seated into five Ranks: *First*, Yomen. *Secondly*, Gentlemen. *Thirdly*, Esquires. *Fourthly*, Knights. *Fifthly*, Baronets; if, perhaps, there be not a Difference between the Privilege of Precedency to this last appertaining. An Under-Degree be all Sorts of Labourers and Tradesmen: But neither of these Degrees of the Commonalty, nor of the Temporal Lords, my Purpose is, in this Book to discourse; but of the Lords Spiritual; and no further of them, neither, but whether they be in less Fulness Lords than the Temporal, and whether to be Tryed by Peers, as the Lords Temporal.

These Sorts of Persons, namely Arch-Bishops, and Bishops, are, by some, acknowledged to be Peers of *England*, and yet conceived not to stand intituled unto all the Privileges of Peers; of whom that learned Man, since a Judge, in his Book of the *Pleas of the Crown*, saith thus, *viz.* That the Trial of Peers hath not been extended unto Bishops, or Abbots, although they do enjoy the Names of Lords of Parliament: For they have not this

*Stat. Lib. III.
fol. 153.*

Name of a Bishop, or Abbot, saith he, by reason of Office ; neither have they, saith he, Place of Parliament in respect of their Nobility, but in respect of their Possessions ; viz. the ancient Baronies annexed to their Dignities ; and according thereunto,

there be divers Precedents, whereof one was in the Time of King Henry the Eighth. Thus far he. And this Precedent, in the Time of King Henry the Eighth, he took, as I conceive, out of the novel Cases of Sir Robert Brooke, Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, and Judge in the said King's Time, who there twice mentioneth the Precedent of the Bishop of Rochester, in the Time of the said King : viz. That he, in Case of Treason, nor had, nor could have Trial, as a Nobleman, by Peers. I have no other Ground of my Conjecture, than that hence the said Allegation or Precedent derived it self, than only because the said Master Brooke was much ancients than Master Stanford, who continued in *Grays-Inn* till the sixth of November 1548, as appears by his Preface to the *Treatise of Prerogative*. Now this was a good Time, within the Reign of King Edward the Sixth ; and how long after he continued there, I know not ; the other being Judge in the former King's Time. Now the said Lord Brooke, at the latter Time, or the Time of the latter Case, being Chief-Justice of the Common-Pleas, although he acknowledged the said Negative Precedent, yet expressly saith, That a Bishop shall be tryed by his Peers, and that so it hath been done ; and the former Case is set down, as that being well marked, it is of small, or no Value to the contrary ; for there, he saith thus, Note, between the King, and the Bishop of Rochester, for Treason, that the Bishop could not have Knights of his Jury, whereas such ought to be returned, when a Peer of the Realm is Party : But, *Quere*, saith he, if it were challenged. So that here, the Note is upon the Negation of Knights to be of the Jury for a Bishop ; whereas, the Privilege of Peers, in such Cases, is to have such Laws wholly, and no Knights. This, therefore, is a Case erroneously set down, perhaps by the Fault of the Transcriber.

Let us therefore first examine the Reason of Mr. Justice Stanford, for the negative Opinion, which, as we see here, is thus laid down, viz. because a Bishop having Place in Parliament, as a Peer, is, in respect of his Possessions, as a predial Nobility, and not inherent in his Person. If this were a good Reason, then surely it must produce this Consequent ; That they should have the Privilege of Barons only, in such Cases as concern their Possessions, being there Barons, viz. in Actions touching the Land of their Bishopricks, and not in Actions, or Suits, touching them otherwise, as in their Persons, &c. And so on the other Side, that Temporal Barons should only have the Privilege in such Actions as concern their Persons ; but that we have seen is otherwise, viz. both that Temporal Barons, in Trials touching their Lands, have the Privilege to have Knights of the Jury ; and that Lords Spiritual have, as well as the Temporal, enjoyed the Privilege of Nobility appertaining to their Person, of not being arrested, nor outlawed, nor being distrained, *per equit'* of hunting in the King's Forest, going and returning to and fro, from the King, and such like, which do not at all concern their Possessions, in respect

29. E. 3. fol. 42.
Vide Sta. de
pron. 38. Ed. 3.
ca. 1. saving the
Estates of Pre-
lates and other
Lords touching
the Liberty of
their Bodies.

whereof they stand in need of Peers, as Mr. Stanford saith ; nay, in the Case of the *Elegit*, prayed against the Lands or Possessions of the Bishoprick of Ely, we find, that they could have no Exemption, no more than the Possessions of Temporal Lords ; therefore, they stand both in like State and Condition, not the one to have personal Privilege, and the other real or predial. As for that, it is said, that the Spiritual Lords be only intituled to their Dignities, by reason of their Lands, which are their Baronies, it is not, as I conceive, material which Way they come to be so intituled, so as any lawful Way they be such, and so be approved by the Law : Neither can I discern how their Case stands different herein, materially, from the Earldom

of *Arundel*, which is, by reason of the Castle, Lordship, and Honours of *Arundel*, as is well shewed, by learned Master *Selden*, out of the Parliament Rolls : Yea, there be, or have been, divers others Baronies also predial, and not merely personal, as appears by *Tenures de Baroniam*, and Barons, *per Baroniam*, whereof, in many places we read, as when we come to the particular of Barony, will perhaps more fully be shewed. And that the Lords Spiritual and Temporal stand in one Plight and Sate, as to Barony and Fruition of Privilege thereunto appertaining, I am hereby, the more strongly induced to conceive, that not only in Cases where Bishops challenge, and are allowed the Privileges of Barony, which is upon the general Ground and Title common to them with Barons Temporal, without any thing peculiar to themselves, or favouring of Distinction between them and the Temporal ; but where also Denial and Disallowance is of Challenge of Privilege, by a Lord Spiritual, it is, upon Reason common to the Temporal Barons, without any Distinction or Intimation of *magis & minus*, of any more limited or qualified, or other natural Barony, in one Case than in the other ; as beside, the said Case of *Elegit*, to instance in one more Resolution negative, now in Memory : In the Case of *Cessavit*, before-mentioned, against the Abbot of St. *Albans*, he prayed, that he might make an Attorney, for this Reason in general, because he was a Lord of Parliament, without mentioning any Distinction. The Court said, that the Statute was general, and therefore it could not be, though he were a Lord of Parliament. Farther, the Court there said, that in a *Cessavit* against a Lord of Parliament, if he will tender Arrearages before Judgment, he must come in Person and not by Attorney : Thus no Sound of Distinction ; but what is to be done in Case of Lords of Parliament in general, is the Point. Neither any Touch of a less Measure of Privilege appertaineth to a Lord Spiritual, than to a Temporal : Nor that, because this Action was real, to recover Part of the Land of the Abbey, for the Abbot could have no other Cause greatly of the Barony, and that therefore more Privilege in it should be allowed to him, than to a Temporal Baron. Also in the other Case of *Elegit* against a Bishop, it ought to have been stood upon, if any such Difference had been apprehended. Now, for the particular Precedents, wherein Master *Brooke* and Master *Stanford*, otherwise disagreeing, do agree, *viz.* The Bishop of *Rocheſter's* Case ; First, to admit, as they say, that he had his Tryal by Jurors, but not by Noblemen, as his Peers ; it well might be that *Fisher*, who was Bishop of *Rocheſter*, was for his Life tryed by common Jury of Freeholders, and yet not *Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheſter* : *In Verbis differentia parum, Jure multum*, between these two is great Difference in Matter, though but little in Words ; For if *Fisher* was first deprived of his Bishoprick, as I believe he was, if at all he was tryed by Jury, and afterwards being but *nuper Episcopus*, late Bishop, he was arraigned of Treason ; this makes nothing to the Point, since he was no Bishop, when he was arraigned and tryed, but *nuper Episcopus*, a late Bishop : For howsoever *Markham* saith, that a Bishop deprived of his Bishoprick, is still a Bishop, yet cannot it possibly so be ; For *Paston*, well averred against him, no more than a Knight degraded, is still a Knight : For, doubtless, Bishop and Bishoprick be relative, and he who is deprived of his Bishoprick, is therefore un-bishoped, and consequently no longer a Bishop, unless we add to the Case, that an Appeal be brought upon the Deprivation, during the Dependency, whereof the Sentence of Deprivation is suspended, as our Books tell us ; yet let me here be thus understood, *viz.* That this un-bishoping intends only the Loss of his Barony, and Place in Parliament, by which only he stood intituled unto the Privileges now treated of. As for his Ability to give Orders, and do the Things

Tit. of Honours
236, 237.

8. *El. Dyer*
248. b. 8. *Tenure ut de Bar. de Stafford.*

16. *lib. 7. fol.*
19.

2. *Aff. 6. fol. 3.*
8. *Aff. p. 31.*

A Master of an Hospital deprived, cannot sue by that Name until he be restored.

appert-

13. *Aff. p. 2.* appertaining to his Spiritual Function, (whereof some, at the least of
Co. Lib. 5. f. the Church of *Rome*, affirm the Character to be indelible) I inter-
 22. meddle not here; nor is it to our Purpose; wherefore, if thus it were
Mason de Ep. in *Fisher's* Case, that first there was a Deprivation, and afterwards
 84. a Tryal by a common Jury, it cometh not to the Point, it
 being then a Tryal, not of a Bishop, but of one who sometime
 had been a Bishop: And that it so was, if any such Tryal of him were, I do the
 rather believe in respect of that which I find in *Bracton*, viz. In
Lib. 1. ca. 10. one Place, by Dignity Episcopal, a Man was so taken from out of
 the Hands of his Mother-Country, and the Kingdom, whereof he
Lib. 5. ca. 13. was formerly a Man, that *patriæ potestas* was utterly lost in him; yea
 after, more generally touching all of the Clergy, he sheweth, that
ut valeat quod actum est against Spiritual Men, in Criminal Causes, it was a Thing of
 mere Necessity, that they first should be degraded by the Spiritual
Degradetur, nec Judge, before they were proceeded against by the Judge Tempo-
sequatur alia ral: But more specially, as I presume, was this stood upon, for Bi-
pœna pro uno shops, the Superiors, then for ordinary Clergymen, in respect of the
delicto, vel plu- Honour of the Church; as, very lately, *Fludde*, being, by Judgment
ribus, ante de- in the Parliament, to receive disgraceful Punishment, was, by Judg-
gradationem; as ment of the Benchers of the Inn, in Way of Prevention, first ex-
Stanford cites pelled that Society, or disgraced the Bar, or both, *ut dicitur*, that
Bracton. the Blot might fall besides the Coat, or Calling. And, touching *Cran-*
mer, late Reverend Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who also was attainted

of Treason, we find expressly, that he was so proceeded withal, as is above said, viz. by Degradation; yea, and touching the Bishop of *Rocheſter* himself, I find, that he was, by Parliament, before this Attainder of Treason, attainted of Misprision of Treason; therefore, it is not likely he continued Bishop long after, viz. till the other Attainder. All this is spoken, as may be observed, by Way of Admittance, that *Fisher* was tryed by a Jury of twelve Men, or common Jurors.

But now, to speak truly, and as the thing is, I do believe, and that with some Confidence, that he was neither tryed by a Jury of Nobles or Peers. nor of Inferiors, but was, without Trial, attainted and condemned upon Confession: Neither am I only induced to that Persuasion by that which I find reported by the Lord *Dyer*, touching the said Archbishop *Cranmer*, that he was so attainted, viz. upon Confession, without Tryal, which Attainder was also confirmed, as I find, by an Act of Parliament. But that which fully and clearly satisfieth me, touching *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, is, that which is chronicled by diverse touching him, and his Attainder, viz. That it was for denying the King's Supremacy, and maintaining the Pope's: And were there no more but this Discovery of the Cause, it were sufficient Ground to presume, that here was no Denial of the Fact, but a Maintenance and Justification thereof, as a rightful

and Catholic Opinion, therefore nothing to be tried by a Jury; but
Cowper addit. yet the Stories be more full and plain, viz. both by *Hall* and *Cooper*,
to ban. f. 229. b. since Bishop of *Wincheſter*, that *Fisher* did so stoutly stand, in Defence
 of the Pope's Supremacy and Jurisdiction, that he was made Cardinal
 by the *Pope*, even while he was in Prison. Here, then, being no Point of Fact denied, nor, consequently, Issue thereupon joined, here was nothing to be tryed by any Jury, Lords nor others; nothing remained, but that Judges, or Judge whoſoever, finding this Confession, or Profession rather of this Tenent, should determine or resolve the Point in Law, viz. Whether it were Treason, or not? and accordingly give Judgment; which, undoubtedly, they did without any Help of Jury, whereof they had no Use; Jurors being only to try Points in Fact denied: So as here we have, indeed, two Precedents of Bishops condemned of Treason, without any Trial by their
 Peers,

Peers, *viz.* Noblemen ; and yet, neither of them offers any Precedent of a Bishop tried by other Jurors than Nobles and Peers. As for other Precedents, though Master *Stanford* speaks plurally of diverse in the Negative ; yet, as he did not, so, I think, he could not name any, much less many.

How hard a Matter it was, when and where the *Pope* swayed, to hear any such Proceeding against a Bishop, before Temporal Judges, to touch his Life, is well enough known to any acquainted in our own or foreign Stories : For, not to relate any thing touching King *John*, and *Thomas* of *Becket*, what a Storm and Tempest did there arise in the Beginning of King *Henry* the Eighth's 4 *H. 8. ca. 2.* Time, about the Act made, that Murderers, and Robbers of Churches, and upon High-ways, and Burglars, or House-robbers, should be proceeded against before Temporal Judges, and not be exempt from the Challenge of the Benefit of Clergy ; and yet in the Act was an Exemption of all within Holy Orders, so as in Truth, it scarce touched upon any rightly of the Clergy, yet the Abbot of *Winchcomb*, in his Sermon at the *Cross*, as is well related by Master *Kelleway*, inveighed bitterly, therefore, against the whole Parliament, saying ; That all of them, both Lords Spiritual and Temporal, incurred the Censure of the Church : Whereupon the King had Meetings of the Spirituality and Laity, and the Matter between them debated before him ; and it was urged by the Clergy to be *Peccatum in se*, yea, *mortale Peccatum*, for Clerks to be convented before Temporal Judges : For all Clerks (as then was said) are Fathers of all Men, consequently of the Judges ; so as this were for the Son to condemn the Father. Therefore the King was pressed by them with his Oath taken at his Coronation, for the Maintenance of the Liberties of the Church ; and so was he, on the other Side, at the Instance of the Judges, by Means of them of the Lower House of Parliament, saith the Book for Maintenance of his Temporal Jurisdiction. I have not read of the like Garboil and Combustion, for I relate but a small Part, without any Offer *ad Arma*, a drawing of Swords, and cutting of Throats. What Stir would have been, think you, if Bishops had been brought to the Bar ? No Likelihood, therefore, that in, or before these Times, any such Thing was often, if at all done. Was not here a goodly Paternity, when all who would read the Psalm of *Miserere*, must be Father of Kings, Lords, Judges, and all Lay-People ? I cannot but think of that of the Proverb, *They are blind, and make you blind.*

But, besides Ecclesiastical Impatience to have Bishops arraigned, the Rarity thereof may be presumed by an Act of Parliament, made in the Time of King *Edward* the Third, *viz.* That no Arch-Bishop, or Bishop, should be impeached for Crime before the Judges, without special Command from the King. 18 *E. 3. cap. 1. pro Clero.*

And let this suffice for Satisfaction, that there have not been diverse Precedents of Tryal of Bishops by common Jurors, and that, in Likelihood, if any such were, it was with Degradation, or Deposition precedent.

Now, for the Affirmative, *viz.* That they should be tryed by Lords of Parliament, as their Peers, the Reason is briefly and plainly thus ; That Bishops are Lords of Parliament, and Peers of the Land, and therefore are to have Tryal by thelike, as their Peers.

That they be Peers, is not only avouched by *Brooke*, in both the said Cases, but expressly, also (as in other Cases before remembred, so) in Case of the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was Arraigned (as the Book saith) meaning, I take it, Prosecuted by Indictment, for that he, being a Peer of 29 *E. 3. fol. 42.*

the

3. *E. 3. fol. 19.*
 4. *H. 5. cap. 6.*
Of the Bishop
of Ireland.
 25 *E. 3. ca. 6.*
of England.
Fulthorp p. 4. 8
E. 3. fol. 23.

Bishop is a
Name of Dig-
nity, 13.
El. ca. 1. fo. 5.
El. ca. 1. and
many others.

the Realm, and coming to the Parliament by the King's Summons departed from the same without the King's License. Yea, also, in some Acts of Parliament, they are not only so named in Passage as it were, but it is there expressly said, that they be Peers of the Land; therefore, it must follow, that they must have the Tryal of Peers. And, what can be said to the Statute which, making Clipping of Coin to be Treason, hath this Proviso, *viz.* That if any Lord of Parliament be Arraigned, they, and every of them shall be tryed by their Peers? *Qui omnes dicis, neminem excipit.*

But yet there remaineth one main Objection, a *Goliath*, to be encountered withal; and that is this: The Bishops, or Lords Spiritual, are not to be Peers, or Tryers in Case of Arraignment of Lords Temporal, therefore, neither shall they, have Lords Temporal, as their Peers, upon their Arraignments. This Argument, as to some, I confess, it seemeth invincible, so *primâ facie*, did it stagger and almost gravel me, as a Thing hard to be answered; but, after good Inspection, and Examination, when I grappled with it, and did handle it, it melted away in my Hands, as me-thought, and became rather invisible than invincible: For, if this were a good Argument, none of them shall be Tryers of Temporal Lords; therefore, Temporal Lords shall not be Tryers of them. Then would it follow, by the same Reason, That Noble-women should have no Lords to be their Tryers, because they of Lords cannot be Tryers. For, if it be well observed, the Reasons exempting these two Kinds of Persons, Bishops and Women, from being not upon Juries, or Tryals, have much Affinity, though not of themselves, yet in relation of the Thing to be done; as the Nature of the Sex of the one giveth Exemptions of such Services, so doth the Nature or Quality of the Function of the other: Nay, perhaps, Lords Spiritual are not so far estranged from the Tryal of Temporal Lords, as Noble-women are; for Master Justice *Littleton* telleth us, in King *Edward* the Fourth's Time; That where any Lord is to be arraigned, or tryed in Parliament, all the Lords are to be his Peers, and for his Tryal: But (saith he) the Bishops, because they may not consent to the Death of a Man, shall make Proxies, or Procurators: Which, if it be so, then do they, by others, though not by themselves, give Voices, as interested in these Tryals, which is more than Noble-women can do: Yea, by the Rule of Law, *Qui per alium facit, per seipsum facerit videtur*; and therefore, are they, in some Manner, Actors in this Tryal, and Givers of Voice and Verdict by their Delegates; and therefore less subject to the Stroke of this Objection, than Noble-women, against whom yet none will be so weak to alledge it.

But, again; To admit that there were no such Matter as Master *Littleton* affirmeth, which I only relate from him, but do not affirm after him; besides, that yet Bishops (as before is shewed) stand in the same Estate as Noble-women, there is yet another Resolution, or Answer for the Dissolution of the said Objection, which is thus: All Freemen (as before was shewed when we treated of Tryals upon Appeals) are to be tryed by their Peers, *Per legale Judicium parium suorum*, as *Magna Charta* sheweth. Now, then, if common Jurors shall be Tryers in Case of Life, they stand, in that Case, as their Peers; which, how dissonant it is to Reason, and the Rule of Law, may easily, by many precedent Passages, be discerned. Nay, the said Objection is as strong, if it be well marked, against this Kind of Trial by a Jury of Commons or Free-holders, as by Nobles: For, no more than Bishops can be Tryers of Temporal Lords, no more can they be of other Freemen under the Degree of Lords: And, therefore, if that Reason disable them to have, or exempt them from having others under that Degree to be their Tryers. And, consequently, if that Argument be

it does no less disable them to have, or exempt them from having others, under that Degree, to be their Tryers. And, consequently, if that Argument be sound, *they must have no Tryers at all: Besides that, it is apparent, that there is much more Parity, or Peerships between the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in respect of their States, both being Lords of Parliament, than between the Commons, and any one of them.

Thus this great *Goliath*, being handled, appeareth to have no Bones in his Arms; yea, to be to me, as it seems, rather a Ghost and Specter, than a Body.

And thus all things being duly weighed, I do conceive, that there is neither Precedent nor good Reason, deduced out of any Ground of Law, to divest Bishops from partaking as well this Privilege of Lords of Parliament, as the other: Yea, I think, that, besides manifold Reasons shooting out of Roots and Grounds of Law, even Precedents themselves stand on their Side; I mean, those many Precedents of their enjoying, in all other Things, the same Prerogatives which Temporal Lords do: Nay, one of the Precedents, which, in this Discourse, is formerly mentioned, is almost in the very Point; for it is in the Case of Tryal, though not of Bishops, whereof, I think, no Precedent at all can yet be found, one Way or other, touching a Bishop: For, whereas I distinguished the Privilege of Lords, in Tryals, into three Branches, or Kinds, *viz.* Tryals of them, by them, and touching them: The *First* being the Point questioned, in the *Second* it stands admitted, that their Execution is a Degree beyond that of the Lords Temporal, since these are privileged to be Jurors, or Tryers, except where a Lord is to be tried: But the said Lords Spiritual have this Exemption univversally without any Exception. Now for the *Third*, the Precedent which I intend, proving Bishops to stand in the same State and Plight with Lords Temporal, in Privilege upon Tryal; it is the Case of the Bishop of *Exeter*, before-mentioned, to which all the Lords Temporal were so much beholden: Where Tryal being to be had in a *Quare* *impedit*, between the Bishop of *Exeter*, and others; and the Array being challenged; for that, where in all Cases of Tryals, where a Peer of the Land is Party, there ought to be one Knight, at the least, returned, it was not so done in that Case, though he a Peer of the Land: And this Challenge was to him without Difficulty, or Distinction between Peers Spiritual and Temporal, allowed.

Vide ante 23.
E. 3. Fitz. en-
quest 43. &
challenge 115,
Br. enquest 99.
f. 8 El. D. 246.

Thus have we, in the Point of Tryal, though not in that Particular of it under present Controversy, a Precedent for the Affirmative, *viz.* on the Part of the Bishops. Here, I thought, I had been at a full Period; but now ariseth somewhat in my Thoughts, making me to doubt, whether my Pen, perhaps, out-run not my Brain, or that I had not before searched out every Corner, or digged to the Bottom of this Doubt and Question.

For, to deal ingenuously, as one seeking only to find out Truth without Concealment, for Respect of Persons, or for partial Favour, or Indulgence to mine own Conceptions; for this is farther material to be acknowledged, that howsoever no Tryal was of *Fisher*, Bishop of *Rocheſter*, yet if it came with him to a Conception, and Attainder thereupon, it proceeded to an Arraignment: If so, then was the Address, and Proceedings in it, and towards Tryal, either after the Course, usual for Lords of Parliament, *viz.* before a Lord High-Steward for the Time being (as before is shewed) or before ordinary Judges, in common Course, for common Subjects: If the latter (which is more likely) then was not the Proceedings against him as against a Lay-Peer, or Baron, should be. And, surely, were it not for the other Point of Deposition, or Degradation-Precedents, which still must be remembered, I must say, *Hic nos constringimur*; this would pinch somewhat.

Yet, for Knowledge sake, here let us consider, and take Notice; That a Noble man may receive Judgment from other than a Lord-Steward, or else no Appeal of Felony could be against him prosecuted: For that, be it by Bill, or Writ Original,

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X x x

cannot

* [In the last Line of the foregoing Page, make a Comma after Tryers, and erase all the Remainder of the Line.]

cannot be determined before any such Commissionary Judge, as I take the Case; but either before the Justices of the *King's-Bench*, or of *Gaol-Delivery*, as I conceive. And in the Earl of *Devonshire's* Case, whose Arraignment was before the Justices of the *King's-Bench*, no Exception was taken to the Jurisdiction of the Court, or to any Incompetency of the Judges, only he prayed his Tryal by Peers before them, according to the Privilege of the Nobility. Now, then, if admitting Tryal should have been by Lords, which, for special Cause there, was denied, yet the Justices of the *King's-Bench* had been Judges competent, as there it stands admitted; much more where no Tryal at all was to be, the Offence being Dogmatical, *viz.* an Opinion maintained with Obstinacy and Pertinacy; which, whether amounting to Treason, or not, was *Questio Juris*, and not *Facti*. There might, perhaps, be no Incongruity to have the Confession taken by the same Judges before whom the Indictment was taken, and Determination by Judgment, according to the Law, to be by them also.

For this, by the Way, is to be known, that the Indictments themselves are not, at any Time, before the Lord Steward, but either before the ordinary Judges, or Commissioners of *Oyer & Term*. and in the said Case of 1 *Hen.* 4. the Judges brought the Indictment as taken before them, and delivered it to the Lord Steward, as the Book saith.

But, howsoever this be, if there were a Degradation fore-going, as I strongly presume, and whereon I much rely, and thither must still retreat, when hardly charged, all the other Things admitted against me, reach no Blow to my Opinion.

And thus, after my Offers towards a full Point in this Question, am I, at the last, I hope, arrived at one; nor will this conflicting of Reasons, and Allegations be, I hope, altogether barren and unfruitful; but (even as out of the Flint-Stones, beaten one against another) Light, not inherent in them, will flow and be derived from them, and that, perhaps, usefully to other *Et ex lapidum conspectu ignis fit, ex, &c.* Points of like Nature and Complexion.

If any blame me for not searching into the Records, to find out the Course of these Things, in Certainty I can no better excuse myself, than for want of Legs, Leisure, and Treasure, to haunt so cold a Scent, and beat so dark Thickets for a Hare, which is but dry Meat when she is caught: For,

Hæc raro aut nunquam veniunt dictamina in usum; yet it is good to know what is Right, though Rare; and especially, where Mistakings, and erroneous Apprehensions be published, it is good, by Refutations, to rectify them, else universal Silence will, at least, seem to ratify and affirm them.

This being one single Opinion, now is collected together, as is conceived, the several Opinions of the best Authorities, and most approved, *Pro & Contra*, for the Reader's Ease and Judgment.

Short NOTES to prove the greatest Grounds which Bishops have, to claim the same Privilege that Temporal Lords of Parliament have.

Coke's *Com.* fol. 70. and Section 137. Every Bishop of *England* hath a Barony.

Title *Privilege*, *Brook* 465, and 88. A Bishop is a Peer of the Realm, and ought to be tryed by his Peers.

William of Wickham, being in Disgrace, and omitted out of the Writs of Parliament, in the Time of *H.* 4. was sent for thither by his Peers. *Vid. Trus. Crow.*

Bishops first erected in Baronies, *An.* 4. *W.* 1. *Aug.* Mr. Selden *Tit. of Hon.* fol. 699. & *Tit. Hon.* fol. 702.

To the Charter of the Laws made at the Coronation of *H.* 1. the Bishops Names were subscribed, *Co. Com.*

Likewise see the Form of the Writs, in *Tempore H.* 3. by which the Bishops were called to the Parliament.

The

The like NOTES to prove the contrary.

Lambert's *Perambulation of Kent*, 221. A Parliament holden by *Ed. 1.* without Bishops; but it is objected, that then they were in the King's Displeasure, and he put the Clergy forth of his Protection.

Dyer, 59. p. 19. Bishops are omitted in the Division of Estate of Parliament, which is said there to consist of the King, the Lords, and of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses.

Matth. Paris, 185, saith; That in the Time of *H. 2.* Bishops were first present in Parliament; and so continued till the Matter came to Loss of Limb, or Life; for then, by the Law, they did avoid the Place, 10 *Ed. 4.* 6. But although in State they are, yet *quare*, whether *de Jure* they are; for diverse Laws have been made in their Absence, and yet remain in Force. *Vide Juell's Apol. fol. 644. Fox Mon. 421. & Lam. Perambulations of Kent*, pag. 221.

Mr. *Selden*, in his *Title of Honours*, 26. said; In ancient Times, diverse Subjects were Patrons of Bishopricks; for the Arch-Deacon of *Canterbury* was Patron of the Bishoprick of *Rocheſter*, and the Earl of *Glouceſter*, of the Bishoprick of *Landaffe*, and the Earl of *Derby*, to this Day, of the Bishoprick of *Sodor* in *Man*.

Kelleway, 184. b. The Justices say, our Sovereign, the King, may well hold his Parliament by himself, his Lords Temporal and Commons, without his Spiritual Lords; neither have they any Place in Parliament by reason of their Spirituality, but only by reason of their Temporal Possessions.

7 *H. 7.* 14. b. *B. Parliament*, 76. Note, That it was held, that these Words; The King, with the Assent of the Lords and Commonalty, grant, or establish, &c. is as well, as if it had been said; That it is enacted, at the Request of the Lords and Commons, &c. to which the King assents: But the more usual Words are; That it is enacted by the King, by the Assent of the Lords and Commons, &c. But the more brief and sufficient Words are; Be it enacted by Authority of this Parliament, &c.

Vide Magna Charta, and the ancient Statutes are, *Quod statuit Rex*; and good: For it is implied, that it is no Statute, unless the Lords and Commons assent.

See the Statute of *Morton*, C. 9. of *Bastardy*. The Earls and Barons being required by the Bishops, that Children, born before Wedlock, should be made Legitimate, they answered; They would change the Law of *England*, used and approved.

Stat. 38 E. 3. Ca. 1. Our Sovereign Lord the King, by the Assent, express Will and Concord of the Dukes, Earls, Barons, and the Commons of this Realm, and of all others, whom this Thing toucheth, by good and meet Deliberation, and Advice, hath approved, &c. The Bishops left out.

Stat. 11 R. 2. C. 3. saith, That the Appeals, Pursuits, Accusements, Process, Judgments, and Executions, given in his present Parliament, be approved, &c. notwithstanding the Bishops Procurators did absent themselves out of the said Parliament, at the Time of the said Judgments given.

14 *E. 2. An. Dom.* 1286. Parliament held, the Clergy wholly exempted, *Vide Dan. Cron. f. 164.* So *E. 1.* called a Parliament, 1298. 14 *H. 8.* 13. b. *Finex. Cro. Jur.* 19. b. *Sta. made Excuso Clero, Cro. Jur. of Courts*, 14. b. No Lord shall be tryed by Peers but Lords of Parliament, which are Temporal Lords, and not Spiritual Lords: For, a Bishop, which is a Lord of Parliament, shall be tryed as another Gentleman should be, viz. by Knights, Esquires, and Gentlemen; for that a Bishop is no Lord but by reason of his Bishoprick. And so was *Cranmer*, Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, 1 *Mary, Stamf.* 153.

Heylin's Geogr. fol. 437. saith, That a Bishop shall be tryed by an ordinary Jury, and not by Peers.

A True and Just
R E L A T I O N
 O F

Major-General Sir THOMAS MORGAN's
Progress in France and Flanders.

*With the Six Thousand English, in the Years 1657, and 1658,
 at the Taking of DUNKIRK, and other Important PLACES.*

As it was delivered by the GENERAL himself.

THE *French King*, and his Eminence, the Cardinal *Mazarine*, came to view the Six Thousand *English*, near *Charleroy*, and ordered *M. G. Morgan*, with the said Six Thousand *English*, to march and make Conjunction with *Mareschal Turenne's Army*, who, soon after the Conjunction, beleaguered a Town, called *St. Venant*, on the Borders of *Flanders*. *The Siege of St. Venant.* *M. Turenne* having invested the Town on the East-side, and *M. G. Morgan*, with his Six Thousand *English*, and a Brigade of *French Horse*, on the West, the Army incamped betwixt *Mareschal Turenne's Approaches*, and *M. G. Morgan's*; and being to relieve Count *Schomberg*, out of the Approaches on the West-side of the Town, *M. G. Morgan* marched into the Approaches with Eight Hundred *English*. The *English*, at that Time, being Strangers in Approaches, Major-General *Morgan* instructed the Officers and Soldiers to take their Places by Fifties, that thereby they might relieve the Point, to carry on the Approaches every Hour. In the mean Time, while we besieged the Town, the Enemy had beleaguered a Town called *Ardres*, within five of *Calais*. In the Evening, Count *Schomberg*, with Six Noblemen, came upon the Point, to see how *M. G. Morgan* carried on his Approaches; but there happened a little Confusion by the Soldiers intermingling themselves in the Approaches, so as there was never an intire Fifty to be called to the Point. Count *Schomberg*, and his Noblemen, taking Notice thereof, *M. G. Morgan* was much troubled, leaped upon the Point, and called out Fifty to take up the Spades, Pick-axes, and Fascines, and follow him: But so it happened, that all in the Approaches leaped out after him, the Enemy, in the mean Time, firing as fast as they could. *M. G. Morgan*, conceiving his Loss, in bringing them again to their Approaches, would be greater than in carrying them forward, passed over a Channel of Water, on which there was a Bridge and a Turn-pike; and the Soldiers crying out, *Fall on! Fall on!* he fell upon the Counterscarp, beat the Enemy from it, and three Redoubts, which caused them to Capitulate, and

and, the next Morning, to surrender the Town, and receive a *French* Garrison ; so as the sudden Reduction thereof gave *Mareschal Turenne* an Opportunity, afterwards, to march and relieve *Ardes*.

The next Place *Mareschal Turenne* besieged was *Mardike*, taken in twice eight-and-forty Hours by the *English* and *French*. After the taking thereof, *M. G. Morgan* was settled there, by the Order of the *French* King, and *Oliver*, with Two Thousand *English*, and One Thousand *French*, in order to the beleaguering *Dunkirk* the next Spring.

Mardike taken, and the M. G. quartered there.

The rest of the *English* were quartered in *Borborch*. For the Space of four Months, there was hardly a Week wherein *M. G. Morgan* had not two or three Alarms by the *Spanish* Army : He answered to them all, and never went out of his Clothes all the Winter, except to change his Shirt.

The next Spring, *Mareschal Turenne* beleaguered *Dunkirk* on the *Newport-Side*, and *M. G. Morgan* on the *Mardike-Side*, with his Six Thousand *English*, and a Brigade of *French* Horse. He made a Bridge over the Canal betwixt that and *Bergen*, that there might be Communication betwixt *Mareschal Turenne's* Camp and his. When *Dunkirk* was close invested, *Mareschal Turenne* sent a Summons to the Governor, the *Marquis de Ledz*, a great Captain, and brave Defender of a Siege ; but the Summons being answered with Defiance, *Mareschal Turenne* immediately broke Ground, and carried on the Approaches on his Side, while the *English* did the same on theirs ; and, it is observable, the *English* had two Miles to march every Day upon relieving their Approaches. In this Manner the Approaches were carried on, both by the *French* and *English*, for the Space of twelve Nights, when the *Mareschal Turenne* had Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *York*, *Don John* of *Austria*, and the Prince de *Ligny*, were at the Head of Thirty Thousand Horse and Foot, with Resolution to relieve *Dunkirk*.

Dunkirk besieged by the French and English.

The Prince of Conde, &c. coming to relieve it with 30,000 Men.

Immediately, upon this Intelligence, *Mareschal Turenne*, and several Noblemen of *France*, went to the King and Cardinal at *Mardike*, acquainted his Eminence therewith ; and desired his Majesty, and his Eminence, the Cardinal, to withdraw their Persons into Safety, and leave their Orders : His Majesty answered ; That he knew no better Place of Safety, than at the Head of his Army ; but said, it was convenient the Cardinal should withdraw to *Calais*. Then *Mareschal Turenne*, and the Noble-men made Answer ; They could not be satisfied, except his Majesty withdrew himself into Safety ; which was assented to. And the King and Cardinal, marching to *Calais*, left open Orders with *Mareschal Turenne* ; That if the Enemy came on, to give Battel, or raise the Siege, as he should be advised by a Council of War.

Upon which the King and Cardinal retire.

The Enemy came on to *Bruges*, and then *Mareschal Turenne* thought it high Time to call a Council of War, which consisted of eight Noble-men, eight Lieutenant-Generals, and six *Mareschals du Camp* ; but never sent to Embassador *Lockhart*, or *M. G. Morgan*. The whole Sense of the Council of War was, That it was great Danger to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle in that strait Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water ; and several Reasons being shown to that Purpose, it ran through the Council of War, to raise the Siege, if the Enemy came on. Within half an Hour after the Council of War was risen, *M. G. Morgan* had the Result of it in his Camp, and went immediately to Embassador *Lockhart*, to know, if he had heard any thing

M. Turenne calls a Council of War, without the English : Where it was agreed upon not to fight.

thing of it : He said, he heard nothing of it, and complained, that he was much afflicted with the Stone, Gravel, and some other Impediments. M. G. *Morgan* asked him to go with him, the next Morning, to the Head-Quarters : He said, he would, if he were able.

Next Morning, Marechal *Turenne* sent a Nobleman to Embassador *Lockhart*, and M. G. *Morgan*, to desire them to come to a second Council of War. Immediately, therefore, Embassador *Lockhart*, and M. G. *Morgan* went, with the Nobleman, to Marechal *Turenne's* Camp ; and, by that Time they came there, the Council of War was ready to sit down, in Marechal *Turenne's* Tent.

Marechal *Turenne* satisfied the Council of War, that he had forgot to send for Embassador *Lockhart*, and M. G. *Morgan*, to the first Council of War, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be satisfied ; and then put the Question ; Whether, if the Enemy came on, he should make good the Siege on *Newport-Side*, and give them Battel ; or raise the Siege ? And required, they should give their Reasons for either. The Marechals du Camp ran away with it, clearly to raise the Siege ; alledging, what Danger it was to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battel, within so strait a Country, full of Canals, and Ditches of Water : Farther alledging ; That if the Enemy came upon the Bank, they would cut between Marechal *Turenne's* and M. G. *Morgan's* Camps, and prevent their Conjunction. Two of the Lieutenant-Generals ran along with the Marechals du Camp, and shewed the same Reasons : But M. G. *Morgan*, finding it was high Time to speak, and that otherwise it would go round the Board, rose up, and desired, though out of Course, that he might declare his Mind, in Opposition to what the Marechals du Camp, and the two Lieutenant-Generals had declared. Marechal *Turenne* told him, he should have Freedom to speak his Thoughts. Then M. G. *Morgan* spake, and said ; That the Reasons the Marechals du Camp, and the two Lieutenant-Generals had given, for raising the Siege, were no Reasons ; for the Straitness of the Country was as good for the *French* and *English*, as for the Enemy : And whereas they alledged, That if

And persuade them to fight. *the Enemy came on the Bank, between Turnes and Dunkirk, they would cut between Marechal Turenne's and the English Camps.*

Major-General *Morgan* replied ; It was impossible ; for they could not march above eight a-Breast : And farther he alledged ; That Marechal *Turenne's* Artillery, and Small-shot would cut them off at Pleasure. He added, That, that was not the Way the Enemy could relieve *Dunkirk* ; but that they would make a Bridge of Boats over the Channel, in an Hour and half, and cross their Army upon the Sands of *Dunkirk*, to offer Marechal *Turenne* Battel.

Farther, M. G. *Morgan* did alledge, What a Dishonour it would be to the Crown of *France*, to have Summoned the City of *Dunkirk*, and broke Ground before it, and then raise the Siege, and run away. And he desired the Council of War would consider, that if they raised the Siege, the Alliance with *England* would be broken the same Hour.

Marechal *Turenne* answered ; “ That if he thought the Enemy would offer that fair Game, he would maintain the Siege on *Newport-Side*, and M. G. *Morgan* should march, and make Conjunction with the French Army, and leave *Mardike-Side* open.” Upon Marechal *Turenne's* Reply, M. G. *Morgan* did rise from the Board, and, upon his Knees, begged a Battel, and said, that he would venture the Six Thousand *English*, every Soul. Upon which, Marechal *Turenne* consulted the Noblemen who sat next him, and it was desired, that M. G. *Morgan* might walk a Turn or two without the Tent, and he should be called immediately. After he had walked two Turns, he was called in ; as soon as he came in, Marechal *Turenne* said ; “ That he had considered his Reasons, and that himself, and the Council of War resolved to give
“ Battel,

" *Battel to the Enemy, if they came on ; and to maintain the Siege on Newport-Side ; and that M. G. Morgan was to make Conjunction with the French Army.*" M. G. Morgan then said, *That, with God's Assistance, we should be able to deal with them.*

The very next Day, at Four in the Afternoon, the *Spanish* Army had made a Bridge of Boats, crossed their Army on the Sands of *Dunkirk*, and drew up into Battalia, within two Miles of Mareschal *Turenne's* Lines, before he knew any thing of them. Immediately, all the *French* Horse drew out to face the Enemy, at a Mile's Distance, and Mareschal *Turenne* sent immediate Orders to M. G. *Morgan*, to march into his Camp, with the Six Thousand *English*, and the *French* Brigade of Horse ; which was done accordingly.

The next Day, about Eight of the Clock, Mareschal *Turenne* gave Orders to break Avenues on both the Lines, that the Army might march out in Battalia. M. G. *Morgan* set his Soldiers to break Avenues for their marching out in Battalia likewise. Several Officers being with him, as he was looking at his Soldiers at Work, Embassador *Lockhart* comes up, with a white Cap on his Head, and said to M. G. *Morgan* ; " *You see what Condition I am in, I am not able to give you any Assistance this Day ; you are the older Soldier, and the greatest Part of the Work of this Day must lie upon your Shoulders.*" Upon which the Officers smiled, and so he bid *God be with us*, and went away with the Lieutenant-General of the Horse, who was upon our Left Wing ; from which Time, we never saw him till we were in Pursuit of the Enemy. When the Avenues were cleared, both the *French* and *English* Army marched out of the Lines towards the Enemy. We were forced to march up in four Lines (for we had not Room enough to Wing, for the Canal between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, and the Sea) till we had marched above half a Mile ; then we came to a Halt on rising Hills of Sand, and, having more Room, took in two of our Lines.

M. G. *Morgan*, seeing the Enemy plain in Battalia, said, before the Head of the Army ; " *See, yonder are the Gentlemen you are to trade withal.* Upon which, the whole Brigade of *English* gave a Shout of Rejoycing, which made a roaring Echo betwixt the Sea and the Canal. Thereupon the Mareschal *Turenne* came up, with above a Hundred Noble-men, to know what was the Matter, and Reason of that great Shout. M. G. *Morgan* told him, ' *Twas the usual Custom of the Red-coats, when they saw the Enemy, to rejoyce.*

Mareschal *Turenne* answered ; *They were Men of brave Resolution, and Courage.* After which, Mareschal *Turenne*, returning to the Head of his Army, we put on to our March again. At the second Halt, the whole Brigade of *English* gave a Shout, and cast up their Caps into the Air, saying, *They would have better Hats before Night.* Mareschal *Turenne*, upon that Shout, came up again, with several Noblemen, and Officers of the Army, admiring the Resolution of the *English* ; at which Time we were within three Quarters of a Mile of the Enemy, in Battalia. Mareschal *Turenne* desired M. G. *Morgan*, that, at the next Halt, he would keep even Front with the *French* : " *For, says he, I do intend to Halt at some Distance, that we may see how the Enemy is drawn up, and take our Advantage accordingly.*" M. G. *Morgan* demanded of his Excellency, *Whether he would Shock the whole Army at one Dash, or try one Wing first ?* Mareschal *Turenne's* Reply was ; " *That, as to his Question, he could not resolve him yet, till he came nearer the Enemy.*" M. G. *Morgan* desired the Mareschal, not to let him languish for Orders, saying ; " *That, oftentimes, Opportunities are lost for want of Orders in due Time.*" Mareschal *Turenne* said, *He would either come himself, and give Orders, or send a Lieutenant-General.* And so Mareschal *Turenne* parted, and went to the Head of his Army. In the mean Time, M. G. *Morgan* gave Orders to the Colonels, and Leading-Officers,

Officers, to have a special Care, that when the *French* came to a Halt, they keep even Front with them; and farther told them; If they could not observe the *French*, they should take Notice when he lifted up his Hat; for he marched still above Three-score Paces before the Center of the Bodies. But, when the *French* came to Halt, it so happened, that the *English* pressed upon their Leading-Officers, so that they came up under the Shot of the Enemies; but, when they saw, that M. G. *Morgan* was in a Passion, they put themselves to a Stand. M. G. *Morgan* could soon have remedied their Forwardness; but he was resolved he would not lose one Foot of Ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were so near the Enemy, that the Soldiers fell into great Friendship; one asking, Is such an Officer in your Army? another, Is such a Soldier in yours? And this passed on both Sides. M. G. *Morgan* indured this Friendship for a little While, and then came up to the Center of the Bodies, and demanded, *How long that Friendship would continue?* and told them farther, that, for any thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's Throats, within a Minute of an Hour. The whole Brigade answered, *Their Friendship should continue no longer than he pleased.* Then M. G. *Morgan* bid them tell the Enemy, *No more Friendship; prepare your Buff-coats and Scarfs, for we will be with you sooner than you expect us.* Immediately after the Friendship was broke, the Enemy poured a Volley of Shot into one of our Battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-General immediately sent the Adjutant-General to Marechal *Turenne*, for Orders, *Whether he should charge the Enemy's Right Wing, or whether Marechal Turenne would engage the Enemy's Left Wing?* and advised the Adjutant-General not to stay, but to acquaint Marechal *Turenne*; That we were under the Enemy's Shot, and had received some Prejudice already: But there was no Return of the Adjutant-General, nor Orders. By and by the Enemy poured in another Volley of Shot, into another of our Battalions, and wounded two or three. M. G. *Morgan*, observing the Enemy mending Faults, and opening the Intervals of the Foot, to bring Horse in, which would have made our Work more difficult, called all the Colonels and Officers of the Field together, before the Center of the Bodies, and told them, *He had sent the Adjutant-General for Orders, but when he saw there was no Hope of Orders, he told them, if they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the Enemy's Right Wing.* Their Answer was; "*They were ready whenever he gave Orders.*" He told them, *He would try the Right Wing with the Blue Regiment, and the four Hundred Fire-locks, which were in the Interval of the French Horse; and wished all the Field-Officers to be ready at their several Posts.* M. G. *Morgan* gave Orders, that the other five Regiments should not move from their Ground, except they saw the *Blue Regiment*, the *White*, and the four Hundred *Fire-locks* shocked the Enemies Right Wing off of their Ground; and farther showed the several Colonels, what Colours they were to charge; and told them, moreover, "*That if he was not knocked on the Head, he would come to them.*" In like Manner, as fast as he could, he admonished the whole Brigade, and told them; *They were to look in the Face of an Enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their Reputation, and that they had no other Way, but to fight it out to the last Man, or to be killed, taken Prisoner, or drowned; and farther, that the Honour of England did depend much upon their Gallantry and Resolution that Day.*

The Enemy's Wing was posted on a Sandy Hill, and had cast the Sand Breast-high before them: Then M. G. *Morgan* did order Dunkirk. the *Blue Regiment*, and the four Hundred *Fire-locks*, to advance to the Charge. In the mean Time, M. G. *Morgan*, knowing that the Enemy would all bend upon those who did advance, removed the *White Regiment* more to the Right, that it might be in the Flank of them, by that Time the *Blue Regiment* was got within Push of Pike.

His

His Royal Highness, the Duke of *York*, with a select Party of Horse, had got into the *Blue* Regiment, by that Time the *White* came in, and exposed his Person to great Danger : But we knew no Body at that Time. Immediately the Enemy were clear shocked off their Ground, and the *English* Colours flying over their Heads, the strongest Officers and Soldiers clubbing them down. *M. G. Morgan*, when he saw his Opportunity, stepped to the other five Regiments, which were within Six-score Paces of him, and ordered them to advance, and charge immediately : But, when they came within ten Pikes length, the Enemy, perceiving they were not able to endure our Charge, shaked their Hats, held up their Handkerchiefs, and called for *Quarter* ; but the *Red-coats* cried aloud, *The Spanish fly. They had no Leisure for Quarter*. Whereupon the Enemy faced about, and would not endure our Charge, but fell to run, having the *English* Colours over their Heads, and the strongest Soldiers and Officers clubbing them down ; so that the Six Thousand *English* carried Ten or Twelve Thousand Horse and Foot before them. The *French* Army was about Musket-shot in the Rear of us, where they came to halt, and never moved off their Ground. The rest of the *Spanish* Army, seeing the Right Wing carried away, and the *English* Colours flying over their Heads, wheeled about in as good Order as they could, so that we had the whole *Spanish* Army before us ; and *M. G. Morgan* called out to the Colonels, *To the Right as much as you can*, so that we might have all the Enemy's Army under the *English* Colours. The Six Thousand *English* carried all the *Spanish* Army, as far as from *Westminster-Abbey* to *Paul's Church-yard*, before ever a *Frenchman* came in, on either Wing of us ; but then, at last, we could perceive the *French* Horse come powdering on each Wing, with much Gallantry ; but they never struck one Stroke, only carried Prisoners back to the Camp. Neither did we ever see the Embassador *Lockhart*, till we were in Pursuit of the Enemy, and then we could see him among us very brisk, without his white Cap on his Head, and neither troubled with Gravel, or Stone. When we were at the End of the Pursuit, Marechal *Turenne*, and above a Hundred Officers of the Army, came up to us, quitted their Horses, embraced the Officers, and said, *They never saw a braver Action in their Lives, and that they were so transported with the Sight of it, that they had no Power to move, or to do any thing* : And this high Complement we had for our Pains. In a Word, the *French* Army did not strike one Stroke in the Battel of *Dunkirk*, only the Six Thousand *English*. After we had done pursuing the Enemy, *M. G. Morgan* rallied his Forces, and marched over the Sands where he had shocked them, to see what Slaughter there was made : But Embassador *Lockhart* went into the Camp as fast as he could, to write his Letters for *England*, of what great Service he had done, which was *just nothing*. Marechal *Turenne*, and *M. G. Morgan*, brought the Armies close to invest *Dunkirk* again, and to carry on the Approaches. The Marquis *de Leda* happened to be in the Counterscarp, and received an accidental Shot, whereof he died ; and the whole Garrison, being discouraged at his Death, came to *Dunkirk taken*. Capitulate in few Days ; so the Town was surrendered, and Embassador *Lockhart* marched into it with two Regiments of *English* for a Garrison ; but *M. G. Morgan* kept the Field, with Marechal *Turenne*, with his other four Regiments of *English*.

The next Siege was *Bergen St. Winock*, six Miles from *Dunkirk*, which Marechal *Turenne* beleaguered with the *French* Army, and the four Regiments of *English*, and, in four or five Days Siege, *Bergen St. Winock* was taken upon Capitulation. Marechal *Turenne* did rest the Army for two Days after, and then resolved to march through the Heart of *Flanders*, and take what Towns he could that Campaign.

The next Town we took was *Furnes*, the next *Menin*, after that, *Oudenard* ; and, in a Word, eight Towns, besides *Dunkirk*, and *Ipres* : For, so soon as the *Red-*

Several Towns taken. *coats* came near the Counterscarp, there was nothing but a Capitulation, and a Surrender presently. All the Towns we took, were Towns of Strength.

The Siege of Ipres. The last Siege we made, was before the City of *Ipres*, where the Prince *de Ligny* had cast himself in before, for the Defense of that City, with two Thousand five Hundred Horse and Dragoons: Besides, there were in the City, four Thousand Burghers, all proper young Men under their Arms; so that the Garrison did consist of six Thousand five Hundred Men. Marechal *Turenne* sent in a Summons, which was answered with a Defiance. Then Marechal *Turenne* broke Ground, and carried on two Approaches towards the Counterscarp. M. G. *Morgan* went into the Approaches every Night, for fear of any Miscarriage by the *English*, and came out of the Approaches every Morning, at Sun-rising, to take his Rest; for then the Soldiers had done Working. The fourth Morning, M. G. *Morgan* went to take his Rest in his Tent; but, within half an Hour afterwards, Marechal *Turenne* sent a Nobleman to him, to desire him to come to speak with him. When the M. G. came, there were above a Hundred Noblemen, and Officers of the Army walking about; and his Gentlemen had decked a Room for his Excellency, with his Sumpture-clothes, in which homely Place there were about twenty Officers of the Army with him; but, as soon as M. G. *Morgan* came, Marechal *Turenne* desired all of them to retire, for he had something to communicate to the M. G. The Room was immediately cleared, and Marechal *Turenne* turned the Gentlemen of his Chamber out, and shut the Door himself. When this was done, he desired the M. G. to sit down by him, and the first News that he

Don Juan of Austria coming to relieve it. spake of, was, That he had certain Intelligence, that the Prince of Conde, and Don *Juan* of *Austria*, were, at the Head of eleven Thousand Horse, and four Thousand Foot, within three Leagues of his Camp, and resolved to break through one of our Quarters, to relieve the City of *Ipres*; and therefore he desired M. G. *Morgan*, to have all the *English* under their Arms every Night at Sun-set, and the *French* Army should be so likewise. The M. G. replied, and said; "That the Prince of Conde, and Don *Juan* of *Austria*, were great Captains, and that they might dodge with M. *Turenne*, to fatigue his Army. The M. G. farther said; That if he did keep the Army three Nights to that hard Shift, they would not care who did knock them on the Head. M. *Turenne* replied; We must do it, and surmount all Difficulty." The M. G. desired to know of his Excellency, Whether he was certain the Enemy was so near him? He answered; He had two Spies came just from them. Then M. G. *Morgan* told him, his Condition was somewhat desperate, and said; That a desperate Disease must have a desperate Cure. His Excellency asked, What he meant? M. G. *Morgan* did offer him, to attempt the Counterscarp upon an Assault, and so put all Things out of Doubt, with Expedition. The M. G. had no sooner said this, but Marechal *Turenne* joined his Hands, and looked up, through the Boards, towards the Heavens, and said; "Did ever my Master, the King of France, or the King of Spain, attempt a Counterscarp upon an Assault, where there were three Half-moons covered with Cannon, and the Ramparts of the Town playing point-blank into the Counterscarp. Farther, he said; What will the King, my Master, think of me, if I expose his Army to these Hazards? And he rose up, and fell into a Passion, stamping with his Feet, and shaking his Locks, and grinning with his Teeth, he said, M. G. *Morgan* had made him mad. But, by Degrees, he cooled, and asked the M. G. whether he would stay to Dinner with him? But the M. G. begged his Pardon, for he had appointed some of the Officers to eat a Piece of Beef at his Tent that Day. His Excellency asked him; If he would meet him at two of the Clock, at the opening of the Approaches? The M. G. said, he would be punctual; but

but desired, he would bring none of his Train with him (for it was, usually, a Hundred Noblemen, with their Feathers and Ribbons) because, if he did, he would have no Opportunity to take a View of the Counterscarp; for the Enemy would discover them, and Fire incessantly. His Excellency said, he would bring none, but two or three of the Lieutenant-Generals. M. G. *Morgan* was at the Place appointed, a quarter of an Hour before his Excellency, and then his Excellency came, with eight Noblemen, and three Lieutenant-Generals, and took a Place to view the Counterscarp. After he had looked a considerable Time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the Noblemen, and Lieutenant-Generals, and said; "*I do not know what to say to you; here is M. G. Morgan has put me out of my Wits, for he would have me attempt yonder Counterscarp upon an Assault.*" None of the Noblemen, or *Lientenants*, made any Reply to him, but Count *Schomberg*, saying, "*My Lord, I think M. G. Morgan would offer nothing to your Lordship, but what he thinks feasible; and he knows, he has good fighting Men.*" Upon this, *Mareschal Turenne* ask'd M. G. *Morgan*, how many *English* he would venture. The M. G. said, that he would venture six Hundred common Men, besides Officers, and fifty Pioneers. *Mareschal Turenne* said, that six Hundred of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Army, and fifty Pioneers, and six Hundred of his own Army, and fifty Pioneers more, would make better than two Thousand Men. M. G. *Morgan* reply'd, "*They were Abundant to carry it, with God's Assistance.*" Then his Excellency said, he would acquaint the King and his Eminency, that M. G. *Morgan* had put him upon that desperate Design; M. G. *Morgan* desired his Pardon, for it was in his Power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: But in the Close, *Mareschal Turenne* said to the M. G. that he must fall into Monsieur *la Ferte's* Approaches, and that he should take the one half of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Men, and that he would take the other half into his own Approaches. M. G. *Morgan* begged his Pardon, and said he desired to fall on with the *English* intire by themselves, without intermingling them. *Mareschal Turenne* reply'd, he must fall on, and cut off one of the Approaches. The M. G. reply'd, that he would fall on in the Plain, between both Approaches. His Excellency said, that he would never be able to endure their Firing, but that they would kill half his Men, before he could come to the Counterscarp. The M. G. said, that he had an Invention that the Enemy should not perceive him, till he had his Hands upon the Stocadoes. Next, his Excellency said, For the Signal, there shall be a Captain of Monsieur *la Ferte's*, with twenty Firelocks, shall leap upon the Point, and cry, "*Sa! sa! vive le Roy de France.*" And upon that Noise, all were to fall on together. But M. G. *Morgan* opposed that Signal, saying, The Enemy would thereby be allarm'd, and then he should hardly endure their Firing. His Excellency reply'd then, That he would give no Signal at all, but the M. G. should give it; and he would not be persuaded otherwise. Then the M. G. desired his Excellency, that he would give Order to them in the Approaches, to keep themselves in Readiness against Sun set, for at the Shutting of the Night he would fall on: He likewise desired his Excellency, that he would order a Major out of his own Approaches, and another out of Monsieur *la Ferte's* Approaches, to stand by him; and when he should be ready to fall on, he would dispatch the two Majors into each of the Approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the M. G. passed between the two Approaches, with the commanded *English*. Just at Sun-set, *Mareschal Turenne* came himself, and told the M. G. he might fall on when he saw his own Time. The M. G. reply'd, He would fall on just at the Setting of the Night, and when the Dusk of the Evening came on. The M. G. made the *English* stand to their Arms, and divided them into Bodies; a Captain at the Head of the Pioneers, and the M. G. and a Colonel at the Head of the two Battalions; he ordered the two Battalions, and the Pioneers, each Man to take up a long Fascine upon their Muskets and Pikes, and then they were three small Groves of Wood. Immediately the

M. G. commanded the two Majors to go to their Approaches, and that they should leap out, so soon as they should see the M. G. march between their Approaches. The M. G. did order the two Battalions, that when they came within threescore Paces of the Stocadoes, to slip their Fascines, and fall on. But so it happened, that the *French* never moved out of their Approaches, till such Time as M. G. *Morgan* had overpowered the Enemy. When the Pioneers came within Sight of the

*The Storming
of Ipres.*

Stocadoc, they slipped the Fascines down, and fell on; the M. G. and the other two Battalions were close to them; and when the Soldiers began to lay their Hands on the Stocadoes, they tore them down for the Length of sixscore Paces, and leap'd pell-mell into the Counterscarp among the Enemy; abundance of the Enemy were drowned in the Moat, and many taken Prisoners,

*The Counter-
scarp taken by
the English.*

with two *German* Princes, and the Counterscarp cleared; the *French* were in their Approaches all this Time: Then the *English* fell on upon the Half-Moons, and immediately the *Red-coats* were on the Top of them, throwing the Enemy into the Moat, and turning the Cannon upon the Town: Thus the two Half-Moons were speedily taken. After the Manning of the Half-Moons, he did rally all the *English*, with Intention to lodge them upon the Counterscarp, that he might be free of the Enemy's Shot the next Morning; and they left the other Half-Moon for Marechal *Turenne's* Party, which was even before their Approaches.

Then the *French* fell on upon the other Half-Moon, but were beaten off. The M. G. considered, that that Half-Moon would gall him in the Day-time, and therefore did speak to the Officers and Soldiers, that it was best to give them a little Help; the *Red-coats* cry'd,

Shall we fall on in Order, or Happy-go-lucky? The M. G. said, *In the Name of God, as it, Happy-go-lucky;* and immediately the *Red-coats* fell on, and were on the Top of it, knocking the Enemy down, and casting them into the Moat. When this Work was done, the M. G. lodged the *English* on the Counterscarp: They were no sooner lodged, but Marechal *Turenne* scrambled over the Ditches, to find out the M. G. and when he met with him, he was much troubled the *French* did no better; for indeed, they did just nothing: Then his Excellency asked the M. G. to go to his Approaches to refresh himself; but the M. G. begged his Pardon, and said, *He would not stir from his Post, till he heard a Drum beat a Parley, and saw a White Flag over the Walls.* Upon that, Marechal *Turenne* laughed and smiled, and said, *They would not be at that Post in six Days;* and then went to his Approaches, and sent the M. G. three or four Dozen Bottles of rare Wine, with several Dishes of Cold Meats, and

*The Town beats
a Parley.*

Sweet-meats. Within two Hours after Sun-rising, a Drum beat a Parley, and a White Flag was seen over the Walls. The M. G. ordered a Lieutenant, with a File of Musketeers, to go and receive the Drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him strait to Marechal *Turenne*, in his Approaches. Marechal *Turenne* came immediately, with the Drummer's Message, to the M. G. and was much troubled he would not receive the Message before it came to him. The M. G. reply'd, That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the Place. The Message was to this Effect: "*That* "*whereas his Excellency had offered them honourable Terms, in his Summons, they* "*were now willing to accept of them, provided they might have their Charter, and* "*the Privileges of the City preserved: That they had appointed four of their Com-* "*missioners, to treat farther with four Commissioners from his Excellency.*" Marechal *Turenne* was pleased to ask the M. G. whether he would be one of the Commissioners; but the M. G. begged his Pardon, and desired that he might abide at his Post, till such Time as the City was surrendered up. Immediately then, his Excellency sent for Count *Schumberg*, and three other Commissioners, and gave them Instructions how to

treat

treat with the four Commissioners from the Enemy. Just as Marechal *Turenne* was giving the Commissioners Instructions, M. G. *Morgan* said, *That the Enemy were Hungry, so that they would eat any Meat they could have.* Whereupon his Excellency smiled, shorned their Instructions, and sent them away. Within half an Hour, the Commissioners had concluded, *That they should have their City-Charter preserved, and that they were to receive a French Garrison* The Condition; *and the Prince de Ligny was to march out with all his Forces* next Morning, at Nine of the Clock, with one Piece of Cannon, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, and Match lighted at both Ends, and to have a Convoy to conduct him into his own Territories. Marechal *Turenne* was, in the Morning betimes, with several Noblemen and Officers of the Army, and M. G. *Morgan*, attending near the Gate, for the Prince de *Ligny's* coming out. The Prince having Notice that Marechal *Turenne* was there, came out of his Coach. Marechal *Turenne* being alighted off from his Horse, and M. G. *Morgan*, at both their meeting there was a great Acclamation, and Embracing one another. After a little Time, Marechal *Turenne* told the Prince, he very much admired, that he would expose his Person to a Garrison before a Conquering Army: The Prince de *Ligny* reply'd, *That if Marechal Turenne had left his English in England, he durst have exposed his Person into the weakest Garrison the King of Spain had in Flanders;* and so they parted, and his Excellency marched into the Town with a French Garrison, and the M. G. with him. So soon as the Garrison was settled, *The Town delivered.* Marechal *Turenne* wrote his Letters to the French King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, how that the City of *Ipres* was reduced to the Obedience of his Majesty, and that he was possessed of it, and that M. G. *Morgan* was instrumental in that Service; and that the English did Wonders; and sent the Intendant of the Army with his Letters to the King and Cardinal. Monsieur *Tallon*, the Intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal, to the Army, within eight Days, and brought a Complement to M. G. *Morgan*, that the King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, did expect to see him at *Paris*, when he came to his Winter-Quarters, where there would be a Cupboard of Plate to attend him. M. G. *Morgan*, instead of going for his Cupboard of Plate, went for *England*; and his Majesty of *France* had never the Kindness to send him his Cupboard of Plate: So that this is the Reward that M. G. *Morgan* hath had from the French King, for all his Service in *France* and *Flanders*.

Kill'd at the Battel of Dunkirk;

Lieutenant-Colonel *Fenwick*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, two Ensigns, two Serjeants, thirty two Soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Kill'd at the Storming of Ipres;

One Captain, one Serjeant, eight Private Soldiers, about twenty five Officers, of thirty five; and about six Soldiers slightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the Counterescarp. Sir *Thomas Morgan* himself slightly hurt, by a Shot in the Calf of his Leg.

[The following Poem was sent me in MS. bearing Date 1618. with Intimation of its being written on Occasion of a Scurvy Piece, in Praise of Tobacco, impertinently fathered upon Chaucer.]

CHAUCER's

CHAUCER's Incensed GHOST.

I.

*FROM the frequented Path, where Mortals tread,
Indignant CHAUCER, having long retir'd,
Now to revisit Earth at length inspir'd,
Has from the Grave rais'd his impaled Head,
On purpose to converse with Human Seed;
And rate them too, who bring him on the Stage,
As writing what he knew not in his Age.*

II.

*Ab ! is it fit CHAUCER's bequeathed Book,
Compil'd and chaunted in such various Notes,
Which some learn'd Bard in ev'ry Age promotes,
On whose quaint Tales succeeding Ages look,
Should now lye stifled in the Streams of Smoak,
As if no Poet's Genius cou'd be ripe
Without th'inforcing Fire of a Pipe ?*

III.

*No, no, ye English Moors ! my Muse was fed
With purer Substance than your Indian Weed :
My nicer Nostrils were from Vapours free'd,
With Nectar & Ambrosia nourished ;
While Hospitality so flourish'd
In Great Mens Kitchens ; where, I now suppose,
Less Smoak comes from their Chimnies than their Noses.*

IV.

*But I hear some prepar'd to question me,
The Reason why I am so warmly bent,
In such sad Strains, to publish my Complaint ?
Or what strict Mammothrept that Man shou'd be,
Who has done CHAUCER such an Injury ?
Who, weak in Tongue, is yet in Sp'rit so strong,
He'll call those to Account who do him Wrong ?*

V.

*I'll tell it ye ; and must expect Redress.
Wou'd any of ye hold it not a Blot
To father a foul Brat he ne'er begot ?
Or wou'd he not ingenuously confess,
He'd rather wish himself quite Issueless ?
Conceive this well : For if a Crime it be
So to impose on you, 'tis so, on me.*

VI. Down

VI.

*Down to a dreary Vault as I descended,
 Pent in with Darkness, save some glimm'ring Ray,
 Which, thro' a scanty Cranny, made its Way,
 By Help whereof I saw what me offended,
 (Yet saw no Means to have th' Offence amended)
 Fix'd to a Post (such was poor CHAUCER's Lot!)
 I found my Name to what I never wrote.*

VII.

*And what might be the Topique! No Relation,
 Queint, solid, merry, moral, Prose, or Rhime,
 Which sort'd with the Humours of my Time!
 But a leud Negro's vile new-fangled Fashion,
 Whose fetid Drug corrupts the Apish Nation.
 Whose Fumes obscure the Air in such Excess
 My Muse with clapping Wings the Cloud shall chase.*

VIII.

*Now some may well object, as many will,
 This Tax adds rather Glory to my Name,
 Than any Way seems to impair the same.
 But I say no: CHAUCER wou'd think it ill
 To plant Tobacco on Parnassus Hill:
 Sacred the Bowers of the Muses be:
 Nor can such Weeds spring from APOLLO's Tree.*

IX.

*Besides, what Danger might Prescription bring!
 For had the Use of it been known to me,
 It boldly then might plead Antiquity:
 But my Co-eval Bards knew no such Thing;
 How cou'd we then on such a Subject sing?
 Our Age was form'd of better-temper'd Stuff,
 Than to take ought, like Male-consents, in Snuff.*

X.

*Pure are the Crystal Streams of Hippocrene;
 Pure the Meanders which her Sons explore;
 Pure are their Thoughts, as are the Heights they soar;
 How shou'd they palate then ought that's unclean?
 Or waste clear Oil to paint a cloudy Scene?
 Far be't Minerva shou'd consume her Taper,
 In lending Lustre to so foul a Vapour!*

XI.

*The TALES I told, if morally apply'd,
 How light so-e'er, or wantonly they show,
 Yet they, in very Deed, are nothing so:
 For were the Mark they aim'd at but descry'd,
 Ev'n in these Days they wou'd be verify'd,
 And, like Sibylla's Oracles, esteem'd
 Worth Worlds of Wealth, how poor so-e'er they seem'd.*

XII. Wit-

XII.

*Witness my Miller, and my Carpenter,
The am'rous Stories of my Wife of Bath,
Which such Variety of Humours bath;
My Prior, Manciple, and Almoner,
My subtil Sumner, and the Messenger;
All which, tho' moulded in a distant Age;
Still raise new Structures both for Prels and Stage.*

XIII.

*Yet note; these Times, disrelishing my Tongue,
Whose Idioms give Distaste to unread Men,
Expose me mincing, like a Citizen;
Which your Old CHAUCER deems a flagrant Wrong,
To make him quit what he well us'd so long:
No! he disdains all Varnishes of Art,
Which smoothen may the Rind, but spoil the Heart.*

XIV.

*I, without Breach of Modesty, impute
This to no envious Level at my Bays;
But to the barren Brain-worms of these Days,
Whose Muse less pressent, pregnant, or acute,
Affording nought which with my Age may suit;
Like to the Truant Bee, or lazy Drone,
Batten on Labours which are not their own.*

XV.

*And what is worse, such Works they make their own,
By them so prun'd, so purg'd, and so refin'd,
And aptly form'd to their Pyratique Mind,
When, where the Truth to all but clearly known,
They reap the Crop which was by others sown.
Yea, these Usurpers to that Pass are brought,
They soist in what we neither said nor thought.*

XVI.

*This, this is what incens'd Old CHAUCER's Ghost,
Caus'd him to vent his Passions in this Sort,
And, for a while, to leave th' Elysiac Coast,
Where guileless Authors are carressed most:
But such as on the Dead-man's Labours boast,
Excluded are, enjoyn'd by Fate to wane
Upon the scorching Banks of Phlegeton.*

XVII.

*Ye then, whose Measures merit well the Name,
And Title ye espouse, POETS I mean,
Bedew'd with Influence from Hippocrene,
As ye Professants seem, so be the same,
And rescuing ours, eternize your own Fame;
Shun these Pipe-Pageants, for there seldom come
Tobacco-Factors to Elysium.*

[*The Copy, from whence this is Printed, has, at the Bottom of its Title-Page, this N. B. in M. S.--Recommended, by the Right Reverend, to his Friend Mrs. Eliz. Rye. ---Which, together with its being Inscribed to a R. R. Pastor of our Church, induced a Friend to recommend it to Me, and Me to venture on recommending it to my Readers.---As to the Narrative itself, it wants not its Remarkables, and, for ought I can say to the contrary, may be Fact.*]

A N
A C C O U N T
O F
ANNE JEFFERIES,

Now living in the County of Cornwall, who was fed, for six Months,
by a small Sort of *Airy People*, called FAIRIES.

And of the strange and wonderful Cures she performed, with *Salves* and *Medicines*, she received from them, for which she never took one Penny of her Patients.

In a LETTER from *Moses Pitt*, to the Right Reverend Father in GOD,
Dr. EDWARD FOWLER, Lord Bishop of Gloucester.

All the Works of Providence are not alike. Sometimes for wise and good Reasons God has been pleased quite to alter the Course of Nature, as it were, to shew himself to have a Power above it.

Mr. Samuel Barton's Sermon before the House of Commons, April 16, 1696. Pag. 7.

London, Printed for Richard Cumberland, at the Angel in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1696.

My LORD,

WHEN, about Christmas last, I waited on you with my Printed Letter to the Author of a Book, intituled, *Some Discourses upon Dr. Burnet (now Lord Bishop of Salisbury) and Dr. Tillotson (late Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbury)* occasioned by the late Funeral-Sermon of the former upon the latter: After I had paid my Duty and Service to your Lordship, you were pleased to mind me of my having told you a wonderful Story, about 17 or 18 Years since, in the Company of a Kinsman of mine, a Tradesman of Plymouth; who also confirmed Part of it, from his own Knowledge: And the following Narrative you will find to contain the Substance of what you then heard. And I doubt not but I could bring several other Persons, now living, to justify the Truth of what I here write: Nay, the Person concerned, who is, at this Time, living in Cornwall, must own it, and a great deal more, if she could be prevailed with to speak out. My Lord, I thought I could, if any Person alive, have prevailed with her, she being the Servant who attended me in my Childhood; but your Lordship may see, that I cannot, and, therefore, your Lordship must be content with what I here publish. I am satisfied I was not, nor could be imposed on in this Affair, the Particulars having made so great an Impression on me, from my Youth hitherto. I know, my Lord, that the greatest Part of the World will not believe the Passages here related, by reason of the Strangeness of them; but I cannot help their Unbelief. Your Lordship knows the Record where it is mentioned, That the Great God did marvellous Things in the Sight of our Fore-fathers, but, for all that, they sinned

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yet

yet more, and believed not his wonderous Works: *And, therefore, Unbelief, is no new Sin crept into the World. And, moreover, my Lord, if Men would give themselves Time to think, they cannot but remember, that the Great God has done as great and marvellous Works in our Age, both in Judgment and in Mercy, as He did in the Days of old: By which the greatest Atheist may be convinced, not only of the Being of a God, but, also, that his Power and his Goodness are as manifest now as of old; and therefore it is the Duty of all who do, by Personal Knowledge, know any extraordinary Works, or Providences of God, which are uncommon, to publish them to the World, that the Great God may be glorified, and Mankind edified; which is purely and truly the Design of publishing this Narrative.*

NARRATIVE OF ANNE JEFFERIES.

ANNE JEFFERIES (for that was her Maiden Name) of whom the following strange Things are related, was born in the Parish of *St. Teath*, in the County of *Cornwall*, in *December 1626*, and she is still living, *1696*, being now in the *70th* Year of her Age. She is married to one *William Warren*, formerly *Hind* (a *Hind* is one who looks after the rest of the Servants, the Grounds, Cattel, Corn, &c. of his Master) to the late eminent Physician *Dr. Richard Lower*, deceased; and now lives as *Hind* to *Sir Andrew Slanning*, of *Devon*, Bart.

I must acquaint you, that I have made it my Business, but could not prevail, to get a Relation from her, of what she herself remembers of those several strange Passages of her Life, which I here relate, or of any other that I have either forgot, or which never came to my Cognizance: But she being prevailed with, by some of her poor ignorant Neighbours, not to do it, and she fancying, that if she should do it, she might again fall into Trouble about it; I here give your Lordship the best and faithfullest Account I can.

In the Year *1691*, I wrote into *Cornwall*, to my Sister *Mary Martyn's* Son, an Attorney, to go to the said *Anne*, and discourse her, as from me, about the most material strange Passages of her Life. He answers my Letter, *Sept. 13, 1691*, and saith; *I have been with Anne Jefferies, and she can give me no particular Account of her Condition, it being so long since: My Grandfather and Mother say, that she was in Bodmyn Jail three Months, and lived six Months without Meat; and during her Continuance in that Condition, several eminent Cures were performed by her, the Particulars no one can now relate. My Mother saw the Fairies once, and heard one say, that they should give some Meat to the Child, that she might return to her Parents: Which is the fullest Relation can now be given.*

But I, not being satisfied with this Answer, did, in the Year *1693*, write into *Cornwall*, to my Sister's Husband (*Mr. Humph. Martyn*) and desired him to go to *Anne Jefferies*, to see if he could persuade her to give me what Account she could remember of the many and strange Passages of her Life. He answers my Letter, *Jan. 31, 1693*, and saith; *As for Anne Jefferies, I have been with her the greatest Part of one Day, and did read to her all that you wrote to me; but she would not own any thing of it as concerning the Fairies, neither of any of the Cures she then did. I endeavoured to persuade her she might receive some Benefit by it. She answered; That if her own Father were now alive, she would not discover to him those Things which did then happen to her. I asked her the Reason why she would not do it? She replied, That if she should discover it to you, that you would make either Books or Ballads of it. And she said, That she would not have her Name spread about the Country, in Books or Ballads, of such Things, if she might have five Hundred Pounds for the doing of it: For, she said, she had been questioned before Justices, and at the Sessions, and in Prison, and also before the Judges at the Assizes; and she*
doth

doth believe, that if she should discover such Things now, she should be questioned again for it. - As for the ancient Inhabitants of St. Teath-Church-Town, there are none of them now alive, but Thomas Christopher, a blind Man (Note, this Tho. Christopher was then a Servant in my Father's House when these Things happened) and he remembers many of the Passages you wrote of her. And as for my Wife, she then being so little, did not mind it; but has heard her Father and Mother relate most of the Passages you wrote of her.

This is all I can, at present, possibly get from her, and, therefore, I now go on with my own Relation of the wonderful Cures, and other strange Things she did, or happened to her, which is the Substance of what I wrote to my Brother, and that he read to her.

It is the Custom, in our County of *Cornwall*, for the most substantial People, of each Parish, to take Apprentices the Poors Children, and to breed them up till they attain to 21 Years of Age, and, for their Service, to give them Meat, Drink, and Clothes. This *Anne Jefferies*, being a poor Man's Child of the Parish, by Providence, fell into our Family, where she lived several Years: Being a Girl of a bold, daring Spirit, she would venture at those Difficulties and Dangers that no Boy would attempt.

In the Year 1645 (she then being nineteen Years old) she being, one Day, knitting in an Arbour in our Garden, there came over the Garden-Hedge to her (as she affirmed) six Persons, of a small Stature, all clothed in *Green*, which she called *Fairies*; upon which she was so frightened, that she fell into a Kind of a Convulsion Fit. But, when we found her in this Condition, we brought her into the House, and put her to Bed, and took great Care of her. As soon as she recovered out of her Fit, she cries out; *They are just gone out of the Window; they are just gone out of the Window: Do you not see them?* And thus, in the Height of her Sickness, she would often cry out, and that with Eagerness; which Expressions were attributed to her Distemper, supposing her Light-headed. During the Extremity of her Sickness, my Father's Mother died, which was in *April*, 1646; but we durst not acquaint our Maid *Anne* with it, for Fear it might have increased her Distemper, she being, at that Time, so very sick, that she could not go, nor so much as stand on her Feet; and, also, the Extremity of her Sickness, and the long Continuance of her Distemper, had almost perfectly moped her, so that she became even as a Changeling; and, as soon as she began to recover, and to get a little Strength, she, in her going, would spread her Legs as wide as she could, and so lay hold, with her Hands, on Tables, Forms, Chairs, Stools, &c. till she had learned to go again: And, if any Thing vexed her, she would fall into her Fits, and continue in them a long Time; so that we were afraid she would have died in one of them. As soon as she had got out of her Fit, she would heartily call upon God; and then the first Person she would ask for, was myself, and would not be satisfied till I came to her. Upon which, she would ask me, If any one had vexed, or abused me, since she fell into her Fit? Upon my telling her, no one had, she would stroke me, and kiss me, calling me, her dear Child; and then all her Vexation was over.

As soon as she recovered a little Strength, she constantly went to Church, to pay her Devotions to our great and good God, and to hear his Word read and preached. Her Memory was so well restored to her, that she would repeat more of the Sermons, she heard, than any other of our Family. She took mighty Delight in Devotion, and in hearing the Word of God read and preached, although she herself could not read.

The first manual Operation, or Cure she performed, was on my own Mother; the Occasion was as follows: One Afternoon, in the Harvest-Time, all our Family being

in the Fields at Work (and my self a Boy at School) there was none in the House but my Mother, and this *Anne*. My Mother considering, that Bread might be wanting for the Labourers, if Care were not taken ; and she having, before, caused some Bushels of Wheat to be sent to the Mill, my Mother was resolved, that she herself would take a Walk to the Mill (which was but a quarter of a Mile from our House) to hasten the Miller to bring home the Meal, that so her Maids, as soon as they came from the Fields, might make and bake the Bread ; but, in the mean Time, how to dispose of her Maid *Anne*, was her great Care ; for she did not dare trust her in the House alone, for fear she might do herself some Mischief by Fire, or set the House on Fire (for, at that Time, she was so weak, that she could hardly help herself, and very silly withal) : At last by much Persuasions, my Mother prevailed with her to walk in the Gardens and Orchard, till she came from the Mill ; to which she unwillingly consented. Then my Mother locked the Doors of the House, and walked to the Mill ; but as she was coming Home, in a very plain Way, she slipped and hurt her Leg, so as that she could nor rise. There she lay, a considerable Time, in great Pain, till a Neighbour, coming by on Horse-back, seeing my Mother in this Condition, lifted her upon his Horse, and carried her Home. As soon as she was brought within the Doors of the House, Word of it was sent into the Fields to the Reapers, who, thereupon, immediately, left their Harvest-work, and came Home. The House being presently full of People, a Man-servant was ordered to take a Horse, and ride for Mr. *Lob*, an eminent Surgeon, who then lived at a Market-Town called *Bodmyn*, which was eight Miles from my Father's House : But, while the Man was getting the Horse ready, in comes our Maid *Anne*, and tells my Mother, that she was heartily sorry for the Mischance she had got, in hurting her Leg, and that she did it at such a Place (naming the Place) and, farther, she desired, she might see her Leg. My Mother, at first, refused to shew her her Leg, saying to her ; What should she shew her Leg to so poor and silly a Creature as she was, for she could do her no good ? But *Anne* being very importunate with my Mother to see her Leg, and my Mother, being unwilling to vex her, by denying her, for fear of her falling into her Fits (for, at all Times, we dealt gently, lovingly, and kindly with her, taking great Care, by no Means, to cross or fret her) did yield to her Request, and did shew her her Leg : Upon which, *Anne* took my Mother's Leg on her Lap, and stroked it with her Hand, and then asked my Mother, if she did not find Ease by her stroking of it ? My Mother confessed to her, she did. Upon this, she desired my Mother to forbear sending for the Surgeon, for she would, by the Blessing of God, cure her Leg ; and, to satisfy my Mother of the Truth of it, she again appealed to my Mother, whether she did not find farther Ease, upon her continued stroking of the Part affected ? Which my Mother again acknowledged, she did. Upon this, my Mother countermanded the Messenger for the Surgeon.

On this, my Mother demanded of her, how she came to the Knowledge of her Fall ? She made Answer, *That half a Dozen Persons told her of it*. That, replied my Mother, could not be, for there was none came by, at that Time, but my Neighbour . . . who brought me Home. *Anne* answers again, That *that* was Truth, and it was also true, *that half a Dozen Persons told her so* : For, said she, you know I went out of the House, into the Gardens and Orchard, very unwillingly ; and now I will tell you the Truth of all Matters and Things which have befallen me.

You know, that this my Sickness and Fits came very suddenly upon me, which brought me very low and weak, and have made me very simple. Now the Cause of my Sickness was this :

I was, one Day, knitting of Stockings in the Arbour in the Garden, and there came over the Garden-Hedge, of a sudden, *six small People*, all in Green Clothes, which

which put me into such a great Fright, that was the Cause of this my great Sickness; and they continue their Appearance to me, never less than Two at a Time, nor never more than Eight: They always appear in even Numbers, Two, Four, Six, Eight. When I said, often, in my Sickness, *They were just gone out of the Window!* it was really so, although you thought me light-headed. At this Time, when I came out into the Garden, they came to me, and asked me, If you had put me out of the House against my Will? I told them, I was unwilling to come out of the House. Upon this, they said, You should not fare the better for it; and thereupon in that Place, and at that Time, in a fair Path-way, you fell, and hurt your Leg, I would not have you send for a Surgeon, nor trouble yourself, for I will cure your Leg: The which she did, in a little Time.

This Cure of my Mother's Leg, and the Stories she told of these *Fairies*, made such a Noise over all the County of *Cornwall*, as that it had the same Effect St. Paul's healing of *Publius's* Father of a Fever, and a Bloody Flux, at *Malta*, after his Shipwreck there, as related *Acts* 28, 8, 9. *And it came to pass, that the Father of Publius lay sick of a Fever, and of a bloody Flux: to whom Paul entred in, and prayed, and laid his Hands on him, and healed him. So, when this was done, others also, who had Diseases in the Island, came and were healed.* That People of all Distempers, Sicknesses, Sores, and Ages, came not only so far off as the *Land's-end*, but also from *London*, and were cured by her. She took no Monies of them, nor any Reward, that ever I knew or heard of; yet had she Monies, at all Times, sufficient to supply her Wants. She neither made, nor bought any Medicines, or Salves, that ever I saw or heard of, yet wanted them not, as she had Occasion. She forsook eating our Victuals, and was fed by these *Fairies* from that Harvest-time to the next *Christmas-Day*; upon which Day she came to our Table, and said, Because it was that Day, she would eat some Roast-Beef with us; the which she did, I my self being then at Table.

One Time (I remember it perfectly well) I had a Mind to speak with her, and not knowing better where to find her than in her Chamber, I went thither, and fell a knocking very earnestly, at her Chamber-door, with my Foot, and calling to her earnestly, *Anne, Anne, open the Door, and let me in.* She answered me, *Have a little Patience, and I will let you in immediately.* Upon which, I looked through the Key-hole of the Door, and I saw her eating; and when she had done eating, she stood still by her Bed-side, as long as Thanks to God might be given, and then she made a Courtesy (or Bow) and opened the Chamber-door, and gave me a Piece of her Bread, which I did eat; and, I think, it was the most delicious Bread that ever I did eat, either before, or since.

Another odd Passage, which I must relate, was this: One *Lord's-Day*, my Father, with his Family, being at Dinner, in our Hall, comes in one of our Neighbours, whose Name was *Francis Heathman*, and asked, where *Anne* was? We told him, she was in her Chamber. Upon this, he goes into her Chamber to see for her; and, not seeing her, he calls her: She not answering, he feels up and down in the Chamber for her; but not finding her, comes and tells us, she was not in her Chamber. As soon as he had said this, she comes out of her Chamber to us, as we were sitting at Table, and tells him, She was in her Chamber, and saw him, and heard him call her, and saw him feel up and down the Chamber for her, and had almost felt her, but he could not see her, although she saw him, notwithstanding she was, at the same Time, at the Table in her Chamber, eating her Dinner.

One Day, these *Fairies* gave my Sister *Mary* (the now Wife of Mr. *Hump. Marzyn*) then about four Years of Age, a Silver Cup, which held about a Quart, bidding her give it my Mother, and she did bring it my Mother; but my Mother would not accept of it, but bid her carry it to them again, which she did. I presume this

was

was the Time my Sister owns she saw the *Fairies*. I confess to your Lordship, I never did see them. I had almost forgot to tell your Lordship, that *Anne* would tell what People would come to her, several Days before they came, and from whence, and at what Time they would come.

I have seen *Anne*, in the Orchard, dancing among the Trees; and she told me, she was then dancing with the *Fairies*.

The great Noise of the many strange Cures *Anne* did, and also, her living without eating our Victuals (she being fed, as she said, by these *Fairies*) caused both the Neighbour *Magistrates* and *Ministers*, to resort to my Father's House, and talk with her, and strictly examine her, about the Matters here related; and she gave them very rational Answers to all those Questions they then asked her (for, by this Time, she was well recovered out of her Sickness and Fits, and her Natural Parts, and Understanding much improved) my Father, and all his Family, affirming the Truth of all we saw. The *Ministers* endeavoured to persuade her, they were Evil Spirits which resorted to her, and that it was the Delusion of the Devil (but how could that be, when she did no Hurt, but Good to all who came to her for Cure of their Distempers?) and advised her not to go to them, when they called her. Upon these Admonitions of the *Ministers* and *Magistrates*, our *Anne* was not a little troubled and concerned, not well knowing what to do in this Case. However, that Night, after the *Magistrates* and *Ministers* were gone, my Father, with his Family, sitting at a great Fire in his Hall, *Anne* being also present, she spake to my Father, and said, *Now they call* (meaning the *Fairies*): We all of us urged her not to go. In less than half a Quarter of an Hour, she said, *Now they call a second Time*. We encouraged her again, not to go to them. By-and-by she said, *Now they call a third Time*: Upon which, away to her Chamber she went to them (of all these three Calls of the *Fairies*, none heard them but *Anne*.) After she had been in her Chamber some Time, she came to us again with a Bible in her Hand, and tells us, that when she came to the *Fairies*, they said to her; What! has there been some *Magistrates* and *Ministers* with you, and dissuaded you from coming any more to us, saying, we are Evil Spirits, and that it was all the Delusion of the Devil? Pray desire them to read that Place of Scripture in the 1st Epistle of St. *John*, chap. 4. ver. 1. *Dearlly Belov-ed, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, whether they are of God, &c.* This Place of Scripture was turned down to in the said Bible. I told your Lordship before, *Anne* could not read.

After this, one *John Trezeagle*, Esq; (who was Steward to the late *John* Earl of *Radnor*) being then a Justice of Peace in *Cornwall*, sent his Warrant for *Anne*, and sent her to *Bodmin* Jail, and there kept her a long Time. That Day the Constable came to execute his Warrant, *Anne* milking the Cows, the *Fairies* appeared to her, and told her, That a Constable would come that Day, with a Warrant for to carry her before a Justice of Peace, and she would be sent to Jail. She asked them, if she should hide herself? They answered her, No: She should fear nothing, but go with the Constable. So she went with the Constable to the Justice, and he sent her to *Bodmin* Jail, and ordered the Prison-Keeper that she should be kept without Victuals; and she was so kept, and yet she lived, and that without complaining. When the Sessions came, the Justices of the Peace sent their Warrant to one *Giles Bawden*, a Neighbour of ours, who was then Constable, for my Mother and my self, to appear before them, at that Sessions, to answer such Questions as should be demanded of us, about our poor Maid *Anne*: *Bodmin* was eight Miles from my Father's. When we came to the Sessions, the first who was called in, before the Justices, was my Mother: What Questions they asked her, I do not remember: When they had done examining her, they desired her to withdraw. As soon as she came forth, I was brought in, and called to the upper-End of the Table to be examined; and there was

(I suppose him to be) the Clerk of the Peace, with his Pen ready in his Hand, to take my Examination. (I do not remember that they did put me to my Oath.) The first Question they asked me, was, *What have you got in your Pockets?* I answered, *Nothing, Sir, but my Cuffs*; which I immediately plucked out of my Pocket, and shewed them. Their second Question to me was, *If I had any Victuals in my Pocket for my Maid Anne?* I answered, *I had not*. And so they dismissed me, as well as my Mother. But poor *Anne* lay in Jail for a considerable Time after; and also, Justice *Tregeagle*, who was her great Persecutor, kept her in his House some Time, as a Prisoner, and that without Victuals. And, at last, when *Anne* was discharged out of Prison, the Justices made an Order, that *Anne* should not live any more with my Father. Whereupon, my Father's only Sister, Mrs. *Frances Tom*, a Widow, near *Padslow*, took *Anne* into her Family, and there she lived a considerable Time, and did many great Cures; but what they were, my Kinsman, Mr. *Will. Tom*, who then lived in the House with his Mother, can give your Lordship the best Account of any I know living, except *Anne* herself. And from thence she went to live with her own Brother; and, in Process of Time, married, as aforesaid.

And now, my Lord, if your Lordship expects, that I should give you an Account when, and upon what Occasion these *Fairies* forsook our *Anne*? I must tell your Lordship, I am ignorant in that: She herself can best tell, if she could be prevailed with so to do; and the History of it, and the rest of the Passages of her Life, would be very acceptable, and useful to the most curious, and inquisitive Part of Mankind.

And now, my Lord, I think good, here, to put an End to my plain Relation of these very strange Passages of this *Anne Jefferies's* Life: It is only Matter of Fact which I have here faithfully related; I have not made any Observations, nor Reflections upon any one Passage. I leave your Lordship to your own free Thoughts and Judgment. I, myself, cannot give one Natural Reason for any one of these Passages which happened to this poor Woman, but must conclude with that great Apostle, and Scholar St. Paul, Rom. 11. 33, 34, 35, 36. *O the Depths of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out! For who hath known the Mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counsellor? Or, who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all Things: To whom be Glory for ever. Amen.*

I am

Your Lordship's most Humble,

May 1. 1696.

and Dutiful Servant,

MOSES PITT.

The

The Loyal Non-conformist :

O R,

An Account of what he dare swear, and what not.

I 6 7 0.

I Fear an Oath, before I swear, to take it ;
 And well I may, for 'tis the Oath of GOD :
 I fear an Oath, when I have sworn to break it ;
 And well I may, for Vengeance hath a Rod.
 And yet I may swear, and must too, 'tis due
 Both to my Heav'nly and my Earthly King :
 If I assent, it must be full and true ;
 And if I promise, I must do the Thing.
 I am no Quaker, not at all to swear :
 Nor Papist, to swear East, and mean the West :
 But am a Protestant, and shall declare
 What I cannot, and what I can protest.
 I never will endeavour Alteration
 Of Monarchy, or of that Royal Name :
 Which God hath chosen to command this Nation ;
 But will maintain his Person, Crown & Fame.
 What He commands, if Conscience say not Nay
 (For Conscience is a greater King than He)
 For Conscience sake, not Fear, I will obey ;
 And, if not active, passive I will be.
 I'll pray, That all his Subjects may agree,
 And never more be crumbled into Parts :
 I will endeavour that his Majesty
 May not be King of Clubs, but King of Hearts
 The Royal Oak I swear I will defend ;
 But for the Ivy, which doth hug it so,
 I swear that is a Thief, and not a Friend ;
 And about Steeples fitter for to grow.
 The Civil Government I will obey,
 But for Church-Policy I swear I doubt it ;
 And if my Bible want th'Apocrypha,
 I swear my Book may be compleat without it.
 I dare not swear Church-Government is Right,
 As it should be : But this I dare to swear,
 If they should put me to't, the Bishops might
 Do better, and be better than they are.
 Nor will I swear, for all that they are worth,
 That Bishopricks will stand, and Doomsday see :
 And yet I'll swear, the Gospel holdeth forth,
 Christ with his Mysteries till then will be.
 That Peter was a Prelate, they aver ;
 But I'll not swear't when all is said and done :

But I dare swear, and hope I shall not err,
 He preach'd a hundred Sermons to their one.
 Peter a Fisher was, and he caught Men ;
 And they have Nets, and in them catch Men to :
 Yet I'll not swear they are alike ; for them (do.
 He caught, he sav'd ; these catch, and them un-
 I dare not swear that Courts Ecclesiastic
 Do, in their Laws, make just and gentle Votes :
 But I'll be sworn that Burton, Pryn and Bastwick
 Were once Ear-witnesses of harsher Notes.
 Arch-deacons, Deans and Chapters are brave
 Men
 By Canon, not by Scripture ; but to this,
 If I be call'd, I'll swear, and swear ager,
 That no such Chapter in my Bible is.
 I'll not condemn those Presbyterians, who
 Refused Bishopricks, and might have had 'em :
 But Mistress Calamy, I'll swear does do
 As well as if she were a Spiritual Madam.
 For Holy Vestments I'll not take an Oath,
 Which Linnen most Canonical may be :
 Some are for Lawn, some Holland, some Scotch-
 Cloth,
 And Hemp for some is fitter than all three.
 Paul had a Cloak, and Books, and Parchments
 too ;
 But that he wore a Surplice I'll not swear ;
 Nor that his Parchments did his Orders show,
 Or in his Books there was a Common-Prayer.
 I own Assistance to the King, by Oath,
 And if he please to put the Bishops down,
 (As who knows what may be) I should be leath
 To see Tom Becker's Mitre push the Crown.
 And yet Church-Government I do allow,
 And am contented Bishops be the Men :
 And that I speak in Earnest, here I vow
 Where we have One I wish we might have Ten.
 In fine, the Civil Power I'll obey ;
 And seek the Peace and Welfare of the Nation :
 If this won't do, I know not what to say ;
 But farewell, London, farewell Corporation.

A
 DISSERTATION
 UPON
 PAMPHLETS,
 And the UNDERTAKING of
 PHOENIX BRITANNICUS,
 To Revive the most EXCELLENT among Them.

In a LETTER to a NOBLEMAN : From the Original M. S.

My LORD,

THE Inclination you have expressed, to hear what might be said, in Behalf of those most numerous Productions of our Press, which we distinguish by the Name of PAMPHLETS; and the present *Undertaking*, by the Compiler of *PHOENIX BRITANNICUS*, to Revive the most Excellent among them; has induced me thus briefly, to touch upon those Particulars which seemed most to attract your *Lordship's* Inquiry; hoping the Readiness of my Endeavour will atone for the Imperfections of my Performance; which, if it does not *equal* the Extensions of your Curiosity, may *add* to the Instances of your Candour: So that, where you find not Entertainment commensurate to your *Knowledge*, you will not fail of Exercise correspondent to your *Goodness*.

And, First, for the *Derivation* of the Word *Pamphlet*: I should think it little discredited by what some *Etymologists*, and those who torture Words into Confessions of what they were never guilty, have, thro' the Confinement of themselves to some opprobrious Signification, censoriously suggested thereof. Thus one Linguist, having found a Word which will illustrate the Adaptness of these Writings to the vulgar Consultation of the Populace, would derive it from Πᾶν and Πάσῳ, as *filling all Places*, which all vulgar and popular Things have the Property of doing*. Another Original, no less specious, has been offered me, by an ingenious Friend, from Πᾶν and φλέγω, which, by a Grammatical Turn, reaches to the Analogy of *Sound*, and, by a Rhetorical Twist, to the plausible Sense of *inflaming all Parties*. But others, considering the Subject of *Pamphlets* in a more copious and unbiassed Latitude, as having branched into all other Parts of Science, besides *Religion* and *Politics*, from the first Appropriation of the Name, and before their Engagement in Controversy could draw upon them any prevailing *Sobriquet* to their Disparagement, have, with less Partiality, concluded of these Tracts, whose Contents, therefore, as well as Di-

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A a a

mensions,

* *Minsheu's Guide to Tongues*, Fol. 1627.

menſions, are ſo generally engaging to all Writers and Readers, ſo much more univerſally ſuited to every Body's Peruſal, to every Body's Purchase, that the Name is more properly derivable from Πάρ and φίλιν, as if they were a Kind of Compoſition, *beloved by*, or *delighting all People**. But, notwithſtanding this favourable Derivation, I ſhould not be for going to *Athens* after one, or ſeeking it in any other of the more ancient Languages, ſeeing *that* Word *Pamphlet*, for *Paper*, in one more Modern, more probable to me (as it ſeemed before, to one of our moſt induſtrious *Gloſſographers*) for *this* of *Pamphlet*, to be derived from ‡; the laſt Letter of the firſt Syllable being interwoven by *Epenthēſis*, to mollify the Sound; and the laſt Syllable ſubſtituted, as a noted Term of Diminution in many Languages||; with the ſame Difference of Interpretation, as between *Charta* and *Chartula*, or *Papyrus* and *Papyrulus*: Thus, alſo, in *French*, the Diminutive of the Word *Livre*, for a Book itſelf, is *Livret*; and thus, in *Engliſh*, we have *Aglet*, *Amulet*, *Bracelet*, *Chaplet*, *Corſlet*, *Eaglet*, *Gufflet*, *Hamlet*, *Howlet*, *Oilet*, *Pallet*, *Pullet*, *Ringlet*, *Rivulet*, and Twenty more, with like Terminations to the ſame Senſe. Now, this Extraction, beſides the Plea of Precedent, has the farther Recommendations to our Preference, of not antedating the Familiarity of *Graciſms* in our Tongue, and withal of deriving itſelf from the more apparent, and determinable Quality, of the Size or Subſtance, rather than the Subject Matter, of theſe more exiguous Compoſitions. And thus the Word *Pamphlet*, or *little Paper Book*, imports no reproachful Character, any more than the Word *Great Book*; ſignifies a Paſquil, as little as it does a Panegyric, of itſelf: Is neither Good nor Bad, Learned nor Illiterate, True nor False, Serious nor Jocular, of its own naked Meaning, or Conſtruction; but is either of them, according as the Subject makes the Diſtinction. Thus, of ſcurrilous and abuſive *Pamphlets*, to be burned in 1647, we read in *Ruſſworth*; and, by the Name of *Pamphlet*, is the *Encomium* of Queen *Emma* called in *Hollinſhed*.

As for the *Antiquity* of *Pamphlets*, it is not only questionable, whether the Art of *Printing* ſhould ſet a Bound to it, but even the very Adoption of the Name itſelf; which yet I take to be more Modern than that Art: For I look upon them as the eldeſt Offspring of Paper, and to claim the Rights of *Primogeniture* even of Bound Volumes, however they may be ſhorter-liv'd, and the Younger Brother has ſo much out-grown the Elder; in-as-much as Arguments do now, and more eſpecially did, in the Minority of our Erudition, not only ſo much more rarely require a larger Compais than Pamphlets will comprize; but theſe being of a more ready and facil, more decent and ſimple Form, ſuitable to the Character of the more Artleſs Ages, they ſeem to have been preferred by our modeſt Anceſtry for the Communication of their Sentiments, before Book-Writing became a *Trade*; and Lucre, or Vanity let in Deluges of Digreſſory Learning, to ſwell up unweildy *Folio's*. Thus I find, not a little to the Honour of our Subject, no leſs a Perſon than the Renowned King *ÆLFRED*, collecting his Sage Precepts, and Divine Sentences, with his own Royal Hand, into *Quaternions of Leaves ſtitched together***; which he would enlarge with additional *Quaternions*, as Occaſion offered; yet ſeemed he to keep his Collection ſo much within the Limits of a *Pamphlet-Size* (however bound together at laſt) that he called it by the Name of his *Hand-Book*, becauſe he made it his conſtant Companion, and had it at Hand wherever he was.

It is ſo difficult to recover even any of our firſt Books, or *Volumes*, which were Printed by *William Caxton*, though it is certain he ſet forth near Half a Hundred of them in *Folio*, that it were a Wonder if his *Pamphlets* ſhould not be quite loſt.

There

* *Icon Libellorum in Pref.* ‡ Skinneri *Etymologicon Ling. Ang.* Fol. 1671.
 || *Ib. in Voc. Let.* & Sir Hen. Spelman's *Gloſſ.* ** Sir John Spelman's
Life of Ælfred the Great, p. 205.

There are more extant of his Successor *Wynkin de Worde's* Printing in this lesser Form, whereof, as great Rarities, I have seen both in *Quarto* and *Octavo*, tho' holding no Comparison, probably, with those of his also, which are destroyed. But it was the Irruption of the Grand Controversy between the Church of *Rome*, and the first Opposers thereof, which seems to have laid the great Foundation of this Kind of Writing, and to have given great Credit to it at the same Time, as well by the many eminent Authors it produced in *Church and State*, as the successful Detection and Defeat, thereby befalling those religious Impostures, which had so universally enslaved the Minds of Men. Nay, this important Reformation, has been much ascribed to one little Pamphlet only, which a certain Lawyer of *Grey's-Inn*, obliged to fly into *Germany* (for having acted in a *Play* which incensed Cardinal *Wolfey*) composed there, and conveyed by Means of the Lady *Anne Bullen*, to the Perusal of King *Henry*, at the Beginning of the said Rupture*, and how the Copies thereof were strewed about, at the King's Procession to *Westminster* (the first Example, as some think, of that Kind of Appeal to the Public) how the Cardinal was nettled thereat; how he endeavoured to stifle and secrete the same; how it provoked the Pen of the bigotted Lord Chancellor ||; how, glaringly it was fix'd in the very Front of prohibited Books; and, yet, how it captivated the said King's Esteem and Affection: may be not only presumed from the Purport, but gathered from the Accounts which our *Ecclesiastical* Historians have given thereof |||. It would be endless to specify, how much this Province was thence-forward cultivated by *Prelates*, *Statesmen*, and *Authors* of the first Rank, not excepting *Majesty* itself, in the several Examples, which might be produced of the said King *Henry VIII.* King *James*, and King *Charles*. And, not to mention others of our Princes, less noted, though not less truly Authors in this Class, the middlemost of those here named, thought so honourably of these Pamphlet-Performances, that he deemed one of his own Writing so much above all Human Patronage, as to make a formal Dedication, or Inscription thereof, as I remember, to JESUS CHRIST himself **: Yet are many of the said Labours of those ROYAL PAMPHLETEERS, and others, by some of the most renowned Scholars among us, no less equally difficult to retrieve, with the meanest and most illiterate whatever. Had *Phœnix Britannicus* been alive a *Century* past, or half a one sooner, we might have had a better *Knowledge* of that vast Number of Pamphlets, which *Montaigne* mentions §, and whereof he intimates many to have been so ingeniously written, on the aforesaid Controversy of the *Reformation*, than it is now possible we shall ever arrive at even the *Names* of.

But, as *England*, thro' its Spirit of Liberty, has been the most fruitful Country, for the Production of Pamphlets, so the Period which has been most fruitful in them, was that of our *Civil Wars*, in the Reign of King *Charles* the First. And, indeed, in all Disorders, or Commotions, it is natural to have Recourse to the most expeditious Intelligence and Redress, lest the Delay should be more dangerous than the Deficiency of them; or they, superannuated before they are born. For, while some Persons are labouring in the *Paroxysms* of Contention, were others to be pondering long-winded Expedients of Accommodation, and prescribe a Volume for a *Recipe*, the Dose would come too late for the Disease, and the very Preparation thereof disable its Efficacy. Therefore are Pamphlets, and such short Tracts, rifest in great Revolutions; which tho' looked upon, by some, but as *Paper Lanterns*, set a flying to be gaped at by the Multitude (in illuminating whom, they have not always escaped the Flames themselves) yet are they beheld, by politic, or penetrating Eyes,

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* *Simon Fish's Supplication of Beggars*, 12^o. 1524.|| *Sir Tho. More's**Supplication of Souls*.||| See *Fox's Martyr*. *Burnet's Reformat.* Vol. 1.** *K. James against Conr. Vorstius*, 4^{to}. 1611.§ *Essays sur la Defense**de Seneque, et de Plutarque*.

as the *Thermometers* of State, fore-shewing the Temperature and Changes of Government, with the *Calentures* approaching therein, and even Preservatives to be had against them, would the *Active* be as unanimous to prevent, as the *Speculative* have been industrious to prognosticate the same. Tho' there may not remain as eminent Proofs among the Pamphleteers in the aforesaid *Anarchy*, of an Ambition to Unanimity, as there are to Dissention: For, surely, no Nation, has ever given more conspicuous Instances, to what immeasurable Lengths, Animosity, and Indignation will advance, upon the least Imposition, or even Umbrage of Tyrannical or Arbitrary Power; as might be exemplified, among many others, in the restless *John Lilburn*, and the endless *William Prynne*, who had both been bleeding Witnesses thereof. There are near a Hundred Pamphlets, written by, and concerning the *first* of these Authors: But the Labours of the *last* being unparallel'd, I may here not improperly observe, that during the *Forty-two* Years he was a Writer, he published above a *Hundred and Sixty* Pamphlets, besides several thick Bound Volumes in *Quarto* and *Folio*, all said to be gathered into about *Forty* Tomes, and extant in *Lincoln's-Inn* Library. I think the printed Catalogue of his Writings, extends not their whole Number beyond *One Hundred Sixty-eight* different Pieces: But *Anthony Wood* to above *One Hundred and Fourscore*; who also computes, he must needs have composed at the Rate of a Sheet every Day, from the Time that he came to Man's Estate*. That Author's Character of him is drawn from his avowed Enemies, even *Papists*, as *Cressy*, or Personal Antagonists, as *Heylin*, &c. — But I cannot well omit what one sprightly Pamphleteer intimates, among other Things, of him, to this Purpose; "That *Nature* makes ever the dullest Beasts most laborious, and the greatest Feeders: *That* though he had read and swallowed much, yet, for want of Ruminatation, he concocted little: *That* to return Things unaltered, was a Symptom of a feeble Stomach; and, as an Error in the first Concoction, derives itself to the others, and nourishing up a prevalescent Humour, begets, at last, a Disease; even so, his Judgment, being once depraved, turned all his Reading into bilious or putrid Humours, which being perpetually increased, by his insatiate Gluttony of Books, did miserably foment and heighten his Malady of Writing" †. Another of his Draughtsmen has, among other humorous Touches, as follows:— "This is the *William*, whose Passion is the *Conqueror*.—The *Error* of whose Judgment, and unpardonable *Instability*, is to be imputed to the Loss of his two *Biaffes*; for, if a *Bowl's* Deviation from the *Jack*, is occasioned hereby, much more a Rational Creature's, *à fortiori*" ‡. Neither will I omit what the Translator of the Ingenious Father *Bartoli's* *Huomo di Lettere* says in his Praise, where he calls him, "*Pater Patrie*; forgiving us a *Dædalian* Clue in the blackest Night of Tyranny: *farther adding*; "Your numerous and nervous, large and learned Volumes (which who can reckon?) have been so successful in the Refutation of Errors, Reformation of Vice, Regulation of Disorders, Restauration of Parliaments and Laws, that I must, in Justice, join you with the Renowned General MONK, as the two *worthiest* Subjects of all Honour: For, if his *Generosity* speaks him *Herculem Anglorum*, your *Erudition* proclaims you *Alcidem Litterarum*, &c" **.

This particular Notice of our most voluminous Pamphleteer, will lead us to a general Review of the numerous Produce of the *Press*, during that turbulent Series aforesaid, wherein he was such a fruitful Instrument, to impregnate the same, and promote the licentious *Superfotation* thereof. For, by the grand *Collection of Pamphlets*, which was made by *Tomlinson* the Bookseller ††, from the Latter-end of the Year

* *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. 2.

† *A serious Epist. to Mr. W. Prynne*, 4to. 1649, p. 4. ‡ *The Character, or Ear-Mark of Mr. W. Prynne*, 4to, 1659. p. 3.

** *The Learned Man defended and reformed. Transl. by T. Salusbury*, 8vo, 1660, in *Epist. to W. Prynne, Esq.* †† *Memoirs for the Curious*, 4to, 1708. Vol. 2. p. 176.

Year 1640, to the Beginning of 1660, it appears, there were published, in that Space, near *Thirty Thousand* several Tracts, and that these were not the compleat Issue of that Period, there is good Presumption, and, I believe, Proofs in Being: Notwithstanding, it is enriched with near a Hundred Manuscripts, which no Body then (being written on the Side of the *Royalists*) would venture to put in Print; the Whole, however, for it is yet undispersed, is progressively and uniformly Bound, in upwards of *Two Thousand Volumes*, of all Sizes. The *Catalogue*, which was taken by *Marmaduke Foster*, the *Auctioneer*, consists of *Twelve Volumes* in *Folio**, wherein every Piece has such a punctual Register and Reference, that the smallest, even of a single Leaf, may be readily repaired to thereby. They were collected, no doubt, with great Assiduity and Expence, and not preserved, in those troublesome Times, without great Danger and Difficulty; the Books being often shifted from Place to Place, out of the Army's Reach. And so scarce were many of these Tracts, even at their first Publication, that King *Charles* the First is reported to have given Ten Pounds for only reading one of them over, which he could no where else procure, at the Owner's House, in *St. Paul's Church-Yard*†. And yet this *Collection*, will, perhaps, not now produce the Tenth, and, some think, not the Twentieth Part of the *Four Thousand Pounds* which he is said to have refused for it. Whatever is the Reason, that they may seem to be thus depreciated, I presume not to distinguish, perceiving so many Reasons offering themselves to our Choice for the same: As, Whether it lies not in the *Way* of the present Possessor, to make the best Use or Advantage of them: Whether abundance of extraneous Volumes, or more extended Treatises, published in that *Interstice*, upon Subjects foreign to a Collection of *Occasional Pamphlets*, Historical and Political, interfere not to make up the Number: Particularly, Whether it is not surcharged with the canting Divinity of *those* Times, which may be thought too crude, lean, and dull for the Edification of *these*: But more particularly, Whether those who would be Purchasers, having, doubtless, some Knowledge of Pamphlets, the Use which has been, and what remains to be made by Historical Writers, of them, do not apprehend, that so many copious Collectors, general and special, who were contemporary with that important Period, have already sufficiently gleaned, and displayed whatever is Material among these more compendious Assistances. For so it is evident, that Mr. *Rushworth*, the most voluminous of them all, did, most plentifully, supply himself from these Fountains, how abundantly soever he represents the Facts therein corrupted with Fiction: How fondly soever he seems to magnify his own Sagacity, in the distinguishment of one from the other; and how suspiciously soever he discourtenances all farther Examination into them, than that wherewith he has been pleased to present us; where he expresses himself thus slightly of these very Authorities, which have yet so liberally contributed to such of the massy *Tomes*, passing under his Name, whereof he was the real Compiler. “*Posterity* (says he) should know, “ that some durst write the Truth, whilst other Men's Fancies were more busy than “ their Hands; forging Relations; building, and battering Castles in the Air; publishing “ Speeches, as spoken in Parliament, which were never spoken there; printing “ Declarations, which were never passed; relating Battels, which were never fought; “ and Victories, which were never obtained; dispersing Letters, which were never writ “ by the Authors; together with many such Contrivances, to abet a Party or Interest.---*Pudet hac opprobria*. Such Practices, and the Experience I had thereof, and “ the Impossibility for any Man, in After-Ages, to ground a True History, by relying “ on the printed *Pamphlets* of our Days, which passed the *Press*, while it was “ without Controul, obliged me to all the Pains and Charge I have been at, for many “ Years together, to make a great *Collection*; and, whilst Things were fresh in Memory,

* *Memoirs for the Curious*, 4to, 1708. Vol. 2. p. 176. † Ib.

“ mory, to separate *Truth* from *Falshood*; Things *real*, from Things *fictitious*, or
 “ *imaginary*; whereof I shall not at all repent, if I may but prove an ordinary In-
 “ strument to undeceive those who come after us ‡.

Otherwise, excepting those more partial, and precipitous Products of this Kind, wherewith that Age was so much glutted, there never was a greater Esteem, or a better Market; never so many eager Searchers after, or extravagant Purchasers of scarce Pamphlets, than in these present Times, as might be made evident, either from the Sales of them in general; as that of *Tom Britton*, the celebrated *Small-coal-Man* of *Clarkenwell*, who, besides his *Chymical* and *Musical Collections*, had one of *Choice Pamphlets*, which, as I have heard, he sold to the late Lord *Somers*, for upwards of Five Hundred Pounds. And, more especially, that of Mr. *Anthony Collins*, the last Year, whose Library, consisting chiefly of *Pamphlets*, and those mostly *Controversial*, mostly *Modern*, yet is reported to have been sold, both Parts of it, for above *Eighteen Hundred Pounds*: Encouragement sufficient to make the Catalogues of other like *Auctions* as expressive, and distinct as these are. Or, whether we descend into Particulars, and consider the exorbitant Value set upon, and Profits which have been made out of some single Pieces: As the *Topographical* Pamphlets of *John Norden*, the *Surveyor*; which, before they were re-printed often sold for *Forty Shillings* a-piece. And some of *Bale's* Tracts; as that of *Anne Askew*: More especially, the *Examination* of Sir *John Oldcastle*, which I have known to sell for *Three Guineas*, though gleaned by *Fox* into his *Book of Martyrs*. The *Expedition* of the Duke of *Somerset* into *Scotland*, also, has been sold for *Four Guineas*, though totally inserted in *Holinshed*. These, and some other personal Narratives, I could Name, are as notorious as the Advancement of *Jordano Bruno's* little Book, called, *Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante*, to near *Thirty Pounds*, at the *Auction* of Mr. *Bernard's* Books, Serjeant-Surgeon to her late Majesty: Or of the uncastrated *Holinshed*, to near *Forty-five Pounds*, some Years after. Though, when the former came to be known in *English*, it would sometimes pass off for so many *Pence*; and the Deficiencies of the Latter, to be supplied out of Auditor *Jett's* Library, it would not always rise to so many *Shillings*, that is to say, above its ordinary Estimation. Plainly demonstrating, *that* unreasonable Value arose not from any rich Mines of Knowledge, which the scarce Part would communicate, from nothing intrinsically Curious, or Instructive in it; nor even any material Use to be made of it; but merely from the empty Property of its Singularity, and being, as the contending Purchasers fondly apprehended, no where else recoverable.

Several other Tracts, besides those before specified, I could mention, which the Retailers of them have prized at their Weight in Gold, and for which, more Pounds have been exacted, than, probably, they ever yielded Pence, at their first Publication. But I refrain being too Particular, lest I should, too inadvertently, give Handles for Extortion on one Side, or too distinctly expose this Dotage of Curiosity on the other; nevertheless, I may hereupon seasonably observe, and the rather, because I have had Your LORDSHIP's Noble Concurrence, that this *Caco-zelous* Curiosity it is, which has, of late, been deemed so obstructive to the Advancement of Knowledge, in a Set of reputed *Literati*, who make no more Use of the Books they are beset with in their Studies, than *Eunuchs*, of the Beauties which environ them in the *Seraglio*; yet can never rest till they have gathered themselves *Libraries* to doze in; like Children, who will not be quiet without *Lights* to sleep by. But those, who are thus diseased, would do well to consider, while they monopolize such Collections as would extensively benefit the Republic of Letters, and bury them in the narrow Circuit of their own private, and unconsequential Possession, only because they have

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great Fortunes which will impower them to do it, how detrimental they may be to industrious and ingenious Scholars, of *small* ones, who really want them for public and important Uses; while the mercenary Salesmen, making no Distinction, but a general Rule of Valuation, from the particular Payments of one prodigal Purchaser, is encouraged to part with nothing to any Body else, at the intrinsic, or moderate Value: Whereas, if there were no extravagant *Buyers* of Books, there would be no extortionate *Sellers* of them. And if due Use were allowed to be made of all that are useful, there would be no such shameful Scarcity among them. Such Collectors, would, therefore, do well, I say again, to consider, that *Curmudgeons* among *Books*, are as discoverable as those among *Bags*; and that they may lose more Honour and Credit, than gain Wisdom or Happiness, by the fruitless Amassment and Imprisonment of *either*.

The extraordinary Price of Pamphlets aforesaid, would naturally excite our more deliberate Enquiry into what has been most extraordinary in the Contents of them; but so multifarious are the Subjects they comprehend, that it cannot be expected I should even enumerate the same, in the narrow Limits of this *Epistolary Address*. What do most attract the Attention of Mankind, are those dreaded Scourges of Male-Administration, commonly, tho' perhaps, sometimes too indiscriminately, bearing the contumelious Denomination of *Libels*. It matters little whether it appears to me Reasonable, or not, that such Writings, as duly expose Villany, should themselves be held vile; or that some Persons, who have been unjustly Injurious, by any other Means, may not be justly injured by this: But it is obvious to all, who know the Disproportion of Riches and Power in the World, that there are Crimes not to be blasted, and Criminals not to be branded by any other Means. And, since the Lashes of *Reason*, will reach where those of *Justice* cannot; since *Truth* will project *Defamation* from the Actions of oppressive Rulers, as uncontrollably as the *Sun* does *Shadows* from *opaque Bodies*, the Redress of the Effect is to be sought for in the Cause: And we should apply the *Salve* to the *Minds* which received the Provocation, not *Emperic-like*, seek to stanch them, by *binding up* the *Weapons* which returned it. Nay, we read that the Emperor *Charles V.* King *Francis I.* of *France*, and even *Solyman*, the Great *Turk*, with *Barbarossa*, the Pyrate, and several other Potentates, all condescended to become Tributaries to the *Satyrical Muse* of *Pietro Aretino*; whom, notwithstanding it is not very probable, they had any Way personally exasperated*. Some, also, in our own Story, might be named, who have taken the like Methods to alluage the Effects of their discreditable Conduct: Among whom are not wanting those, who, having penuriously made their *Plaster* too scanty for the *Sore*, have rather multiplied, than subtracted from their own Disgrace, and industriously exposed their Folly, by the imperfect Concealment of their Vice. These had not the effectual Tenderness for their own Reputation, it seems, even of the *Turk* and *Barbarian*; not that exquisite Apprehension of this durable Discipline, which may *visit the Sins of the Fathers upon their Children, unto the third and fourth Generation*; as, not the *Love*, so neither the *Fear* of Men of Letters, which is noted in one of the wisest *Roman* Emperors, by the Historian of his Life; and by one of our own Authors, in these Words:

*He feared less a Hundred Lances, than
Th' impetuous Charges of a single Pen. ‡* Well knowing, that,
Parva necat morsu spatiosum vipera Taurum. Ov.

I shall leave it for others to discuss, whether this Sort of Writing is more inclinable to flourish, and take deeper Root, by the Ventilations of Resentment, or wither, and

* *Naudeana & Patiniana*, 8vo, à Paris, 1701. in *Patin.* p. 66. || *Lampridius in Alexandro Severo*, c. 3. ‡ *Alley's Hist. of Hen.* 7. p. 85.

and dye away in the Shades of Disregard*. But this we may observe, that some Charges are of such a convincing, such a clinging Nature, that they are found not only to strike all Apology, or Contradiction dumb, but to stick longer upon the Names of the Accused, than the Flesh upon their Bones. Thus, *Philip II*'s wicked Employment, treacherous Desertion, and barbarous Persecution of his Secretary *Antonio Perez*, upbraids him, out of that Author's *Librillo*, thro' all *Europe*, to this Day †. *Mary*, Queen of *Scots*, has not yet got clear of *Buchanan's Detection* ‡. *Robert*, Earl of *Leicester*, cannot shake off Father *Parsons's Green-coat* **. *George*, Duke of *Buckingham*, will not speedily out-strip Dr. *Eglisbam's Fore-runner of Revenge* §. Nor was *Oliver Cromwell* far from *Killing* himself, at the Pamphlet which argued it to be *no Murder* ||, lest it should persuade others to think so, and he perish by ignobler Hands than his own.

In this Manner did some take the Liberty of calling these Personages to Account for their Misdeeds, even while they were living. And, with regard to that most memorable Usurper, last mentioned, thus was a celebrated Writer of ours for immortalizing his Name after his Death. "When we fix any Infamy on deceased Persons, it should not be done out of any Hatred to the Dead, but out of Love and Charity to the Living; that the Curses, which only remain in Mens Thoughts, and dare not come forth against *Tyrants* (because they are *Tyrants*) while they are so, may, at last, be for ever settled, and engraven upon their *Memory*, to deter all others from the like Wickedness; which, else, in the Time of their foolish Prosperity, the Flattery of their own Hearts, and of other Mens Tongues, would not suffer them to perceive.—— The *Mischief* of Tyranny is too great, even in the shortest Time that it can continue: It is endless, and insupportable, if the *Example* be to Reign too.——If it were possible, to cut *Tyrants* out of all *History*, and to extinguish their very Names, I am of Opinion, that it ought to be done; but, since they have left behind them, too deep Wounds to be ever closed up without a Scar, at least, let us set such a Mark upon their *Memory*, that Men of the same wicked Inclinations, may be no less affrighted with their lasting Ignominy, than inticed by their momentary Glories" §§. How little soever these Sentiments may be thought to need any Corroboration, I flatter myself the following Reply of our late excellent Queen *Mary*, ought not here to be forgotten. When some of her Courtiers would have incensed her against Monsieur *Jurieu*, who, in his Answer to Father *Maimburg*, that he might the better justify the Reformation in *Scotland*, made a very black Representation of their Queen *Mary*: Is it not a Shame, said one of the Company, that this Man, without any Consideration for your Royal Person, should dare to throw such infamous Calumnies upon a Queen from whom your Royal Highness is descended? Not at all, replied this ingenuous Princess, for, is it not enough that, by fulsom Praises, Kings be lulled asleep all their Lives, but must Flattery accompany them to their Graves? How shall then Princes fear the Judgment of Posterity, if Historians were not allowed to speak Truth after their Death.*** Thus

* *Vi.* Drummond's *Apol. Let. to a Nobleman*, in *Hist. Scotl.* 8vo. 1682. p. 358.

† See the fatal Effects of Arb. Power, and dangerous Condition of Court-Favourites, being a Translation of *Perez* his own Relation, 8vo, 1715. Also, Dr. Mich. Geddes's *Tracts*; *The Spanish Historians*, &c. || 12^o. 1572, &c. ** *Leicester's Com. Wealth*, in French; also in English, re-printed in 4to, & 12o, 1641. & in 8vo, 1706. § In Latin 4to, 1625. and English, about the same Time; re-printed, 1642. ||| *Killing no Murder*, by Will. Allen (alias Col. Titus) 4to, 1657, &c. §§ *Cowley's Vision*, concern. his late pretended Highness, *Cromwell the Wicked*, &c. 12o, 1661. p. 20, 21. Re-printed in his Works. *** *Cox* his *Hist. of Ireland*.

Thus much for the Topics and Arguments arising from those Examples and Authorities, which have occurred, as most observable, upon this sudden Recollection, to illustrate my *present Subject*. What remains to be said of *Pamphlets*, will more especially regard the *present Undertaking*, to make a select Revival of them. The Approbation whereof may be grounded on these Considerations.

First, The Regard we owe to the Preservation of Good Writings in general, and to their Separation from the Bad: But more in particular to these. For, if the Re-printing of good old *Books* is commendable, much more is that of good old *Pamphlets*; they being, not to mention the greater Ease of the Expence, really more in Want of such Justice, to remove that mean Opinion which some, unread therein, have more indistinctly entertained of them *all*, because *many* indeed are but meanly written; tho' the Proportion is not greater than in *Books*: And for those *Pamphlets* which really are *well* written (as abundance sufficient for any such Undertaking have been, by the ablest Pens, upon the most emergent Points, however they daily perish in the common Wreck, for Want of a helping Hand) they cannot be denied a just Claim to this Care.

Secondly; Because they stand in greater Need of such Care, than Writings better secured by their Bulk and Bindings do. Many good old Family-Books are descended to us, whose Backs and Sides our careful Grand-fires Buff'd, and Bois'd, and Boarded against the Teeth of Time, or more devouring Ignorance, and whose Leaves they guarded with *Brass*, nay, *Silver* Claps, against the Assaults of Worm and Weather: But these defenseless Conduits of Advertisement are so much more obnoxious, by reason of their Nakedness and Debility, to all destructive Casualties, that it is more rare and difficult, for Want of a proper *Asylum*, to meet with some *Tracks* which have not been Printed Ten Years, than with many *Books* which are more than ten Times their Age.

Thirdly; As being the liveliest Pictures of their Times. *Pamphlets* having this considerable Advantage, that springing usually from some immediate Occasion, they are copied more directly from the Life; so likelier to bear a Resemblance, than any more extended Draughts taken by a remoter Light. But being therefore a Kind of *Reiding à la Mode*, and the Events, their Sources, so suddenly giving Way to every fresh Current of Affairs, it is no Wonder if these little Maps of them are, in like Manner, over-borne, and become as transient as they: And yet whenever the Political Wheel rolls into any of its former Tracks, or present Occurrences tally with those of past Times, doubtless what was *then* advanced for the Public Good, might *now* be conducive thereto: Whereas the Disorders of former Times revive, and the Remedies which were prescribed against them are to seek; many, as well pleasant as profitable, being lost merely for Want of Revival.

Fourthly; The truest Images of their Authors. For, *Pamphlets* running so often upon new, particular, and unprecedented Subjects, the Writers have less Opportunity to *commit*, and their Writings are less liable to *admit* such foul and frequent Practices of *Plagiary*, as *Books* of Matter more Various, and Bulk more Voluminous, too often exhibit. Besides, the Author being more vigorously prompted to Application, by the Expediency of bringing forth his Work opportunely "is urged (as has " been elsewhere said upon another Occasion *) to strike out the Images of his Mind " at a Heat, in the most natural Form and Symmetry, in the most significant Circumstances at once; seldom allowing Leisure for the Writer to doat upon, or " dream over his Work: neither to disguise it with the Conception of other Men, " nor to deform it with Chimeras of his own" Hence are they preferred by many

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Critics, to discover the genuine Abilities of an Author, before his more dilatory and accumulated Productions.

These, besides many other Arguments which might be deduced from the commodious Brevity, the vast Choice, or Variety of well-written *Pamphlets*, more particularly their regretted Dispersion, Consumption and Obscurity ; but, above all, the many surprising Scenes to be unfolded, and brought in View, by select and public Collections, from the rich but disregarded Store, are, in my Opinion, sufficient Recommendations to the Encouragement of such a Revival. What few Attempts have hitherto been made, seem either of a short-sighted Nature, or of one too unbounded. Thus *Edward Husband*, circumscribes himself to the Speeches and Ordinances of Parliament, in a few Years of K. *Charles I.* As the Collections in K. *Charles II.* and K. *William's* Reigns, contain only some *State-Tracts* of those Times. And, for *John Duntun's* Collection, it might have succeeded better, had he not been for rambling into foreign, or heavy and unaffecting Subjects. But the Undertaking most likely to succeed, is one wholly unconfined, as to Time, and only confined to Matter domestically applicable ; provided the Undertaker chuses judiciously his Materials. And, certainly, the Public might soon be obliged with a very valuable Collection, if in those Particulars whereof the Collector's own Store should be deficient, he were supplied by such Possessors of these Curiosities, as have a Relish for the Project : Which may be farther rendered a convenient Receptacle for the Restoration of what is not only rare and remarkable, but pertinent and seasonable.

And such, among others, are the Advantages promised us by the present *PHOENIX* ; which, if it ever grows into a Volume, and is accommodated with a compleat *Index*, I cannot help fancying, we shall imagine ourselves led into new and untrodden Paths ; into Regions of neglected but notable Intelligence, which, having lain long dormant, and widely remote from ordinary Observation, will look like a sudden Resurrection of Characters and Descriptions, Schemes and Discoveries ; or rather a Kind of Re-Creation of them in the Land of *Literature* : So that it may yield the best Comment upon past Times, and become the grand Expofitor of many Incidents, which General Historians are either wholly ignorant of, or very superficially mention.

Thus, my LORD, you have the free, but undigested *Thoughts* of one totally disinterested in the Undertaking aforesaid, and no otherwise concerned for the same, than as a Well-wisher to what I cannot but think may be of public Utility : And the juster Title they may have to your favourable Censure, as being the immediate Consequence of your Commands. I might, indeed, have farther enlarged on a Theme so fruitful ; but in handling the Subject of *Pamphlets*, it may not be discommendable to conform my self to their Size : For,

Inter Pygmæos non pudet esse brevem.

More especially when I consider, that I may have already trespassed farther upon your Lordship's Patience, than will admit of an Apology from

Your LORDSHIP's, &c.

W. O.

ADVERTISEMENT by the COMPILER.

LITTLE remains for me to advance, after what has been so elaborately laid down in the foregoing Critical Dissertation, concerning as well the Utile, as the Dulce, of this my Undertaking. Indeed, what is already said, somewhat diffidently, in my Preface and its Postscript, regards the Phoenix's first Attempts to fly, rather than its present Growth. But that ingenious Letter seems to have made the Public ample Amends for my Deficiencies. What is, by me, now to be added, is that, far from repining at what Difficulties may have attended my setting out, or repenting of the Trouble and Expence I have been at, in bringing my Work to make the Appearance it now does, I am, more than ever, determined to spare no Diligence in pushing it on with Vigor, and much greater Expedition than has hitherto been used: Not that any of the past Delays can justly be laid at my Door. Nor is it without good Reasons that I am thus cordial and sanguine in the Affair; since I find my Book meets with such good Approbation, from many Persons of the best Judgment and Quality, among those who are curious in this Kind of Reading; and from such as have not a Taste this Way, it is not to be expected. I cannot forbear repeating what a Noble Earl, seemingly surpris'd at bearing the Moderateness of our Impression, was pleas'd to say, "Surely, this Book can never go a begging!" And a worthy Gentleman, a very great Collector of such Curiosities, and a good Judge of them, express'd himself thus: "You may assure yourself, that the Curiosi of these Realms, who may be, perhaps, some Hundreds, as long as your Numbers contain but each of them one choice Piece which they have not, will never think their Money ill bestowed:" Nor do I meet with any of my Readers (doubtless conscious of the Difficulty of finding good Pieces, and their Price when found) who say not much to the same Purpose, provided I always furnish'd them with at least some Thing to their Liking; which none have hitherto denied my having done; nor do I doubt of a satisfactory Perseverance, being not meanly provided with excellent Materials. I have not yet made Application for Recruits at certain grand Repositories of Rarities, where I despair not of Success; neither indeed did I care to do it, without having in my Hand a compleat Volume to produce as my Mediator.

As some love one Sort of Reading, others another, and some again are for no Sort of Reading at all, but can employ their Time and Pence to better Purpose, it may be taken for granted, that I have not, on this Topic, any Sort of Business with those of this latter Class, nor indeed with any but those who are for the Sort of Reading I now deal in. I must therefore crave Leave to observe, for the Satisfaction of some Gentlemen who, as I am told, are desirous of collecting the Phoenixes, but think Half a Crown too much for a Pamphlet, that, if they would be pleas'd to be at the Pains of a little Computation, they might assuredly find, in each of my Numbers, the full Quantity of Matter contained in five; if not in six of most of even the new ones they now buy for Twelve-pence a-piece at least; as also, that such Gentlemen as have thought fit to advance me their Subscriptions, for a Volume, have had their Numbers

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sent

sent them, at the Rate of Two Shillings : Which uncommon Allowance I am still ready to make (rather than disoblige the Encouragers of Literature) tho' I seldom move is to any, considering the almost universal Disrepute into which the very Mention of Subscribing is fallen ; I cannot say, quite undeservedly, as I may elsewhere have intimated on like Occasions.

But I must not here forget returning Thanks to all those public-spirited Gentlemen, in as particular Manner as, perhaps, I have yet Liberty of doing, who, by their friendly Communications, have been assisting to me in carrying on this Work ; and take this Occasion of intreating the Continuance of their Favours. I also heartily acknowledge the Obligation laid on me, by those who have expressed such good Will to my Project as, by Title, to recommend certain notable Tracts, some of which I have been so lucky as to light on, and which, in their Turn, shall find a Place in the Phoenix. Good Use has already been made of some sent me ; and (as certainly is expected at my Hands) I shall always postpone what I have at Home, to make Room for whatever I may be obliged with from Abroad, worthy of Public Observance.

Long was I utterly at a Loss to guess at the true English Meaning of one Particular, which is this. Diverse Pamphlets, &c. had been sent me, I know not from whence, and consequently I am still ignorant whom to thank for them. But some Days ago a large Paquet was left for me at the Publisher's, wherein I found a most obliging Letter, containing Variety of Intelligences, which have set me right in that and other Matters. As my unknown Correspondent, the friendly Writer of it (whom I beg to accept my unfeigned Acknowledgments) seems to give me free Leave to use it as I will, and most of its Contents are pat enough to my Purpose (tho' Part of it is what I should not be fond of saying myself) I shall make bold to give it verbatim, for the farther Entertainment of my Readers ; and designed it should immediately have followed this Advertisement. But on finding my Index to rise so rich in Matter, that I fancy we shall scarce have any Room for more in this Volume, I must defer inserting it at present : But it shall not fail of a Place in our next Number.

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